

The Unique Promotive and Protective Effects of Racial Socialization: A Comparison of  
Racial Socialization and General Positive Parenting Practices for African American  
Youth Exposed to Racial Discrimination

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The Unique Promotive and Protective Effects of Racial Socialization: A Comparison of Racial Socialization and General Positive Parenting Practices for African American Youth Exposed to Racial Discrimination

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## Abstract of Dissertation

### The Unique Promotive and Protective Effects of Racial Socialization: A Comparison of Racial Socialization and General Positive Parenting Practices for African American Youth Exposed to Racial Discrimination

Racial socialization and general positive parenting are important aspects of parenting for African American adolescents (Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002) that have been linked to a range of positive adjustment outcomes. Research also demonstrated that both aspects of parenting protect African American adolescents against the impact of racial discrimination (e.g., Brody et al., 2006; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley, 2007). However, it is not clear whether the effects of racial socialization are unique or due to common features shared by racial socialization and general parenting qualities such as communication and trust. Thus, the present study examined the unique effects of racial socialization messages and general positive parenting on depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior, and whether racial socialization offers protection beyond that conferred by general positive parenting. Participants were a sample of 106 African American adolescent-mother dyads residing in a mid-eastern metropolitan district. Differential effects of racial socialization messages and general positive parenting were found for depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior. Parental messages promoting Black history and teachings and positive parenting marked by communication and trust were uniquely and negatively associated with depressive symptoms. Contrary to expectation, messages emphasizing cultural coping with antagonism were positively associated with aggressive behavior, but this

association between coping with antagonism and aggressive behavior was attenuated after accounting for the other racial socialization messages. In addition, cultural coping with antagonism was positively associated with depressive symptoms after accounting for the other racial socialization messages. African American parents' messages emphasizing cultural pride and alertness to discrimination protected African American adolescents against the effects of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms, but not aggressive behavior. These findings have implications for preventive interventions focused on African American adolescents and their families.

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## **The Unique Promotive and Protective Effects of Racial Socialization: A Comparison of Racial Socialization and General Positive Parenting Practices for African American Youth Exposed to Racial Discrimination**

Racial discrimination “involves harmful actions towards others because of their membership in a particular [racial] group” (Fishbein, 1996, p. 7). Brown and Bigler (2005) note that racial discrimination is a complex phenomenon that consists of various subtle and overt behaviors, ranging from personal racist acts such as being called derogatory or racist names to institutional displays of unfair treatment in educational settings, housing and labor markets, and criminal justice systems. Due to the racial hierarchy within the United States (Williams & Mohammed, 2009), African American youth are at an elevated risk for exposure to racial discrimination (e.g., Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody, 2004) and their rate of exposure is higher than that for youth of other racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). Research suggests that most African American youth report experiencing racial discrimination (e.g., Gibbons et al., 2004; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008).

The rate at which African American youth are exposed to racial discrimination is a serious concern (e.g., Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003) given the adverse effects of racial discrimination on a range of internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors. Racial discrimination has been linked to poorer psychological functioning and heightened distress (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis et al., 2006; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003), increased violent behaviors (Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004), and increased conduct disorder (Gibbons et al., 2007). While research has linked racial discrimination to a range of



maladaptive outcomes for African American youth, research consistently reports associations between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms (e.g., Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, & Pulgiano, 2004; Simons, Murray, McLoyd, Lin, & Cutrona, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003) and aggressive behaviors among African American youth (e.g., Sanders-Phillips, 2009; Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody, 2003). Adolescent depression and aggression are a major concern because these adolescent adjustment difficulties are linked to later mental and behavioral health problems in adulthood (Fergusson & Woodward, 2002; Fergusson, Horwood, & Ridder, 2005; Harrington, Bredencamp, Groothues, & Rutter, 1994; Loeber & Hay, 1997). For instance, Capaldi and Stoolmiller (1999) found that early adolescent conduct problems predicted 12<sup>th</sup> grade and young adult adjustment problems, including conduct problems, depressive symptoms, problematic peer associations, substance use, failure to graduate high school, and unemployment status in a sample of males residing in high crime areas. Similar developmental trajectories have been reported for youth exhibiting early depressive symptoms (e.g., Fergusson & Woodward, 2002; Capaldi & Stoolmiller, 1999; Pine, Cohen, Gurley, Brook, & Ma, 1998). As an example, Pine and colleagues (1998) reported an association between adolescent depression and major depression in adulthood and Harrington and colleagues (1994) reported that adolescent depression was a strong predictor of adult suicidal behaviors. Fergusson and Woodward (2002) found that adolescents with depressive disorder were at an increased risk for developing depression, anxiety, substance abuse and dependence, and a range of other psychosocial problems in later adolescence and young adulthood. Thus, it is imperative that research identifies

protective factors that reduce the effects of racial discrimination on depression and aggression. One potential protective factor is parenting practices.

A considerable body of literature indicates that parenting practices are important protective resources that help African American youth cope with racial discrimination (e.g., Brody et al., 2006; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley, 2007). Two important parenting practices for African American youth are racial socialization and general positive parenting practices that are not race-specific. Racial socialization refers to race-related messages that African American parents communicate to their children (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). General positive parenting refers to “parental behavior based on the best interests of the child that is nurturing, empowering, non-violent and provides recognition and guidance which involves setting of boundaries to enable the full development of the child” (Committee of Ministers, 2012). For African American adolescents, racial socialization has been linked to a range of positive adjustment outcomes (e.g., Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Caughy, O’Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Constantine & Blackmoon, 2002; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). In addition, racial socialization protects against the consequences of racial discrimination on self-esteem, perceived stress, and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley, 2007; Neblett et al., 2008). Like racial socialization, general positive parenting practices are linked to better mental and behavioral health (e.g., Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Diaz, & Miller, 2000; Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005) and protect against the effects of stress, including racial discrimination, on conduct problems and depressive symptoms for African American

adolescents (Brody et al., 2006). However, it is not clear whether the positive effects of racial socialization are unique or due to common features shared by racial socialization and general positive parenting qualities such as communication and trust. Thus, the present study examines the unique effects of racial socialization messages and general positive parenting practices on depression and aggression, and whether racial socialization messages offer protection against racial discrimination for African American youth, beyond that conferred by general positive parenting practices.

### **Racial Socialization**

African Americans have a unique experience in the United States which is embedded in historical trauma, oppression, and racial barriers (DuBois, 1903; Gaskin, Headen, & White-Means, 2005). As a result of these conditions, African Americans are at an increased risk for exposure to discriminatory events (Fisher et al., 2000; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Racial socialization primarily is utilized by African American parents to counteract the effects of this race-related stressor (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization is an important parenting strategy for African American youth because it equips them with race-specific resources to navigate race and environmentally specific stressors.

Racial socialization was first investigated in the early 1980's and was considered a necessary and unique parenting practice for the development of African American youth's self-esteem and self-concept (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Researchers noted that African American parents prepared their children for discriminatory experiences and taught their children to be proud of their racial group as a means for counteracting the

effects of racial discrimination (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Peters, 1985). During the late 1980's and early 1990's an interest in how other ethnic minority groups and immigrants socialize their children, ethnic socialization, grew from the literature on racial socialization among African American families (e.g., Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Phinney, & Rotheram, 1987). Also during this period, the importance of racial and ethnic socialization for African American and minority youth was highlighted by research findings on the promotive effects of racial and ethnic socialization (e.g., Quintana, Castaneda-English, & Ybrarra, 1999; Stevenson et al., 1997). As the field of research on racial and ethnic socialization moved into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the promotive effects of racial socialization were further examined (e.g., Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003) and researchers began exploring whether racial socialization protects against race-related stress (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008).

While the terms "racial socialization" and "ethnic socialization" often are used interchangeably, Hughes and colleagues (2006) noted several challenges associated with the broad and interchangeable use of these terms (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006). They stated that the research on racial and ethnic socialization is fragmented and difficult to advance due to the use of different terms when referring to similar processes or dimensions, and suggested the use of the combined term ethnic-racial socialization to refer to both socialization practices (see Hughes et al., 2006, for review). Further, to integrate and advance the literature on ethnic-racial socialization, Hughes and colleagues (2006) proposed the use of four specific ethnic-racial

socialization terms to differentiate the various types of ethnic and racial socialization practices: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. *Cultural socialization* is a parenting practice that promotes positive feelings of racial or ethnic pride and teaches about the importance of racial or ethnic history and heritage. *Preparation for bias* is a parenting practice that parents use to prepare their children for exposure to racial or ethnic injustice and racial discrimination, while providing advice for how to cope with exposure to such events. *Promotion of mistrust* is a parenting practice that promotes distrust of other racial groups, while highlighting racial barriers to success. *Egalitarianism* is a parenting practice where parents avoid discussions about race, but instead promote and value individual differences (e.g., hard work, virtue). This paper focuses on two of these aspects of racial socialization, cultural socialization and preparation for bias, because African American parents report utilizing these strategies most to help their children prepare for and cope with discriminatory events (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006).

### **Cultural socialization.**

Hughes and colleagues (2006) define cultural socialization as “parenting practices that teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history; that promote cultural customs and traditions; and that promote children’s cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either deliberately or implicitly”(p. 749). According to their conceptualization, *Cultural Pride* and *Cultural Appreciation of Legacy* are two types of cultural socialization strategies. Cultural pride is the promotion of racial or ethnic pride that parents communicate to their children (e.g., “You should be proud to be Black”; “Never

be ashamed of your color”). Cultural appreciation of legacy is the knowledge and teachings of racial or ethnic heritage and history (e.g., “Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival”; “Black people are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty”). Both cultural socialization messages (cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy) have been linked to fewer internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Bynum et al., 2007; Caughy, O’Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). For example, Bynum, Burton, and Best (2007) found that young college students reporting more cultural pride reported lower levels of psychological distress. Similarly, parents who emphasized greater messages about cultural pride reported fewer problem behaviors (i.e., internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors) with their preschool children (Caughy et al., 2002).

In addition to the promotive effects of cultural socialization, research has documented protective effects of these culturally-specific parenting practices. Empirical studies have found that cultural socialization messages protect African American youth against the impact of racial discrimination on internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors (Brown & Tylka, 2011; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008). For example, Neblett and colleagues (2008) found that parents’ messages promoting cultural pride alleviated the negative effects of racial discrimination on adolescents’ perceived stress and problem behaviors, including aggressive and delinquent acts. Likewise, Brown and Tylka (2011) reported that messages emphasizing an appreciation of one’s cultural legacy protected young African American college students against the effects of racial discrimination on resilient coping. They found a negative association between racial

discrimination and resilient and effective coping strategies for college students reporting low levels of cultural appreciation of legacy messages; whereas there was no association between racial discrimination and resilient coping for those reporting high levels of these particular messages. These findings suggest that cultural socialization messages also may be effective in reducing depression and aggression for African American youth exposed to racial discrimination.

### **Preparation for bias.**

The literature contains several terms associated with parents' efforts to promote their children's awareness of discrimination and prepare them to cope with it, and the operational definition of preparation for bias messages has varied across studies. For example, Burt, Simons, and Gibbons (2012) describe the preparation for bias construct used in their study by the awareness component, i.e., parents' messages that promote awareness of discrimination without providing suggestions for how to cope. Other research has focused on the preparation or coping component such as parents' messages that promote the preparation for discrimination by offering suggestions for how to cope (e.g., Bynum et al., 2007). In addition, in some research preparation for bias has been operationalized as a combination of awareness and coping messages (see Hughes et al., 2006 for review). Overall, prior research on preparation for bias messages has not consistently captured its multidimensional nature; failure to differentiate the type of preparation for bias message in some studies has resulted in confusion about the effects of preparation for bias for youth adjustment outcomes. Because of the various terms associated with this racial socialization practice, Hughes and colleagues (2006) note that

it has been difficult to integrate the literature and understand this particular style of parenting. They suggest the use of the term preparation for bias when referring to messages that emphasize the promotion of awareness and preparation for discrimination. Moreover, future research should distinguish the awareness and coping aspects of preparation for bias in order to clarify its effects on youth and family functioning.

The current study will focus on two types of preparation for bias messages, cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism, because these preparation for bias messages likely have different effects on African American youth. Cultural alertness to discrimination refers to parents' messages that emphasize awareness of racism (e.g., "You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world"; "Whites have more opportunities than Blacks"). Cultural coping with antagonism refers to parents' messages that promote the importance of overcoming racial hostilities and difficulties by using coping strategies that include spirituality and religion (e.g., "Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow"; "Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred"), family (e.g., "Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles"), and school (e.g., "Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history) resources.

Few studies have examined the effects of preparation for bias on child and adolescent adjustment (e.g., Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; McHale, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2007), and the research that does exist has yielded mixed results (see Coard & Sellers, 2005 for a



review). For instance, Brown and Tylka (2010) found that preparation for bias was associated with resilience for young adult African American college students. On the other hand, some researchers have noted positive associations between preparation for bias messages and depression (McHale, 2006) and anger (Stevenson et al., 1997). There is other research indicating that there may be a curvilinear effect, such that a moderate amount of preparation for bias is associated with better adjustment outcomes than more or fewer messages (Frabutt et al., 2002). Moreover, research by Caughy and colleagues (2006) demonstrated that the association between preparation for bias and adjustment is influenced by gender, such that preparation for bias was associated with increased internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors for girls, but not for boys (Caughy et al., 2006). However, other research suggests that there is not an association between preparation for bias and mental and behavioral health. For instance, Caughy and colleagues (2002) reported that preparation for bias messages were not associated with behavior problems in a sample of African American preschoolers. Similarly, Stevenson and colleagues (1997) found no association between preparation for bias and psychological adjustment among inner-city African American adolescent males and females, including depressive symptoms.

The equivocal findings noted above may be due to studies not accounting for the differences between the two types of preparation for bias messages. Cultural coping with antagonism may be protective because these messages prepare African American youth to cope with their discriminatory experiences, while cultural alertness to discrimination may be more of a risk factor because these messages promote awareness of possible

discriminatory experiences without providing coping strategies. Preparing African American youth for discriminatory events by warning them of their future exposure may be beneficial so that when they are confronted with racial discrimination they are not caught off guard or ill-prepared for the experience (Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008). On the other hand, too many messages that promote awareness of barriers due to racism and racial discrimination, without providing coping strategies, may be harmful and associated with worse adjustment outcomes. Thus, cultural coping with antagonism messages may serve a more adaptive function for African American youth than cultural alertness to discrimination messages.

As suggested above, cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination may have different associations with mental and behavioral health. This hypothesis is consistent with findings indicating that messages promoting awareness of racism are linked to increased depressive symptoms (McHale, 2006) and lower anger control (Stevenson et al., 1997). It is possible that youth receiving more messages about racial barriers become hyper-vigilant and fearful of society which may lead to more maladaptive behaviors as a response to anger and emotional distress (Stevenson et al., 1997). While cultural alertness to discrimination messages may be linked to greater depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors, cultural coping with antagonism messages have been linked to improved adjustment for African American youth. For instance, Scott (2003) reported that cultural coping strategies for dealing with racial discrimination are associated with more approach coping strategies, such as seeking support and engaging in problem solving, and fewer internalizing coping strategies, such

as rumination or excessive worry. Because cultural coping messages are associated with more adaptive ways to deal with problems, it may be that cultural coping with antagonism is also associated with fewer depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors while messages that promote awareness of racism, without coping strategies, are linked to increased depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors.

While some research suggests that cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism are associated with better adjustment outcomes, other studies do not find promotive effects of these messages. However, research generally suggests that both types of preparation for bias messages have protective effects for African American youth exposed to racial discrimination (Bynum et al., 2007; Burt, Simons, & Gibbons, 2012; Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Bynum, Burton, and Best (2007) found that cultural resource coping protected African American college freshman against the impact of racism on perceived stress. They found a positive association between racism and perceived stress for college students reporting fewer parental messages about cultural resource coping, but there was no association between racism and perceived stress for African American college students reporting greater parental messages about cultural resource coping. Similarly, Burt and colleagues (2012) found that messages promoting racial barriers protected African American children and adolescents against the consequences of racial discrimination on delinquency, such that the adverse effects of racial discrimination on delinquency were attenuated for adolescents reporting greater preparation for bias messages (i.e., messages about racial barriers).

While it seems clear that cultural coping messages should offer protection to African American youth exposed to racial discrimination because these particular messages equip these youth with effective coping strategies, as noted above, some research suggests that increased messages about racism awareness (i.e., cultural alertness to discrimination) are harmful due to the arousal and fear that it causes (e.g., Coard & Sellers, 2005); thus, these messages may not always be protective against racial discrimination. It may be that Burt and colleagues (2012) found an increasing protective effect for messages promoting racism awareness because they did not consider a curvilinear protective effect. Consistent with other researchers who suggest that too few and too many messages about racism awareness may be harmful, Harris-Britt and colleagues (2007) found that a moderate amount of messages that promoted racism awareness protected African American youth against the adverse effects of racial discrimination on self-esteem. However, there was a negative association between discrimination and self-esteem for youth reporting low and high levels of racism awareness messages. Thus, the protective effects of cultural alertness to discrimination for African American youth exposed to racial discrimination may be dependent on the amount of racism awareness messages, such that youth receiving a moderate amount of this particular message are afforded protection compared to those receiving more or less. Taken together, research demonstrating protective effects of both types of preparation for bias messages against the effects of racial discrimination suggests that each may protect against depression and aggression.

### **General Positive Parenting**

General positive parenting, encompassing various parenting practices and qualities, is important for a range of adolescent developmental outcomes (e.g., Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006; Steinberg, 2001), including emotional and behavioral adjustment. Research with African American and multiethnic samples is consistent with this general pattern of results (e.g., Griffin et al., 2000; Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005; Koblinsky, Kovalanka, & Randolph, 2006). As Elmore and Gaylord-Harden (2012) discuss, relationship quality among African American families may be particularly important for African American youth due to the value and importance of family relationships among African Americans. Studies examining the role of parenting for African American youth indicate that general positive parenting practices and qualities, such as parent-child communication and parental monitoring, are associated with fewer internalizing symptoms (e.g., Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005) and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Griffin et al., 2000; Koblinsky, Kovalanka, & Randolph, 2006). In addition, parental monitoring, time spent together, and parental support are linked to fewer depressive symptoms, aggressive behaviors, and problem behaviors such as conduct problems and delinquency (Amato & Fowler, 2002; Formoso, Gonzales, & Aiken, 2000; Griffin et al., 2000).

A sizable literature indicates that positive parenting styles, practices, and qualities of the parent-child relationship such as parental support, communication, closeness, and knowledge protect African American adolescents from the consequences of stress on externalizing behaviors and internalizing symptoms (e.g., Grant et al., 2000; Hammack, Richards, Luo, Edlynn, & Roy, 2004; Mrug et al., 2008). For instance, Mrug and

colleagues (2008) found that parental support, communication, and knowledge, protected African American girls against the impact of early pubertal timing on aggression (Mrug et al., 2008). Similarly, Hammack and colleagues (2004) reported that maternal closeness protected 6<sup>th</sup> grade African Americans against the effects of witnessing community violence on anxiety, such that witnessing community violence was associated with anxiety for African American youth reporting low maternal closeness but not for those reporting high levels of maternal closeness (Hammack et al., 2004). The protective effects of parenting practices also have been found for African American youth exposed to racial discrimination (Brody et al., 2006; Simons et al., 2006). Brody and colleagues (2006) reported that nurturant-involved parenting protected African American adolescents against the long-term impact of racial discrimination on conduct problems and depressive symptoms. Similarly, supportive parenting protected African American adolescent boys from the effects of racial discrimination on violent behavior, such that the association between racial discrimination was attenuated for boys with high supportive parenting (Simons et al., 2006). In sum, evidence supports parenting styles and practices as important sources of protection for African American youth exposed to stress.

### **Racial Socialization and General Positive Parenting**

While racial socialization constructs typically have been examined independent of general positive parenting constructs, recent research demonstrates that parents using greater racial socialization messages also report increased use of general positive parenting, including parental involvement, cohesion, and monitoring (Banerjee, Harrell,

& Johnson, 2011; Berkel et al., 2009; Brown, 2008; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Robbins et al., 2007; Smalls, 2009). For example, Berkel and colleagues (2009) found that parental monitoring, consistent discipline, and inductive reasoning were positively associated with parents' use of racial pride messages. Similarly, Caughy and colleagues (2002) reported that expression of affection, parental monitoring, reasoning discipline, and provision of stimulating materials were positively associated with racial socialization messages associated with spirituality and racial pride. These findings suggest that race-specific parenting and general positive parenting are not mutually exclusive; in other words, these parenting practices and styles likely co-occur. However, it is not clear whether the effects of racial socialization on adolescent outcomes are unique or due to common features shared by racial socialization and general positive parenting qualities such as communication and trust.

Despite the associations between race-specific and general positive parenting (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002), Coard and colleagues (2004) speculate that parenting interventions designed to increase race-specific parenting practices, as opposed to general positive parenting practices, are more likely to improve the mental and behavioral health for African American youth (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). They argue that race-specific parenting practices are necessary for African American youth living in a society where race is salient and highly influential in their development. Although racial socialization, cultural socialization and preparation for bias, may have unique aspects that are differentially associated with adolescent depression and aggression after controlling for general positive parenting, few studies have examined this explicitly.

Caughy and colleagues (2002) found both parent involvement and cultural pride were uniquely associated with fewer problem behaviors, suggesting that race-specific parenting practices and parent involvement have independent associations with mental and behavioral health outcomes. However, Caughy and colleagues' (2002) findings were based on a preschool sample of children and they did not examine depression and aggression specifically; thus, it is not clear whether their findings generalize to African American adolescents at-risk for depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors. Because pride and knowledge of one's racial group and preparation for discriminatory experiences are just as important for African American adolescents as their younger counterparts (e.g., Stevenson et al., 1997), it is likely that these unique effects for cultural socialization and preparation for bias on depression and aggression also will be evident for African American adolescents.

The lack of research examining independent effects of race-specific and general parenting for adolescents includes a lack of research examining incremental protective effects of race-specific parenting practices over general parenting. That is, while prior research indicates that both racial socialization messages (i.e., cultural socialization and preparation for bias) and general positive parenting protect against racial discrimination (Brody, et al., 2006; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008), it is not clear whether cultural socialization and preparation for bias offers African American adolescents protection beyond that conferred by general positive parenting strategies. Cultural socialization and preparation for bias may offer protection above and beyond that of general positive parenting practices for African American youth exposed to racial



discrimination due to the salience of issues surrounding race for African Americans (e.g., Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004). Because racial socialization messages and general positive parenting practices and styles typically have been studied separately, prior research has not addressed this issue. Thus, the current study examines whether racial socialization has an additional protective effect for African American youth exposed to racial discrimination after controlling for general positive parenting qualities.

### **The Current Study**

Racial socialization and general positive parenting have important implications for African American youth's adjustment and protect these youth against the effects of racial discrimination, but the unique and incremental effects of racial socialization messages relative to general parenting have not been examined with African American adolescents. The present study addressed these gaps in the literature. To examine the unique effects of racial socialization messages, the direct effects of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages on depression and aggression were examined after controlling for the effects of general positive parenting practices. It was hypothesized that:

- 1. The cultural socialization messages, cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy, will have a unique *negative* association with depression and aggression after controlling for the effects of general positive parenting.** This hypothesis is based on the significant theorized and documented benefit of these particular messages for African American youth (Caughy et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 1997).

- 2. The preparation for bias messages, cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism, will display different associations with depression and aggression after controlling for general positive parenting.**
  - a. Cultural alertness to discrimination will have a unique *positive* association with depression and aggression after controlling for the effects of general positive parenting.** This hypothesis is based on research suggesting that harm may arise from an over awareness or hyper-vigilance of viewing the world as an unsafe and unjust place (Coard & Sellers, 2005, Harris-Britt et al., 2007).
  - b. Cultural coping with antagonism will have a unique *negative* association with both depression and aggression after controlling for general positive parenting.** This hypothesis is based on research suggesting that these messages equip African American youth with adaptive support-seeking coping strategies which are specific to their unique societal experiences (Scott, 2003).
- 3. The cultural socialization messages, cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy, will protect African American youth against the effects of racial discrimination on depression and aggression, such that the association between racial discrimination and depression and aggression will be attenuated for youth whose parents report greater messages than for youth whose parents report fewer messages.** This hypothesis is based on the available research (e.g., Harris-Britt et al., 2007) suggesting that these messages protect against the consequences of racial

discrimination on internalizing symptoms more generally. Also, parenting practices that promote knowledge and pride of one's racial group are necessary resources for African American youth to successfully navigate a society where racism continues to exist and the notion of race, injustice, and inequities are salient in the minds of African American youth (Boykin & Toms, 1985).

- 4. Cultural coping with antagonism will protect against racial discrimination, such that the association between racial discrimination and depression and aggression will be attenuated for youth whose parents report greater messages than for youth whose parents report fewer messages.** This hypothesis is based on research (e.g., Bynum et al., 2007) suggesting that cultural resource coping messages protect against the consequences of racial discrimination on internalizing symptoms.

Moreover, the unique race-based experience of African American youth in the United States requires the use of race-specific parenting for optimal adjustment outcomes (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Neblett et al., 2008).

- 5. Cultural alertness to discrimination will protect against racial discrimination, such that the association between racial discrimination and depression and aggression will be attenuated for youth reporting a moderate amount of cultural alertness to discrimination messages, but there will be a positive association between racial discrimination and depression and aggression for youth reporting high and low levels of these messages.** This hypothesis is consistent with prior research indicating that too few messages about racial discrimination do not adequately prepare youth for these experiences but too many messages may cause

them to become hyper-vigilant and fearful, possibly increasing their negative reactions to the experience (e.g., Coard & Sellers, 2005; Harris-Britt et al., 2007).

## **Methods**

### **Procedure**

This study was part of a larger project examining adolescents' experiences with neighborhood and race-related stressors (e.g., neighborhood violence and disorder; experiences with racism), the precipitants and consequences of adolescents' experiences with these stressors, and how adolescents and parents manage these stressors (e.g., racial socialization, coping). Potential participants learned about the study from community agencies, flyers, and/or newspaper advertisements. Trained research staff screened interested individuals and provided them with information about project goals and procedures. At that time, interviews were scheduled with female caregivers who agreed to participate and who met the inclusion criteria (i.e., female parent or guardian of an African American adolescent between the ages of 14 and 17). At the interview, the caregiver provided written consent for herself and her adolescent, and adolescents provided assent. Interviews were conducted in participants' homes or at local community sites.

### **Sample**

The sample consisted of 106 African American mother-adolescent dyads in an urban metropolitan district. Fifty-seven percent of the sample was female and the mean age of the sample was 15.41 (age range = 14-17). Participating adolescents were in grades 7-12 ( $M = 9.81$ ,  $SD = 1.28$ ). Ninety-two percent of the adolescents resided with their biological mothers at the time of the interview, and the remaining resided with their

grandmother, aunt, or other female guardians. Mothers and female guardians ranged in age from 26 to 72 ( $M = 43.04$ ,  $SD = 9.01$ ). Almost half (44.9%) of the female caretakers were never married; 27.1% were married; 16.8% were divorced; 5.6% were separated; and 5.6% were widowed. More than half of the female caregivers reported that they were employed at the time of the interview (65%). More than half (approximately 66%) of the sample described their neighborhood as urban; 28% indicated living in a suburban area; and approximately 5% described where they reside as rural. The mean income bracket for this sample was \$30,000 to \$39,000, with a range from incomes below \$5,000 to \$100,00 or higher.

## **Measures**

**Racial discrimination.** Adolescents reported their experience with racial discrimination using the 6-item personal racism scale of the Perceived Racism Scale-Child Version (Nyborg & Curry, 2003). The personal racism scale assessed the frequency with which adolescents have experienced racist events (e.g., “My homework and tests are graded with more bad comments because I’m Black”; “I have been called bad names because I am Black”). Items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from not applicable (0) several times a day (5) and the items comprising this scale were summed to create a scale score. Nyborg and Curry (2003) reported a coefficient alpha of .84 for the personal racism scale. Internal consistency reliability for this scale ( $\alpha = .82$ ) for this sample was good.

**Cultural socialization.** Parent-reported cultural socialization messages were assessed using the Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Appreciation of Legacy

scales of a modified version of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson et al., 2002). The 9-item Cultural Pride Reinforcement scale assessed the extent to which parents communicated messages that teach or promote pride and knowledge of African American culture to children (e.g., “You should be proud to be Black”; “Never be ashamed of your color”). The 5-item Cultural Appreciation of Legacy scale assessed the extent to which parents endorsed that they communicated cultural heritage issues such as enslavement and knowing important historical issues for African Americans (e.g., “Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival”; “Black people are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty”). Items were rated on a 3-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to lots of times (3), and the items comprising each subscale were summed to create subscale scores. Internal consistency for the subscales ranged from .71 to .85 (Stevenson et al., 2002). For this sample, internal consistency for the cultural pride ( $\alpha = .66$ ) and cultural appreciation of legacy ( $\alpha = .76$ ) ranged from moderate to acceptable.

**Preparation for bias.** Parent-reported preparation for bias messages were measured using the Cultural Coping with Antagonism and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination scales of a modified version of the parent-reported Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson et al., 2002). The 13-item Cultural Coping with Antagonism scale assessed the extent to which parents endorsed that they communicated messages associated with the importance of overcoming racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in coping with such difficulties. (e.g., “Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow”; Black children

should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred”). The 6-item Cultural Alertness to Discrimination scale assessed the extent to which parents endorsed that they communicated messages that promoted awareness of racism in society (e.g., “You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world”; “Whites have more opportunities than Blacks”). Items were rated on a 3-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to lots of times (3), and the items comprising each subscale were summed to create subscale scores. Internal consistency for the subscales ranged from .71 to .85 (Stevenson et al., 2002). For this sample, internal consistencies for the cultural coping with antagonism ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and cultural alertness to discrimination ( $\alpha = .84$ ) were good.

**General positive parenting.** Adolescents reported about general positive parenting using the Communication and Trust subscales of the adolescent-reported Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). The 10-item Communication scale assessed the degree of parent-child communication (e.g., “I tell her about my problems and troubles”; “I like to get her point of view on things I’m concerned about”). The 10-item Trust scale assessed parental trust (e.g., “She trusts my judgment”; “I feel she is a successful parent”). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from never true (1) to almost always true (5). Because the Communication and Trust subscales were highly correlated in this sample ( $r = .81, p < .001$ ), a composite general positive parenting variable was created, from both communication and trust. The IPPA is a reliable and valid measure with alphas exceeding .80 in adolescent samples (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Marcus & Betzer, 1996; Nada-Raja, McGee, & Stanton,

1992). Internal consistency reliabilities for communication ( $\alpha = .88$ ) and trust ( $\alpha = .87$ ) were good for this sample.

**Depressive symptoms.** Adolescent-reported depressive symptoms were measured using the 13-item Short Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (SMFQ; Angold et al., 1995), which assessed adolescent-reported depressive symptoms (e.g., “I felt miserable or unhappy”; “I cried a lot”). Items were rated on a 3-point Likert-type scale ranging from not true (1) to true (3), with higher scores indicating more depressive symptoms. The SMFQ is a reliable and valid measure with alphas exceeding .80 (Messer et al. 1995). In this sample, internal consistency for the SMFQ was .89.

**Aggressive behavior.** Parents reported about their adolescent’s aggressive behavior was measured using the 17-item aggression subscale of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991), a widely used parent report of their child’s aggression (e.g., “Gets in many fights”; “Physically attacks people”). Items were rated on a 3-point Likert-type scale ranging from not true (1) to very true (3), with higher scores indicating more aggressive behavior. The items comprising this scale were summed to create a scale score. The CBCL aggression scale is a reliable and valid measure with alphas exceeding .70 in community samples (e.g., Brennan, Hall, Bor, Najman, & Williams, 2003; Ferguson, San Miguel, & Hartley, 2009). Coefficient alpha in this sample was .92.

### **Analytic Strategy**

Means, standard deviations, frequencies, and correlations were calculated for racial discrimination, cultural socialization messages (i.e., cultural pride and cultural



appreciation of legacy), preparation for bias messages (i.e., cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism), general positive parenting, and depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior to provide descriptive information about the sample.

Multiple regression analyses were used to examine whether the cultural socialization messages (i.e., cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy) were uniquely associated with depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior after controlling for gender and general positive parenting. Gender, one cultural socialization message, and general positive parenting were examined in each regression; adolescent-reported depressive symptoms and parent reported-aggressive behavior were examined in separate models. Thus, a total of four regression models were examined to determine whether cultural socialization messages have a unique effect on depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior after controlling for gender and general positive parenting. A significant coefficient associated with a cultural socialization message would indicate that the cultural socialization message is uniquely associated with the outcome after controlling for gender and general positive parenting. The same process was used to examine the unique effects of the preparation for bias messages (i.e., cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism); thus, there were four regressions models to examine the unique effects of preparation for bias messages.

Hierarchical linear regression analyses following procedures outlined by Baron and Kenney (1986) were used to test whether racial socialization messages protect above and beyond the protective effects of general positive parenting. As an initial step, the

protective effects of racial socialization were examined. For these analyses, racial discrimination, the cultural socialization messages (cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy), and preparation for bias messages (cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism) were centered to reduce multicollinearity, and these mean-deviated scores were used to compute interaction terms. For each model, gender was entered on the first step, racial discrimination and a single racial socialization message were entered on the second step, and two-way interactions between racial discrimination and the racial socialization message were entered on the third step. Adolescent-reported depressive symptoms and parent-reported aggressive behavior were the outcome variables. Thus, four regressions were performed for adolescent-reported depressive symptoms, and four were performed for parent-reported aggressive behavior. A moderating effect was confirmed if the effect of the interaction term was significant after controlling for the main effects. To interpret the interactions, simple slopes were examined at one standard deviation above, one standard deviation below, and at the mean of the moderator (i.e., cultural pride, cultural appreciation of legacy, cultural alertness to discrimination, and cultural coping with antagonism) (Aiken & West, 1991). If multiple racial socialization messages were protective, all racial socialization messages were entered in the same model to determine which messages offered the best source of protection.

A second set of regressions was performed to examine the protective effects of general positive parenting. For these analyses, racial discrimination and general positive parenting were centered, and these mean-deviated scores were used to compute

interaction terms. For each model, gender was entered on the first step, racial discrimination and general positive parenting were entered on the second step, and one two-way interaction between racial discrimination and general positive parenting was entered on the third step. Adolescent-reported depressive symptoms and parent-reported aggressive behavior were the outcome variables. Thus, one regression model was examined for adolescent-reported depressive symptoms, and one examined for parent-reported aggressive behavior. A moderating effect was confirmed if the effect of the interaction term was significant after controlling for the main effects. To interpret the interactions, simple slopes were examined at one standard deviation above, one standard deviation below, and at the mean of the moderator (Aiken & West, 1991).

The analyses to determine whether racial socialization messages protect above and beyond the protective effects of general positive parenting were conducted only in the cases of significant racial socialization protective factors and a significant general positive parenting protective effect. In those cases, a single racial socialization message and general positive parenting was examined in each regression, and depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors were examined in separate models. For these analyses, gender was entered on the first step, racial discrimination, a single racial socialization message, and general positive parenting was entered on the second step, and the two-way interactions between racial discrimination and the racial socialization message, and racial discrimination and general positive parenting was entered on the third step. If the interaction between racial discrimination and the racial socialization message remained significant after controlling for the protective effect of general positive

parenting, the analyses would suggest that the racial socialization message offers protection beyond that conferred by general positive parenting.

## **Results**

### **Descriptive Statistics and Correlations**

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate associations for study variables are presented in Table 1. Approximately 40 percent (43.4%;  $n = 46$ ) of the sample reported experiencing racial discrimination, ranging from several times a year to several times a day. Racial discrimination was not associated with any of the racial socialization messages, general positive parenting, adolescent-reported depressive symptoms, or parent-reported aggressive behavior. All of the racial socialization messages were positively correlated with each other, but not correlated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms. Cultural coping with antagonism was positively associated with parent-reported aggressive behavior (see Table 1;  $r = .22, p < .05$ ), but there were no other associations between the racial socialization messages and parent-reported aggressive behavior. General positive parenting was not associated with any of the racial socialization messages or parent-reported aggressive behavior, but was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $r = -.20, p < .05$ ).

### **Tests for Unique Associations of Racial Socialization Messages**

To examine the unique associations between parenting variables and depressive symptoms, four separate regression equations were performed (see Table 3). In each model, gender was entered on the first step; general positive parenting and one racial socialization message were entered on the second step. The regression of adolescent-

reported depressive symptoms on gender, general positive parenting, and cultural appreciation of legacy yielded significant main effects for both cultural appreciation of legacy and general positive parenting. In this model, after controlling for gender and general positive parenting, cultural appreciation of legacy was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $B = -.19, t = -2.03, p < .05$ ); parents who endorsed communicating greater cultural appreciation of legacy messages had adolescents who reported fewer depressive symptoms. After controlling for gender and cultural appreciation of legacy messages, general positive parenting was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $B = -.19, t = -2.04, p < .05$ ); adolescents reporting greater general positive parenting also reported fewer depressive symptoms. For the three models examining the unique associations between the other racial socialization messages (i.e., cultural pride, cultural coping with antagonism, cultural alertness to discrimination) and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms after accounting for gender and general positive parenting, none of the racial socialization messages demonstrated a main effect; in each of these models, general positive parenting was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms after accounting for the racial socialization messages.

To examine the unique associations between parenting variables and aggressive behavior, four separate regression equations were performed; in each model, gender was entered on the first step and general positive parenting and one racial socialization message was entered on the second step. Results are presented in Table 2. The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, general positive parenting, and cultural

coping with antagonism yielded a significant main effect for cultural coping with antagonism. After controlling for gender and general positive parenting, cultural coping with antagonism was positively associated with aggressive behavior ( $B = .21, t = 2.14, p < .05$ ); parents who endorsed communicating greater cultural coping with antagonism messages reported that their adolescent exhibited greater aggressive behavior. In this model, there was no association between general positive parenting and parent-reported aggressive behavior. For the three models examining the unique associations between the other racial socialization messages (i.e., cultural pride, cultural appreciation of legacy, cultural alertness to discrimination) and parent-reported aggressive behavior after accounting for gender and general positive parenting, none of the racial socialization messages demonstrated a main effect; in these models, general positive parenting also was not associated with parent-reported aggressive behavior after accounting for the racial socialization messages.

Because the racial socialization messages were moderately correlated and research suggests that these messages are not communicated in isolation of one another (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006), tests of unique associations between the racial socialization messages and the dependent variables (i.e., depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors) also were performed with all four racial socialization messages in the same model. Specifically, the dependent variables were regressed on gender, general positive parenting, and all four racial socialization messages. Results are presented in Table 3. The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, general positive parenting, and all four racial socialization messages yielded significant main

effects for cultural appreciation of legacy, cultural coping with antagonism, and general positive parenting. After controlling for gender, general positive parenting, and the three other racial socialization messages, cultural appreciation of legacy was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $B = -.44, t = -3.34, p < .01$ ) and general positive parenting was negatively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $B = -.19, t = -2.09, p < .05$ ), consistent with findings noted above. In addition, after controlling for gender, general positive parenting, and the three other racial socialization messages, cultural coping with antagonism was positively associated with adolescent-reported depressive symptoms ( $B = .33, t = 2.44, p < .05$ ); parents who endorsed communicating greater cultural coping with antagonism messages had adolescents who reported more depressive symptoms. The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, general positive parenting, and all four racial socialization messages yielded a marginally significant main effect for cultural coping with antagonism. After controlling for gender, general positive parenting, and the three other racial socialization messages, there was a marginally significant positive association between cultural coping with antagonism and parent-reported aggressive behavior ( $B = .28, t = 1.98, p < .10$ ), consistent with findings noted above.

### **Tests for Moderation**

**Moderating effects of racial socialization.** To examine the protective effects of racial socialization, eight regressions were performed (four racial socialization messages examined for each of two dependent variables). In each model, gender was entered on the first step, racial discrimination and a single racial socialization message were entered on

the second step, and the two-way interaction between racial discrimination and the racial socialization message was entered on the third step; each racial socialization message was examined in a separate model. Results are presented in Table 5.

***Cultural pride.*** The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, racial discrimination, cultural pride, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural pride revealed a marginally significant interaction between racial discrimination and cultural pride ( $B = -.19, t = -1.94, p = .06$ ; see Figure 1). To interpret the interaction, simple slopes at one standard deviation above, at, and below the mean were examined. There was a significant positive association between racial discrimination and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms for youth whose parents endorsed low cultural pride ( $B = .43, t = 2.85, p < .01$ ), a positive trend in the association between racial discrimination and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms for youth whose parents endorsed moderate cultural pride ( $B = .20, t = 2.03, p = .05$ ), and no association between racial discrimination and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms for youth whose parents endorsed high cultural pride ( $B = -.03, t = -.26, p = .79$ ). The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, racial discrimination, cultural pride, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural pride did not reveal any significant main effects or a significant interaction.

***Cultural appreciation of legacy.*** The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, racial discrimination, cultural appreciation of legacy, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural appreciation of legacy did not reveal a significant interaction. Consistent with the results of the tests for unique



associations, there was a significant main effect of cultural appreciation of legacy ( $B = -.20, t = -2.10, p < .05$ ); parents who endorsed communicating greater cultural appreciation of legacy messages had adolescents who reported fewer depressive symptoms (see Table 5). The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, racial discrimination, cultural appreciation of legacy, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural appreciation of legacy did not reveal a significant interaction. There was a marginally significant main effect of gender ( $B = .19, t = 1.78, p < .10$ ); parents reported more aggressive behaviors for girls.

***Cultural coping with antagonism.*** The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, racial discrimination, cultural coping with antagonism, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural coping with antagonism did not reveal a significant interaction or any significant main effects. The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, racial discrimination, cultural coping with antagonism, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural appreciation coping with antagonism did not reveal a significant interaction. Consistent with the results of the tests for unique associations, these analyses revealed a significant main effect of cultural coping with antagonism ( $B = .20, t = 2.07, p < .05$ ); parents who endorsed communicating greater cultural coping with antagonism messages reported that their adolescent exhibited greater aggressive behavior.

***Cultural alertness to discrimination.*** The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, racial discrimination, cultural alertness to discrimination, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural alertness to

discrimination revealed a significant interaction between racial discrimination and cultural alertness to discrimination ( $B = -.24, t = -2.51, p < .05$ ; see Figure 2). An examination of the simple slopes revealed a significant positive association between racial discrimination and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms for youth whose parents endorsed low cultural alertness to discrimination ( $B = .40, t = 3.11, p < .01$ ), but no association between racial discrimination and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms for youth whose parents endorsed moderate ( $B = .17, t = 1.80, p = .08$ ) and high cultural alertness to discrimination ( $B = -.06, t = -.49, p = .63$ ). The regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, racial discrimination, cultural alertness to discrimination, and the interaction between racial discrimination and cultural alertness to discrimination did not reveal a significant interaction. There was a marginally significant effect of gender ( $B = .18, t = 1.78, p < .10$ ); parents reported more aggressive behaviors for girls.

**Moderating effects of general positive parenting.** To examine the protective effects of general positive parenting, gender was entered on the first step, racial discrimination and general positive parenting was entered on the second step, and a two-way interaction between racial discrimination and general positive parenting was entered on the third step. The regression of adolescent-reported depressive symptoms on gender, racial discrimination, general positive parenting, and the interaction between racial discrimination and general positive parenting did not reveal a significant interaction. Consistent with the results of the tests for unique associations, these analyses revealed a significant main effect of general positive parenting ( $B = -.20, t = -2.04, p < .05$ ); the

more general positive parenting youth reported, the fewer depressive symptoms they reported. There was a marginally significant main effect of racial discrimination ( $B = .19$ ,  $t = 1.99$ ,  $p < .10$ ); the more racial discrimination adolescents reported, the more depressive symptoms they endorsed. However, the regression of parent-reported aggressive behavior on gender, racial discrimination, general positive parenting, and the interaction between racial discrimination and general positive parenting did not reveal a significant interaction. There was a marginally significant main effect of gender ( $B = .18$ ,  $t = 1.77$ ,  $p < .10$ ); parents reported more aggressive behaviors for girls. Because general positive parenting did not moderate the association between discrimination and depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors, the analyses to determine whether racial socialization messages protect above and beyond the protective effects of general positive parenting were not conducted.

### **Discussion**

Although there is literature suggesting that racial socialization and general positive parenting are associated with depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors for African American youth (e.g., Amato & Fowler, 2002; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Formoso et al., 2000; McHale, 2006; Stevenson et al., 1997), it is unclear whether racial socialization messages have a unique effect on depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors after accounting for general parenting or whether racial socialization messages protect above and beyond the protective effects of general positive parenting. Thus, the current study had two primary goals. The first goal was to examine whether cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages had unique

associations with aggressive behaviors and depressive symptoms after accounting for the effects of general positive parenting. The second goal was to determine whether racial socialization messages offered protection against racial discrimination beyond that conferred by general positive parenting. Because different types of parenting practices and styles do not occur in isolation, this study addressed an important gap in the literature by studying general and race-specific parenting for African American adolescents.

### **Unique Effects of Racial Socialization and General Parenting**

#### *Cultural Socialization Messages*

Few studies have explicitly examined the unique effects of general and culturally-specific parenting for African American youth. As an exception, Caughy and colleagues (2002) examined general parenting behaviors and racial socialization messages as predictors of African American preschoolers' problem behaviors, a composite of internalizing symptoms and externalizing behaviors. They found that cultural pride and parent involvement each had unique negative effects on problem behaviors after accounting for the other type of parenting. Consistent with their findings, the current study found that cultural appreciation of legacy and general positive parenting each were uniquely negatively associated with depressive symptoms. This result suggests that both race-specific and general parenting may be beneficial for younger African American children and older African American adolescents. In contrast to Caughy and colleagues' (2002) finding that cultural pride was uniquely associated with problem behaviors after accounting for parent involvement, cultural pride was not associated with youth behavior in this study. Several reasons may explain this finding. As compared to younger

children, for African American adolescents, messages focused on cultural pride alone may not be sufficient for reducing poor psychological functioning or depressive symptoms; this may be particularly true for African American adolescents who may strongly identify with their racial group and view American society as one that devalues African Americans and their culture (e.g., Bynum et al., 2007). Cultural appreciation of legacy messages may be more beneficial for African American adolescents than their younger counterparts because these messages focus on the teachings of African American history and culture while simultaneously promoting feelings of pride. Alternatively, African American youth may need to receive positive messages other than cultural pride, such as positive teachings and knowledge of their racial or cultural group in order to avoid mental health difficulties. Thus, cultural appreciation of legacy messages may demonstrate a unique negative effect on depressive symptoms because these messages result in an increase of positive thoughts about the African American culture for African American youth. These thoughts may be necessary for African American youth to reconcile negative societal views of African Americans with their identity as an African American. This is speculative, however, and future research should explore this possibility. It also is possible that the effects of cultural pride might be apparent in the context of a stressor, as indicated by the moderation findings below.

Developmental capabilities and age may be another influential factor important for understanding the benefits associated with cultural appreciation of legacy. Research suggests that parents' use of racial socialization messages increase with age, in accordance with children's cognitive abilities and experiences (see Hughes et al., 2006).

Cultural appreciation of legacy messages (i.e., messages teaching history and legacy), unlike cultural pride, likely require greater cognitive effort and understanding, which may be more difficult for younger pre-school children to process and are more developmentally appropriate for African American adolescents. This might be one reason Caughy and colleagues' (2002) focused on cultural pride and did not examine cultural appreciation of legacy.

#### *Preparation for Bias Messages*

While cultural appreciation of legacy and general positive parenting each had a unique negative association with depressive symptoms, cultural coping with antagonism displayed a unique positive association with aggressive behavior and depressive symptoms; the direction of association was counter to expectation. It was hypothesized that messages focused on cultural coping with antagonism, messages emphasizing the importance of overcoming racial hostilities and the promotion of religion and spirituality as a source of coping, would be associated with fewer aggressive behaviors and depressive symptoms.

Although prior studies suggest that the coping dimension of preparation for bias is linked to more adaptive behaviors and fewer adjustment problems (e.g., Brown, 2008; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Scott, 2003), the current study suggests that greater racial socialization messages emphasizing coping through religion and spirituality may be maladaptive for some African American adolescents. It is possible that African American adolescents' depressive symptoms cause parents to emphasize greater coping messages in an effort to improve their mood. While this study does not provide evidence for

adolescent depressive symptoms leading to increased cultural coping with antagonism messages, African American parents may be using these messages as a strategy to not only combat the effects of racial discrimination, but also to help their adolescents cope with living in an urban environment. This explanation is plausible considering that many African American inner-city youth are at an increased risk for exposure to poverty, crime, and violence (e.g., Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001; Rankin & Quane, 2002), which in turn, are linked to depressive symptoms and hopelessness. Thus, African American parents' use of more cultural coping with antagonism messages may be in an effort to protect their adolescents from the negative effects of stressful, urban environmental conditions.

Although cultural coping with antagonism had a unique positive association with aggressive behaviors after accounting for general positive parenting, this effect decreased after also accounting for the other racial socialization messages. This suggests that it may be more beneficial to examine cultural coping with antagonism in conjunction with other parenting practices. It may be that an examination of racial socialization messages in isolation of other messages does not fully capture the complexity of these culturally-relevant parenting practices.

In contrast to cultural coping with antagonism messages, it was hypothesized that cultural alertness to discrimination, messages emphasizing awareness of racism, would be positively linked to aggressive behaviors and depressive symptoms. However, cultural alertness to discrimination did not have a direct effect on either behavior or symptom. Because a direct effect was not found for cultural alertness to discrimination, it is

possible that messages promoting awareness of racial discrimination do not have a direct impact on African American youth's adjustment, but instead serve a protective function under stressful racial discriminatory conditions. If so, messages emphasizing racism awareness may be most salient in the context of racial hostility. This would provide further support for why awareness of racism messages was not directly associated with adolescent emotional or behavioral functioning in the current study.

### *General Parenting*

Similar to cultural appreciation of legacy messages, general positive parenting had a unique negative association with depressive symptoms after accounting for each of the racial socialization messages; this effect persisted even after accounting for the set of four racial socialization messages. This result confirms prior research suggesting that positive parenting is necessary for improving the mental health of African American youth. A positive parent-child relationship marked by increased communication and trust may be uniquely associated with fewer depressive symptoms because this particular relationship quality leads to improved adolescent functioning or adaptive coping behaviors (Barker, 2007; Gentzler, Contreras-Grau, Kerns, & Weimer, 2005). For example, Barker (2007) proposed that trust is a key determining factor in predicting adolescents' help seeking behaviors or use of adaptive support-seeking coping strategies. In fact, although adolescents may receive various forms of support from caregivers, adults, and providers, Barker (2007) suggests that the adolescent is more likely to seek support if they trust the individual or adult providing the support and perceives the person to be reliable. Gentzler and colleagues (2005) found an association between parent-child



emotional communication and children's use of constructive coping strategies, such that parents reporting emotionally open parent-child communication with their children were more likely to have children who displayed greater support-seeking, cognitive decision making, and problem solving coping strategies while emotionally distressed. Thus, it seems that parent-child relationships consisting of trust and communication provide a context that fosters the use of more adaptive coping strategies for youth to handle and manage their emotions.

While general positive parenting was linked to fewer depressive symptoms, there was no association between general positive parenting and aggressive behaviors. Although general positive parenting encompassing communication and trust is linked with an increased use of adaptive coping strategies (Barker, 2007; Gentzler et al., 2005), these strategies might be less helpful for aggression than depression (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Zapert, & Maton, 2000). Parental behaviors that model appropriate anger management techniques may be more important for helping children manage their aggressive behaviors, as suggested by social learning theory which posits that aggressive behaviors are learned via observation and modeling (Bandura, 1977). In fact, there are considerable treatments and preventive interventions highlighting the importance of parental modeling on the reduction of child and adolescent aggressive behaviors (e.g., Frey, Hirschstein, & Guzzo, 2000; Hood & Eyberg, 2003; McNamara, 1970; Nixon, Sweeney, Erickson, & Touyz, 2003).

### **Protective Effects of Racial Socialization**

Prior research suggested that both general and race-specific parenting protects African American youth against the consequences of racial discrimination (e.g., Brody et al., 2006; Burt, Simons, & Gibbons, 2012; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Simons et al., 2006) on mental and behavioral health. However, the current study only found protective effects for racial socialization messages emphasizing cultural pride and racial socialization messages that promote awareness of racism. In this study, general parenting did not emerge as a protective factor against racial discrimination.

Prior studies have reported similar findings of cultural pride messages and messages promoting awareness to racism protecting against racial discrimination (e.g., Burt et al., 2012; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008). For example, Burt and colleagues (2012) found that racism awareness message protected African American adolescents against the effects of racial discrimination on delinquent behaviors. Harris-Britt and colleagues (2007) found that racism awareness messages received from parents protected African American adolescents against the effects of racial discrimination on self-esteem. Similarly, Neblett and colleagues (2008) documented the protective effects for a combination of racial socialization messages, including cultural pride messages, such that these messages protected African American adolescents against the consequences of racial discrimination on problem behaviors. Taken together, these studies suggest that African American youth are better equipped to handle the effects of racial discriminatory experiences if they are forewarned about the existence of racism and receive positive messages that reflect positive feelings towards one's culture.

Neblett, Terzian, and Harriott (2010) suggest several reasons why cultural pride and preparation for bias messages may be protective for African American youth when encountering race-based stress. They describe the negative effects that racial discrimination has on one's self-concept and propose that messages promoting cultural pride may buffer against these deleterious effects because they increase African American adolescents' self-esteem and self-worth, factors necessary for counteracting the harmful effects of negative and hostile messages directed towards one's cultural group. They further explain that such messages are beneficial for increasing one's self-concept and identity. African American's with a stronger racial identity report increased psychological functioning (Caldwell et al., 2002; Sellers et al., 2006), fewer externalizing behaviors (Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999), and several studies suggest that racial identity protects against racial discrimination (Chavous et al., 2008; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). Neblett and colleagues (2010) further contend that preparation for bias messages that highlight the existence of inequalities and unfair treatment of African Americans may protect African American adolescents by helping them attribute their unfair racial treatment to external sources, as opposed to internalizing racial discriminatory events, protecting their self-esteem. Finally, they argue that racial socialization messages also may help African American adolescents combat the effects of racial hostility because adolescents receiving these messages utilize more adaptive coping strategies when encountering discrimination and do not feel alone in their efforts to solve problems associated with these racially hostile experiences.

Given research suggesting that cultural alertness to discrimination has a curvilinear protective effect (Harris-Britt et al., 2007), it was hypothesized that youth receiving a moderate amount of cultural alertness to discrimination messages would be protected against the effects of racial discrimination on aggressive behavior and depressive symptoms compared to youth receiving few or many messages. Instead, the current findings indicated that there was a positive association between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms for African American youth receiving few cultural alertness to discrimination messages, but no association between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms for African American youth receiving moderate or high amounts of cultural alertness to discrimination messages. Therefore, messages emphasizing at least a moderate amount of awareness of racism protected African American adolescents against the consequences of discrimination on depressive symptoms. It is possible that the protective function of cultural alertness to discrimination messages vary based on the outcome of interest. Harris-Britt and colleagues (2007) found a curvilinear protective effect with a moderate amount of preparation for bias messages protecting against racial discrimination on self-esteem. Their finding suggested that too few and too many messages, in the context of racial discrimination, were harmful on self-esteem. Self-esteem is a set of beliefs and emotions that evoke an attitude that one has toward the self. Thus, if African American youth experience racial discrimination and are lacking awareness or have received too few of these messages, they may over internalize the racially hostile incident and in turn develop a set of negative beliefs and emotions about the self. When African American youth have received too many racism awareness

messages, they may be more likely to perceive ambiguous interactions as acts of racial discrimination; this may cause them to have an unstable view of themselves or self-worth due to constantly re-evaluating their beliefs, emotions, and attitudes about the self. It is plausible that the protective role of messages promoting an awareness of race-based stress operates differently for depressive symptoms, as evidenced by the findings in the current study.

### **Implications for Intervention**

The examination of the unique effects of culturally-relevant and general positive parenting has implications for prevention and interventions programs targeting depressive symptoms for African American youth. Given the unique direct effects of racial socialization messages and general positive parenting, treatment efforts for African American youth should aim to empower and assist parents in implementing messages that promote cultural knowledge and history, while also aiming to improve the parent-child relationship. For example, family therapy and parenting skills training should focus on educating parents about the importance of open and respectful communication and trust, and black history for African American youth, while enhancing these skills through activities such as role-play (e.g., Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). Because study results also indicated that parents' messages emphasizing awareness to racism and cultural pride protect African American youth against the effects of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms, empirically supported interventions for depression (e.g., Cognitive Behavioral Therapy; e.g., Compton et al., 2004) may benefit from cultural adaptations that assess African American parent's views and core beliefs associated with

their current use of these messages. It also may be important to provide parents with psychoeducation about the harmful effects of racial discrimination and the utility of messages emphasizing awareness of racism and cultural pride for reducing depressive symptoms. Increasing parents' understanding of the rates and effects of racial discrimination may facilitate their use of messages promoting positive feelings of pride and awareness to racism. Moreover, the literature on racial socialization suggests that parents from higher socioeconomic statuses are more likely to use racial socialization messages with their children compared to their lower socioeconomic status counterparts (Hughes et al., 2006). Thus, preventive interventions should target family-based organizations that promote parenting skills trainings in low-income communities. Facilitators of these organizations and programs can assist parents in developing strategies for how to implement these messages, by promoting the use of local educational facilities, including Black history museums, libraries, and historical sites (Coard et al., 2004).

Interestingly, neither racial socialization nor general positive parenting demonstrated direct or protective effects for reducing aggressive behavior for African American adolescents. It may be that family-based interventions are not sufficient for reducing aggressive behaviors and that interventions in other contexts should be considered. For example, peer and community based interventions may be most effective for adolescents because they are in a developmental phase of seeking independence from parents and are developing closer peer relationships at school and in their neighborhoods (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Therefore, peer and community-based resources should be

considered when implementing comprehensive interventions for African American youth. An unexpected finding in this study, that cultural coping with antagonism messages were positively associated with depressive symptoms, provides some information for interventionists. While the direction of effect is not clear, it may be that parents are utilizing increased coping messages with their children presenting with depressive symptoms. This possibility should be explored in the course of intervention. In addition, it will be important to further disentangle this finding by investigating the family and broader contexts that may enhance or weaken this effect.

### **Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions**

While prior literature documents the effects of racial socialization and general positive parenting for African American adolescents (e.g., Amato & Fowler, 2002; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Formoso et al., 2000; McHale et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 1997), this research primarily has examined these two types of parenting separately, with the exception of recent studies (Banerjee, Harrell, & Johnson, 2011; Berkel et al., 2009; Caughy et al., 2002; Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Frabutt et al., 2002; Smalls, 2009). Thus, a primary strength of this study is the comparison of the direct and protective effects of racial socialization and general positive parenting for African American adolescents. An examination of both culturally-relevant and general positive parenting allows for a greater understanding of the unique benefits associated with these different types of parenting; African American youth receive both (Boykin & Toms, 1985; McHale et al., 2006). In addition, although the parenting literature is beginning to investigate the direct and interactive effects of racial socialization messages

and general positive parenting (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013), this literature has not considered the unique benefits of different cultural socialization messages (i.e., cultural pride and cultural appreciation of legacy) or different types of preparation for bias messages (i.e., cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination) after accounting for general positive parenting. The current study considered both types of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages to shed light on inconsistencies reported in prior studies and to better understand each of these effects in the context of general positive parenting.

The study strengths should be considered in the context of some limitations, which suggest directions for future research. Because the sample consisted of African American mother-adolescent dyads residing in an urban metropolitan district, these findings may not generalize to younger African American youth or African American youth residing in different regions of the United States. For instance, it is possible that the protective effects of racial socialization messages will be stronger for African American youth living in regions where racial discrimination may be greater. Also, because the focus of this study was to better understand culturally-relevant and general parenting qualities for African American adolescents, study findings do not generalize to other minority groups. It is possible that different findings may emerge for youth in different ethnic groups due to differences in family values and relationships (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). For instance, because youth from eastern and Asian cultures have a more collectivist and interdependent world-view than those in western cultures (Heine, 2001), it is possible that in addition to cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages



protecting these youth from the effects of discrimination, general positive parenting will likely serve a protective function for these youth as well, due to the greater value and emphasis placed on the family system.

In addition to the aforementioned limitations, it will be important to consider environmental contexts beyond the family when examining the protective effects of racial socialization messages for African American youth. Because these youth are at an increased risk for living in racially segregated, low-income communities (Levanthal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000), racial socialization may be most beneficial for African American youth impacted by cumulative stress of racial discrimination, community violence, and poverty. Despite recognition that stressful life events do not occur in isolation (e.g., Evans, 2004), the current literature on racial socialization has not considered the protective effects of racial socialization on multiple stressors. It will be important to disentangle the protective effects of racial socialization for isolated stressful life events compared to cumulative, on-going stress.

Study limitations are important to note. The sample size likely impacted the relatively small effect sizes. Although few associations and protective effects were found, it is possible that a larger sample size will shed greater light on the promotive and protective effects associated with racial socialization and general positive parenting. Also, although promotive and protective effects were primarily found with depressive symptoms, it is possible that this is a consequence of shared method variance. Adolescents reported on their own depressive symptoms, while parents were asked to report on adolescent aggressive behaviors. To reduce problems associated with shared

method variance, future studies should include multiple reporters to better assess the degree of consistency between adolescent and parent report. In terms of measurement, while this study included mothers and adolescents, it did not include fathers. Because the racial socialization messages that African American fathers communicate to their children may differ from messages given by African American mothers (e.g., McHale et al., 2006), an investigation including fathers may have provided further insight into the benefits of race-specific and general parenting qualities. Future research should examine unique and protective effects of racial socialization with the addition of father reports. It may be that the effects noted in the current study for racial socialization differs depending on whether the father's communicated racial socialization messages are consistent with the messages that the mother endorses. In fact, McHale and colleagues' (2006) found support for interparental congruence, such that consistent parenting practices among mothers and fathers increased perceptions of control in youth. Specifically, youth reported a higher locus of control when their mother and father were consistent in either providing low cultural socialization messages or high cultural socialization messages. Another factor that may have impacted this study's findings is the age range of African American youth investigated. The 14-17 age range may include youth who are developmentally different in ways that may have implications for race-based experiences. For example, because older African American adolescents are at increased risk for racial discrimination experiences (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000), and research suggests that youth with greater experiences with racial hostility receive greater racial socialization

messages from their parents (see Hughes et al., 2006, for review), these findings may have been confounded by age differences in the sample.

Because this study did not utilize a longitudinal design, it is not possible to determine whether parenting predicts depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior or whether the adolescents' symptoms and behaviors influence the type of parenting they receive. A prospective longitudinal study also would allow a better understand the long-term benefits of racial socialization messages and general positive parenting, and to explore whether these parenting qualities are more relevant during specific child and adolescent developmental stages. The few racial socialization studies that examine children and adolescents from different age groups have primarily investigated age-related differences (e.g., see Fatimilehin 1999; Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006, for exceptions) and have found that parents provide more race-related messages to older adolescents compared to younger children; it is not clear how parents' racial socialization changes with age. Prior studies also suggest that the effects of racial socialization messages vary depending on the use of general positive parenting (Elmore & Gaylord-Harding, 2013; Smalls, 2009). For example, Smalls (2009) found that African American youth receiving a greater democratic-involved parenting style in addition to receiving messages associated with racial pride displayed a greater emotional engagement in school than their peers receiving a less democratic-involved parenting style. It may be that the best source of protection for African American youth exposed to discrimination is the combination of multiple types of positive parenting, including increased racial socialization messages and general positive parenting. Thus, future

studies should consider whether youth are less likely to be negatively affected by racial discrimination if they receive increased racial socialization messages and general positive parenting. It is possible that youth who are provided racial socialization messages in a context of general positive parenting, including warmth, support, and trust, are better equipped to handle racial discriminatory experiences because these parenting styles afford an environment for youth to engage in a more adaptive support-seeking coping style (e.g., Barker, 2007). Racial socialization messages delivered in a less nurturing and supportive parenting context, on the other hand, may cause adolescents to be less receptive to such messages.

In summary, the present study found differential direct and protective effects for general and race-specific parenting, highlighting the importance of both aspects of parenting for African American adolescents' well-being. While the current study focused on racial discrimination, it is important to note that African American youth are at increased risk for multiple and often interrelated stressors (Buka et al., 2001; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; McCart et al., 2007). Thus, it is important that research begins to explore the combined effects of race-specific and general positive parenting on cumulative stress. Relatedly, these findings suggest directions for the development of family-focused programs and interventions for African American youth exposed to stress, presenting with depressive symptoms, or at risk of either of these problems. While the research on the combined parenting practices of racial socialization and general positive parenting for African American youth is in a nascent stage, this research is promising as it has the potential to shed light on specific types of parenting that may be important for

African American youth across developmental periods and in the many settings youth encounter.

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Appendix A: Tables and Figures

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Racial Discrimination	–							
2. Cultural Pride	.09	–						
3. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy	-.07	.61 <sup>***</sup>	–					
4. Cultural Coping with Antagonism	.07	.63 <sup>***</sup>	.64 <sup>***</sup>	–				
5. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination	.08	.53 <sup>***</sup>	.54 <sup>**</sup>	.54 <sup>***</sup>	–			
6. General Positive Parenting	.01	.05	.01	-.01	.11	–		
7. Aggressive Behavior	.03	.15	.05	.22 <sup>*</sup>	.12	-.04	–	
8. Depressive Symptoms	-.07	.03	-.03	.02	.13	-.20 <sup>*</sup>	.54 <sup>***</sup>	–
Means	5.14	23.83	12.12	28.95	12.57	38.10	22.95	3.94
SD	4.97	2.60	2.64	6.19	3.59	8.09	6.61	4.56
Possible Range	0-30	9-27	5-15	13-39	6-18	10-50	17-51	0-26
Observed Range	0-25	14-27	5-15	13-39	6-18	15.50-50	17-47	0-21

*Note.* Racial Discrimination = Personal Racism scale of the Perceived Racism Scale-Child Version (Nyborg & Curry, 2003). Four Parent-Reported Racial Socialization Message subscales of the TERS-P: Cultural Pride, Cultural Appreciation of Legacy, Cultural Coping with Antagonism, and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (Stevenson et al., 2002). General Positive Parenting = Communication and Trust scales of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Aggressive Behavior = Aggression subscale of the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1991). Depressive Symptoms = Adolescent-Reported Depressive Symptoms on the Short Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (Angold et al., 1995).

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .



Table 2

## Unique Effects of Racial Socialization after Accounting for General Positive Parenting

	Depressive Symptoms			Aggressive Behavior		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>
<b>Model: Cultural Pride</b>						
Gender	1.25	1.04	.12	2.01	1.29	.15
General Positive Parenting	-.13	.06	-.20*	-.03	.08	-.04
Cultural Pride	-.05	.20	-.02	.35	.25	.14
Model R <sup>2</sup>			.05			.05
<b>Model: Cultural Appreciation of Legacy</b>						
Gender	1.58	1.02	.15	2.18	1.32	.16
General Positive Parenting	-.13	.06	-.19*	-.03	.08	-.03
Cultural Appreciation of Legacy	-.39	.19	-.19*	.05	.25	.02
Model R <sup>2</sup>			.09*			.03
<b>Model: Cultural Coping with Antagonism</b>						
Gender	1.12	1.03	.11	1.94	1.28	.15
General Positive Parenting	-.13	.06	-.20*	-.03	.08	-.03
Cultural Coping with Antagonism	.08	.08	.09	.22	.10	.21*
Model R <sup>2</sup>			.06 <sup>+</sup>			.07
<b>Model: Cultural Alertness to Discrimination</b>						
Gender	1.20	1.04	.11	2.07	1.30	.16
General Positive Parenting	-.13	.06	-.20*	0.04	.08	-.04
Cultural Alertness to Discrimination	.03	.14	.02	.21	.18	.11
Model R <sup>2</sup>			.05			.04

*Note:*  $B$ = unstandardized regression coefficients;  $\beta$ = standardized regression coefficients.  
+  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 3

## Unique Effects of Racial Socialization after Accounting for General Positive Parenting

	Depressive Symptoms			Aggressive Behavior		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>Model</b>						
Gender	1.59	1.00	.15	2.18	1.29	.16
General Positive Parenting	-.13	.06	-.19*	-.03	.08	-.03
Cultural Pride	-.02	.26	-.01	.19	.34	.08
Cultural Appreciation of Legacy	-.88	.26	-.44**	-.56	.34	-.22
Cultural Coping with Antagonism	.28	.12	.33*	.29	.15	.28 <sup>+</sup>
Cultural Alertness to Discrimination	.11	.17	.08	.08	.23	.04
Model R <sup>2</sup>			.17**			.10

Note: *B* = unstandardized regression coefficients;  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficients.

<sup>+</sup>*p* < .10. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01. \*\*\**p* < .001.

Table 4

Protective Effect of Racial Socialization and General Parenting Practices for Aggressive Behavior as the Dependent Variable

	$R^2$ Change	At Step			Final Step		
		$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$
<b>General Positive Parenting (GPP)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.03 <sup>+</sup>	2.23	1.29	.17 <sup>+</sup>	2.37	1.34	.18 <sup>+</sup>
Step 2: Racial Discrimination (RD)		.10	.13	.07	.10	.13	.07
GPP	.03	-.03	.08	-.03	-.02	.08	-.03
Step 3: RD x GPP	.04				.00	.02	.04
<b>Cultural Pride (CP)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.03 <sup>+</sup>	2.23	1.29	.17	1.72	1.37	.13
Step 2: RD		.08	.13	.06	.10	.13	.07
CP	.05	.33	.25	.13	.32	.25	.13
Step 3: RD x CP	.07				-.08	.05	-.14
<b>Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.03 <sup>+</sup>	2.23	1.29	.17 <sup>+</sup>	2.50	1.40	.19 <sup>+</sup>
Step 2: RD		.10	.13	.72	.10	.14	.08
CAL	.03	.05	.25	.02	.06	.25	.02
Step 3: RD x CAL	.03				.02	.05	.03
<b>Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.03 <sup>+</sup>	2.23	1.29	.17 <sup>+</sup>	2.11	1.32	.16
Step 2: RD		.07	.13	.05	.07	.14	.05
CCA	.07 <sup>+</sup>	.22	.10	.20 <sup>*</sup>	.22	.10	.20 <sup>*</sup>
Step 3: RD x CCA	.07				.00	.03	.01
<b>Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.03 <sup>+</sup>	2.23	1.29	.17 <sup>+</sup>	2.41	1.40	.18 <sup>+</sup>
Step 2: RD		.08	.13	.06	.08	.13	.06
CAD	.04	.19	.18	.10	.19	.18	.10
Step 3: RD x CAD	.05				.02	.03	.05

Note:  $B$  = unstandardized regression coefficients;  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficients.

<sup>+</sup> $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 5

Protective Effect of Racial Socialization and General Parenting Practices for Depressive Symptoms as the Dependent Variable

	$R^2$ Change	At Step			Final Step		
		$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$
<b>General Positive Parenting (GPP)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.01	1.28	1.04	.12	1.65	1.05	.16
Step 2: Racial Discrimination (RD)		.21	.10	.19 <sup>+</sup>	.21	.10	.19 <sup>+</sup>
GPP	.09 <sup>*</sup>	-.13	.06	-.20 <sup>*</sup>	-.13	.06	-.20 <sup>*</sup>
Step 3: RD x GPP	.09				.00	.01	.00
<b>Cultural Pride (CP)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.01	1.28	1.04	.12	1.26	1.09	.12
Step 2: RD		.21	.11	.20 <sup>+</sup>	.23	.11	.22 <sup>*</sup>
CP	.05	-.12	.20	-.06	-.13	.20	-.06
Step 3: RD x CP	.09 <sup>+</sup>				-.08	.04	-.19 <sup>+</sup>
<b>Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.01	1.28	1.04	.12	1.70	1.08	.16
Step 2: RD		.20	.10	.19 <sup>+</sup>	.18	.11	.16
CAL	.09 <sup>*</sup>	-.39	.19	-.19 <sup>+</sup>	-.41	.19	-.20 <sup>*</sup>
Step 3: RD x CAL	.10				-.05	.04	-.13
<b>Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.01	1.28	1.04	.12	1.67	1.06	.18
Step 2: RD		.20	.11	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.17	.11	.16
CCA	.06	.06	.08	.07	.07	.08	.08
Step 3: RD x CCA	.06				.02	.02	.09
<b>Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD)</b>							
Step 1: Gender	.01	1.28	1.04	.12	1.25	1.06	.12
Step 2: RD		.21	.11	.19 <sup>+</sup>	.21	.10	.20 <sup>*</sup>
CAD	.05	-.04	.14	-.02	-.06	.14	-.04
Step 3: RD x CAD	.11 <sup>*</sup>				.06	.03	-.24 <sup>*</sup>

Note:  $B$  = unstandardized regression coefficients;  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficients.

<sup>+</sup> $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Figure 1. Interaction between Cultural Pride and Racial Discrimination

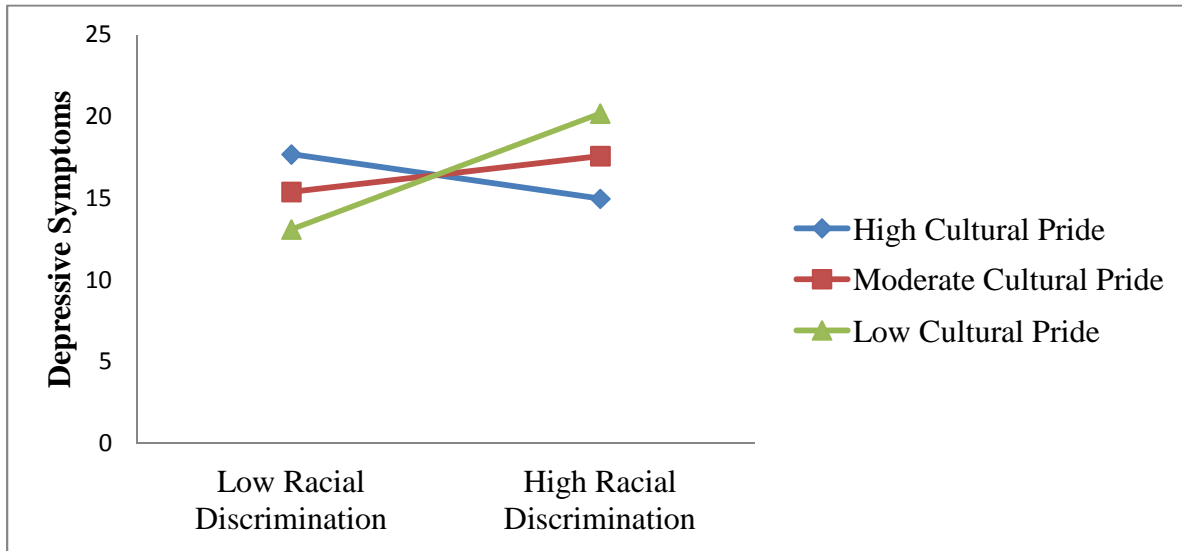




Figure 2. Interaction between Cultural Alertness to Discrimination and Racial Discrimination

