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AN EXPLORATION OF PARENTAL RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN DUAL-MINORITY MULTIRACIAL FAMILIES

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

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Abstract

Parental racial socialization is a complex process that is critical to teaching children how to effectively navigate a racialized and racially biased society. It has been identified as essential for the well-being and health among racial-ethnic minorities across the life course. While the process has been identified as important for families of specific backgrounds—particularly Black families—little empirical research exists which examines the process as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families—i.e., families where both parents are from monoracial minority groups. The gap in our knowledge about the parental racial socialization process as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families has two main consequences: First, it undermines the significance of these individuals' experiences. Second, it greatly diminishes our knowledge and theory development in the field of racial and cultural socialization. The following two papers comprise a dissertation study that explores the nature of parental racial and cultural socialization of dual-minority multiracial children and expand theoretical perspectives of the process as well as methodological approaches.

In an effort to contribute to a more thorough understanding of the racial socialization process, the first paper, *Racializing Multiracials: How phenotype and gender influence the Parental Racialization process,* builds upon the existing research on racial socialization and introduces a new dimension of teaching children about race: Parental Racialization. This analysis draws upon forty-three in-depth semi-structured interviews with thirteen dual-minority multiracial families to develop an understanding of *why* parents are racially socializing their children. Findings indicate that societal perceptions and racialization based on children's phenotype influence parents' own racialization of their children. The analysis also finds the

intersection of race and gender as contributing to varying methods of Parental Racialization for females and males who are perceived as Black.

The second paper, *Parental Racial and Cultural Socialization: Examining the multiple modes of transmitting messages to children about race and culture,* extends traditional research on racial and cultural socialization that has used surveys, structured observations, and in-depth interviews to assess these processes as they occur verbally, directly, and intentionally. While the field has made substantial strides, the current methodological approaches constrain an understanding of the range of parental contributions to a child's racial and cultural socialization. This analysis draws on observational data in conjunction with interview data from a single dual-minority multiracial family. Participant observations were used in this study as an effective measure of the unintentional, nonverbal, and indirect modes of racial and cultural socialization. The findings from this paper draw attention to *how* the cultural and racial socialization process occurs and begin to demonstrate how parents prioritize the development of certain aspects of their children's identity while being silent or avoidant about others. The incorporation of observational methods not only complements existing research agendas in the field, but provided the researcher with the opportunity to gain access to often hard to measure and frequently excluded dimensions of racial and cultural socialization.

Introduction

This dissertation comprises two papers that stem from a study that sought to examine the racial socialization process of children as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families in order to identify the ways in which race matters for different minority groups. Together, these papers identify the *why* and *how* of the parental racial socialization process. Paper 1, *Racializing multiracials: How children's phenotype and gender influence the Parental Racialization process*, explores the following analytic questions: Why do parents racially socialize their children? What factors influence the strategies that parents of dual-minority multiracial children use to racially socialize their children? Paper 2, *Parental racial and cultural socialization: Examining the multiple modes of transmitting messages to children about race and culture*, explores the following analytic questions: How do parents culturally and racially socialize their dual-minority multiracial children? How does this process occur in unintentional, indirect, and nonverbal ways in one's natural environment? These papers are followed by a summary and discussion section that draws conclusions, discusses the implications of this research, and identifies next steps.

Contributions to the Existing Literature

Paper 1, *Racializing multiracials: How children's phenotype and gender influence the Parental Racialization process*, contributes empirical and theoretical perspectives to the field of racial socialization. This paper explores the meaning that parents make in anticipation of what their children will need based on society's perception of them. It discusses the racial socialization process as it occurs in a population that has been highly understudied. It goes beyond existing emphases on racial socialization as being especially significant for the monoracial Black community and identifies how the process occurs amongst dual-minority multiracial families. Second, it focuses on the *why* behind what parents do and uses a child-centered approach. Few

researchers have studied *why* parents racially socialize their children and what influences their decisions to socialize and the strategies they use (Hughes et al., 2006). This paper answers this question and identifies societal perceptions and racialization as playing a significant role in parents' decisions and approaches to racially socializing their children. This paper also introduces a new theoretical perspective on racial socialization, i.e., Parental Racialization, to discuss how parents draw on society's racialization of their children to racially socialize them. It highlights how phenotype and gender contribute to parents' three approaches to socializing their children: 1) minority socialization, 2) Black female socialization, and 3) Black male socialization.

Paper 2, *Parental racial and cultural socialization: Examining the multiple modes of transmitting messages to children about race and culture*, contributes empirical and methodological perspectives to the field of racial socialization. This paper pays particular attention to the behavioral aspects of the socialization process in order to understand *how* messages are being transmitted. For over 16 years, existing scholars have called for the utilization of alternative methods of studying the behavioral components of the socialization process (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Thomas and Speight, 1999; Yasui, 2015). This paper challenges the ongoing use of interviews to examine the range of dimensions of the racial socialization process, using both in-depth interviews and naturalistic observational methods to explore the range of ways in which both cultural socialization and racial socialization messages are transmitted unintentionally, nonverbally, and indirectly. This paper highlights the prioritization of culture versus race within some families where parents are from different racial and cultural backgrounds.

Clarifying Terminology

One of the difficulties of studying race, culture, and identity is that much of our understanding of each of these concepts is embedded in our social understanding of them. While these terms do in fact have social significance, they also have biological significance. This dissertation utilizes multiple terms (e.g., monoracial, multiracial, monocultural, multicultural) when referring to racial and cultural socialization and identity. The meaning, and ownership, of these terms varies from person to person. In some circumstances race and culture are embedded in their biological meanings and at other times their social meanings. For example, someone could by biology and heritage be multiracial, but personally and socially identify as monoracial or with a single race. There are also those of us that do not know about all of our heritages and identify according to the monoracial categories that have been predetermined for us.

There are parents in this study that are biologically multiracial or multicultural, but socially identify as monoracial or monocultural. While there are numerous complications with how we use race and culture to categorize individuals, the identification and labels that I use throughout this dissertation for parents stem from parents' own identification of themselves. The identification and labels that I use when referring to the children in this study as multiracial or multicultural are rooted in biological significance and their actual heritage, as most of them were too young to articulate how they would like to identify.

Methodology

This study used the Constructivist Grounded Theory method (Charmaz, 2006) in order to develop a deeper understanding of the racial socialization process. This method utilizes a systemic inductive approach to inquiry. Data collection and analysis occur simultaneously in order to make systematic comparisons throughout the inquiry. Data collection is not guided by

theory. Rather, data informs both data collection and theory development. Given the shifting demographic of the United States and the current focus on the racial socialization process as it occurs in Black families, attention was paid to families of different backgrounds.

This study drew upon Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006) for the study design, data collection, and data analysis. First, I created open-ended research questions that were aimed at exploring the larger phenomenon of racial socialization. An observational component was added to allow collection of data different than the interview data. The study sample consisted of two groups: Group 1 comprised thirteen families who had agreed to participate in in-depth interviews. Group 2 was a subset of Group 1, which included five families who had agreed to participate in both interviews and observations.

This study employed several methods of recruitment including the following: 1) distribution of print flyers to private schools, churches, and universities across the Chicagoland area; and 2) the distribution of web-based flyers via Facebook, UChicago Marketplace, Craigslist, and the websites of multiracial organizations. A special effort was made to include families of all backgrounds and racial and ethnic combinations. Multiple neighborhoods throughout Chicago were targeted for recruitment based on their diverse demographics and their likelihood to include multiracial families. The overall sample was recruited through online postings (n = 2), and word of mouth (n = 11).

Families who participated in observations were either recruited by word of mouth (n=4) or online postings (n=1). Table 1 presents information on all of the families and their level of participation.

Table 1. Family Participants

Level of Participation	Mother's Background	Father's Background	# of Children, Gender, & Age
Interview	Black	*Mexican	1 Female (2), 1 Male (4)
Interview + Observation	*Guatemalan	Black	1 Female (1), 2 Males (3, 5)
Interview	Peruvian	*Belizean/Black	1 Male (4)
Interview + Observation	Mexican	Black	1 Female (2)
Interview	Mexican	Black	3 Males (2, 6, 10)
Interview	Mexican	Black	1 Female (10 months)
Interview	*Vietnamese	Black	1 Females (13 months)
Interview	+Chinese	Black	2 Females (15, 21), 2 Males (13, 18)
Interview + Observation	*Anglo Indian	Liberian/Black+	1 Female (3)
Interview	*Indian	Black, *Guyanese/Black	1 Male (12), Female (2 months)
Interview + Observation	*Filipino	Black	1 Female (5), 1 Male (3)
Interview	Ecuadorian/ White	+Indian	1 Male (4 months)
Interview + Observation	*Mexican	+Turkish	2 Males (8, 14)
**First Generation American* $^{+}$*Immigrant*			

The sample of the overall study consisted of biological families who self-identified as dual-minority multiracial families. The demographic characteristics of the thirteen families varied by age, socioeconomic status, and race. Parents' ages ranged from 28 to 46 years-old, and their children's ages ranged from 2 months to 21 years-old. The majority of the families (85 percent, *n*=11) were headed by married couples, and their annual household income ranged from less than $35,000 to $185,000. Of the twenty-four parents who participated in the study, 42 percent identified themselves as Black (n=10), 25 percent as Asian (n=6), 30 percent as Latino (n=7), and .04 percent as multiracial (n=1). The sample had an overrepresentation of families with Black fathers (77 percent). Six of the thirteen families were a Latino and Black household, five were an Asian and Black household, one was multiracial and Asian, and one was Latino and Turkish.

Nine parents (five mothers and four fathers), one grandmother, and nine children were involved in the observations. Four of the five families observed had parents who were married. Parents' ages ranged between 28 to 45, with five parents being between the ages of 30 and 35, one below the age of 30, and three above the age of 36. All of the parents who participated in the observations held a college degree: two parents had a 2-year college degree, four parents had a 4-year college degree, and three parents had a graduate degree. Children's ages ranged between 1 to 14. Seven of these children were under the age of 6, and two were between the ages of 7 and 14. Four of the five families made over $100,000 and one family earned less than $35,000.

Table 2. Interview & Observation Participants

Family Background	Mother's Background	Father's Background	# of Children, Gender, & Age	Neighborhood
Latino & Black	Guatemalan*	Black	1 Female (1), 2 Males (3, 5)	Mostly White
Latino & Black	Mexican	Black	1 Female (2)	Mostly White
Asian & Black	Anglo Indian*	Liberian/Black+	1 Female (3)	Racially & ethnically diverse
Asian & Black	Filipino*	Black	1 Female (5), 1 Male (3)	Racially & ethnically diverse
Latino & Turkish	Mexican*	Turkish+	2 Males (8, 14)	Racially & ethnically diverse
**First Generation American +Immigrant*				

Three families lived in the same neighborhood within an urban area which they all identified as racially and ethnically diverse. Two families lived in neighborhoods that they each identified as mostly White, one of which was an urban area and the other a suburban area.

Data was collected via open-ended research questions that explored the racial socialization process, as well as through the use of observations. The combination of interviews with ethnographic observations produced a uniquely rich set of data. The use of interviews allowed for direct questioning of parents' experiences, beliefs, and strategies for teaching their children about race, while the observations captured the nonverbal, indirect, and unintentional

ways in which parents taught or did not teach, their children about race within the context of everyday family interactions.

The overall study unfolded as follows: an initial couple's interview (*n*=10), a one-on-one interview with each parent (*n*=24), and a 9-month period of home observations (*n*=32). Six interviews with children over the age of twelve were conducted. A total of forty-three in-depth interviews were conducted in participants' homes, places of work, and local coffee shops. Interviews lasted from one to two hours. All interviews were conducted by the author and audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Naturalistic observations were carried out with the permission of five families. Observations took place after the initial interview phase for all participants with the exception of two fathers who were unable to participate in individual interviews until after their observations had begun. During the observation phase, the researcher visited each family between 4-8 times with a goal of 15-20 total hours of observation for each family. The researcher took in-depth field notes that captured everyday routines and interactions of family life, including events such as mealtimes, family visits, episodes of play, birthday parties, and organized activities outside the home (e.g., church activities, concerts, and bowling). The researcher conducted a total of 32 home observations, totaling over 95 hours of observation between November 2014 and July 2015. The observation phase also included both informal and follow-up interviews with parents. The interviews were conducted at the middle and end of the observation phase and focused on specific interactions that occurred during the observations, as well as the impact of the presence of the researcher.

Because of the use of an iterative process of going back and forth between data collection and analysis, a significant amount of subsequent data collection began to examine a theme that

was not in the initial study design. The idea that cultural socialization might be significant for some families was influential in the observational data collected and contributed to the collection of data about cultural socialization in addition to racial socialization.

This study drew on analytic approaches rooted in the Constructivist Grounded Theory method (Charmaz, 2006). In the initial phases of the analyses conducted for each paper I performed line-by-line open coding of the data. During this process, I went through each line of my written data and identified, named, categorized, and described phenomena found in the text. For the first analysis, I used dimensionalizing to develop an understanding of how parents were racializing their own children based on society's perception of them. Dimensional analysis is an alternate method for the generation of grounded theory. It is a natural analytic process used to interpret and understand problematic experiences or phenomena. The use of dimensionalizing contributed to the development of a theory of Parental Racialization. For the second analysis, I examined the data of a single family to understand how message transmission occurred. I used open coding on multiple occasions, as well as constant comparison to understand how each parent talked about socialization and how I actually observed them doing it. I then used axial coding to examine the parents' prioritization of cultural socialization.

To enhance rigor during the preliminary stages of data collection, I was involved in a qualitative methods seminar at the University of Chicago. I presented raw data for discussion with colleagues and my dissertation chair. As someone who is in a dual-minority multiracial relationship, discussing my early findings with "outsiders" to these types of relationships pushed me to examine the nuance of findings that I attached myself to very early on, such as Black socialization. In my early interviews, I noticed that talk was centered on Blackness and racial socialization. Following discussion with my peers and chair, I restructured succeeding interviews

so that some of the focus shifted to more specific ways of socializing, such as the impact of gender. I also realized that early on in my data collection I assumed that participants had the same understanding and definition of race and culture that I did. In succeeding interviews, I asked participants, even those that had already been interviewed, to define each of these terms as well as terms they were using to describe their identity.

Using a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2006) provided me with the opportunity to be reflexive and not assume that my presence as a researcher would not have an influence on my data. Although I collected data on participants in their natural environments, I acknowledged that I was responsible for creating the interview and observational data during my data collection. I recognize that I as the researcher focused on specific aspects of behaviors and interactions and chose what to include, and not include, in field notes. My iterative analytic process, which included ongoing memo writing and articulation of early findings with my chair, provided me with the opportunity to recognize ways in which my observational focus would narrow and refine my scope in ensuing observations.

Subjectivity

Growing up in California, I had very little awareness of the impact of racial categories and racialization. I was quite sheltered and believed that we lived in a post-racial, color-blind society. Traveling abroad and moving to Chicago helped me to understand the significance of race in dictating life opportunities. As an undergraduate student, I never imagined I would one day be a scholar who focuses on race relations. Focusing on race within our society, especially in this study, has contributed to my own identity development and further understanding of race and racialization.

My interest in racial socialization first developed when I began to think about race relations as it related to those around me—my friends, family, colleagues, partner—as well as myself. I questioned my parents' decisions to not teach me about our racial background. This absence of messages contributed to my being color-blind for the first twenty or so years of my life. The growing desire to learn more about something that I had little exposure to and had spent a limited amount of time thinking about guided the development of this project immensely. My unfamiliarity with race relations and my newfound awareness of its importance in my own day-to-day interactions served as a strength for my work. While much of the existing research focuses on the outcomes of racial socialization, I had firsthand experience of the outcome of parents not racially socializing their children, or transmitting the message that race doesn't matter. I sought to learn about the process that led up to these types of outcomes and the decisions parents make around the racial socialization of their children.

My personal experience not only guided the development of my study, but also contributed to how I interacted with parents during data collection. I was able to better understand the parents for whom race wasn't significant and was never judgmental or surprised because I understood exactly where they were coming from. On the other hand, my growing awareness of race relations and learning a significant amount from scholarly literature versus real life experiences also served to be a limitation for me. When I spoke to parents for whom race was extremely significant, I sometimes missed or wasn't fully aware of race-specific references and jokes they made. On occasion, I didn't fully understand the depth of their discussions about race until I was able to spend some time analyzing the data. Deeper awareness and personal experience of race relations early on during my own upbringing would have given me the opportunity to build on their conversations in the moment. It also would have enabled me to dig

deeper and to ask the questions that made me slightly uncomfortable during my first visit, since race is such a sensitive topic. Instead, I took advantage of the multiple interviews and observations I conducted in order to build a level of trust, comfort, and rapport with my participants and then asked them to elaborate or clarify statements that I may have taken for granted or skimmed over during our conversation.

Assumptions and Takeaways

First, because of my background and upbringing, as well as my research and review of the literature, I came into this study assuming that race was going to be more important for some minority groups than others. Our society typically racializes the Black community in explicit ways and years of research has demonstrated the ongoing importance of racial socialization for this community (Boykin and Toms, 1985; Demo and Hughes, 1990; Fischer and Shaw, 1999; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Murray, Stokes, and Peacock, 1999).

Second, I assumed that racial socialization would come naturally to minority parents. I had previously conducted research on Black and White multiracial families and had assumed White parents weren't able to prepare their children for a racialized lived experience because their experiences were so different from the one which their child would have. I assumed that since all of the minorities had had some type of racialized or minoritized experience, they would be fully equipped to help their children prepare for what was to come. Building off of this assumption, I thought that parents would parent based on their experiences and background and would pass information down about how to prepare for these experiences, equally, to their children.

I learned from my research that racialization is very much alive and well, for multiracials and monoracials, and just like I had assumed, it is more important among certain minority groups

than others. Blackness matters for those who have two Black parents as well as for those who have one. I was surprised to see how race matters in different ways for different genders. This was not something that I had expected to collect data on, and was not something I directly asked about in my initial interviews. Subtle references to the racialization of boys versus the racialization of girls grew into overt discussions by the end of the study.

I was also surprised to see that parents actually do much of what they say they do in terms of racial socialization. One of the reasons I incorporated observational methods into my study design was because I had assumed that there would be a disconnect between what parents say they do and what they actually do. While I did not find a disconnect, I did find that parents don't always provide in-depth details about what they do.

The interview and observational data in my study were rich and extensive. Because analysis occurred early on in my data collection, it was easy to identify a theme that I wanted to focus on. For example, I was excited when many of the families talked in depth about the importance of socializing their children who would be perceived as Black. These conversations confirmed my assumption that race is more important for families of specific backgrounds and I wanted to follow this lead within the first few months of collecting data. When I discussed this early finding with my peers and dissertation chair, they urged me to dig deeper. This contributed to my remaining open to learning more about exactly what was going on. It challenged me to recognize and identify all the nuances that exist in the racial socialization process and to not just take things at face value. Ongoing discussions with my chair helped me to remain open and contributed to my questioning everything I thought I was seeing and how the slightest shift in my analysis could indicate that my findings were quite different than what I initially expected.

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Racializing Multiracials:

How Children's Phenotype and Gender Influence the Parental Racialization Process

Of the nine million people who identified as multiracial in the 2010 U.S. Census only 1.5 million identified as a dual-minority multiracial (Jones and Bullock, 2012). Many identify the multiracial movement as being driven by multiracials who are seeking to claim Whiteness as opposed to Blackness (Bonilla-Silva & Embrick, 2006; Spencer, 1999; Yancey, 2006). Dual-minority multiracials have no claim to Whiteness, nor are they attempting to pass as White, as both of their parents are minorities. The experiences of multiracial people differ significantly based on their heritage. Dual-minority multiracial families have two parents who are viewed as racial minorities. Each parent has a unique racialized and minoritized experience based on his or her specific racial minority status. These experiences influence their understanding of race in American society, their ongoing racial identity development, and the way in which they racially socialize their children.

This article examines how parents in dual-minority multiracial families prepare their children for an environment in which they will inevitably encounter racialization. Racialization has been identified as "the medium through which race-thinking operates" (Murji and Solomos, 2005). Omi and Winant (2015) have defined racialization as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously unclassified relationship, social practice, or group." Given society's ongoing and increasing utilization of racialization, the study broadly sought to understand how parents teach their children about race. This paper's analysis highlights the way in which dual-minority multiracial children's intersecting identities influence parents' strategies for teaching their children about race. The analysis for this paper also draws attention to how societal perceptions influence parents' approach to racially socializing their children and contribute to what I describe

as the "Parental Racialization" process. This process is a sub-dimension of the racial socialization process. It identifies the way in which parents draw on society's racialization of their children to then racialize their own children and use this racialization to develop strategies for preparing their children for the interactions they will have in society. This analysis resulted in three findings: 1) Parents assess their children's appearance based on how others will, or will not, racialize them; 2) When parents determine that their child will be viewed as a racial minority, they select a general non-race specific "minority" socialization; and 3) When parents determine their child will be viewed specifically as Black, they select a race specific Black socialization that is further informed by the child's gender.

Why Study Racial Socialization and Parental Racialization?

Racial socialization is a central process in the development of minority children. Racial socialization has been identified as essential for well-being and health among racial-ethnic minorities across their life course, as well as for ameliorating the stress of dealing with racism and discrimination (Murray et al., 1999). Parents have the role of being a buffer between their children and a society where being a minority has negative connotations (Hughes and Chen, 1999; Thornton et al., 1990).

Although many scholars have written about racial socialization, there is no single or commonly accepted definition. This study uses and builds upon Chase Lesane-Brown's (2006) definition of racial socialization as "specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (Lesane-Brown 2006 p. 403). Lesane-Brown's definition is central to this analysis by conceptualizing racial socialization as a multidimensional

process. This study builds upon her definition by conceptualizing racial socialization as both an intentional and unintentional process that occurs beyond childhood and throughout the duration of one's life, as well as a process that contributes to one's demeanor regarding prejudice and discrimination. It demonstrates that parents experience their own ongoing racialization and socializing experiences alongside their children, and even in reaction to their children.

The existing research on racial socialization has provided a significant amount of information about the multiple dimensions of the process as it occurs in monoracial families, such as the content, prevalence, transmission, and outcomes of racial socialization messages. Of all of the dimensions of racial socialization most often examined in the research on monoracials, content has dominated the field (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Research over the past 30 years has taught us that there are a range of themes that occur in the content of messages (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Caughy et al., 2002; Coard et al., 2004; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Le-Sane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thomas & Speight, 1999; and Yasui, 2008.) Findings suggest that messages are transmitted about racial pride (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005), self-development (Thornton et al., 1990), racial barriers (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Marshall, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990) and interacting with other racial groups (Phinney and Chavira, 1995). While a range of additional themes has been identified in the literature, we still are unable to identify why parents rely on specific themes when transmitting messages about race to their children. This analysis will fill this gap and identify how parents' choices of racial socialization content is rooted in society's racialization of their children.

Understanding the multiple dimensions of racial socialization has provided researchers with the opportunity to learn about what parents are teaching their children and how often they are teaching them. Understanding how messages are transmitted helps researchers gain information about the range of ways in which children receive messages about race. Knowing about the outcomes of racial socialization messages contributes to researchers' understanding of how one's awareness of race can have a significant impact on their development. Each of these dimensions has been central to the racial socialization process and have provided information on who is teaching children about race, as well as what, where, when, and how they are teaching them. What is missing from the discussion is *why* parents are teaching their children about race and specifically parents' evaluations of how their child will be racialized and, thus, discriminated against outside of the family. To attend to this gap in the literature, I introduce the concept of Parental Racialization, which will begin to provide insight into why parents are, or are not, teaching their children about race, racism, and prejudice.

While the research on multiracial racial socialization doesn't typically focus on the content of the socialization messages as in-depth as the research on monoracial racial socialization, their findings do indicate that the content of messages change based on the child's racial combination. Broad findings in the research on multiracial racial socialization suggest that parents of majority/minority multiracial children tend to use the one-drop rule — where the child is socialized as a minority—when racially socializing their children (Brunsma, 2005; Lee & Bean, 2010). This information has helped to understand the racial socialization process as it occurs for multiracials with White heritage, but we still are unable to determine the way in which dual-minority multiracials racially socialize their children. This paper will fill this gap and

demonstrate how even parents in dual-minority multiracial families utilize the one-drop rule when society perceives their children as Black.

One limitation of the literature on racial socialization is that it places an emphasis on understanding the process as it occurs in monoracial families. Multiracial families experience racism just like every other minority. The absence of a parent with whom the children can directly identify makes the process even more challenging (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2005), as multiracial children have to learn about race from monoracial adults who have no experience with the possession of multiple racial identities. Existing studies that have sought to understand the process as it occurs in multiracial families have focused on the process as it occurs for multiracials with White heritage (Coleman, 2012; De Smit, 1997; Marbury, 2006; Rollins and Hunter, 2013); maternal transmissions (Coleman, 2012; O'Donoghue 2006; Rollins and Hunter 2013); and racial identity and identification (Brunsma, 2005; Harris and Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004; Houston and Hogan, 2009; Lee and Bean, 2012; Lee and Bean, 2004). Although the research on racial socialization in the multiracial population has been limited, researchers tend to agree that multiracial parents and families will inevitably deal with matters of identity based on the larger society's need to define them (Lamb, 1999). This concurrence highlights the central role that society's perception plays in parents' decision to teach their children about race and what they will teach them. It also demonstrates how parents develop an awareness of their children's racialization. It is this parental awareness and concern, or lack of concern, which contributes to the Parental Racialization process.

To demonstrate the range of factors that influence the Parental Racialization process, I explore the ongoing significance of race and racialization, the role of Black exceptionalism and multiraciality, and the intersectionality of race and gender.

The Salience of Race and Racialization

Race as a concept employs visual markers. It categorizes and gives meaning to different types of human bodies and their phenotypes by assigning a single "race" label (Omi and Winant 2015). Perceived phenotypic differences are understood to be a result of differences that are embedded within individuals. For example, one's athletic ability, intelligence, and temperament can all be attached to one's racial group. Our society positions racial groups in unequal ways within a racially stratified society (Anderson and Massey, 2001; Ogbu, 1994; Omi and Winant, 2015).

Based on their inability to fit into people's conceptions of monoracial categories, multiracials may experience more racial discrimination than monoracial individuals (Johnston & Nadal, 2010), as they are confronted with monoracism. Monoracism refers to the process by which individuals are treated unfairly or oppressed based on their inability to fit into a monoracial category (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Research shows that multiracials often receive direct and indirect messages about the need to identify with one of their heritages, and may feel marginalized if they refuse to do so (Dalmage, 2000). These messages imply that monoraciality is "normal" and one's inability to identify with one heritage contributes to their being perceived as substandard (Dalmage, 2000; Guillermo-Wann, 2010). Monoracism adds a layer of complexity to the racial socialization process for multiracial families that monoracial minority parents raising multiracial children may not be accustomed to.

In 2003 Maria Root developed a list of multiracial microagression experiences that multiracial individuals may experience. Acts of racism that are subtle and covert are known as racial microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2013). Racial microaggressions are defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or

unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al., 2007, p.273). Multiracial microagressions include being told they aren't Latina, Asian, or Black enough, being treated differently by family members, being objectified or told they are beautiful because of their multiracial background, being denied part of their heritage, and being asked if their mother is their nanny (Root, 2003). Multiracial people have reported experiencing racism within their own families and even from their own parents (Herring, 1992; Nadal, Sriken, Davidoff et al., 2013; Romo, 2008). Herring (1992) has suggested that multiracial youth are specifically vulnerable to differential treatment from their schools and communities, and even more specifically from their peers, parents, and relatives (Herring, 1992).

Literature that examines the multiracial experience of racism is limited (Herring, 1992; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2013; Spickard, Daniel, Small et al., 2004; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). Johnston and Nadal (2010) consider the limited research on race and racism for multiracial people to be an example of microagression itself, as it has the potential to send the message that the experiences of multiracial individuals aren't as important as those of their monoracial counterparts (Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

All children in the U.S., whether monoracial or multiracial and regardless of their racial heritage, will experience some type of racialization. Based on the differential identification and treatment of racialized minorities, minority children in American society have an inherently different racial experience than White children (Hughes et al., 2006). Minority children are confronted with racial barriers, negative stereotypes, and societal discrimination and devaluation (Charles, Dinwiddie, and Massey, 2004; Cunningham, Swanson, Spencer, and Dupree, 2003; Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Swanson, Cunningham, and Spencer 2003). Parents of children who are

racial minorities have the important task of both understanding and anticipating how their children will be racialized, and to prepare their children accordingly.

Black Exceptionalism and Multiraciality

Studies that have examined the experiences of multiracials have found that multiracials with Black heritage report facing more racism and distinctly different racialized experiences than those without Black heritage (Root, 2001; Lee and Bean, 2007). The variation in the experiences and racialization of those with Black heritage and those without can be attributed to Blackness being socially constructed as the most opposing racial status to Whiteness (Song, 2004).

Although the 2010 U.S. census reported the largest category of multiracials as having Black heritage (Jones and Bullock, 2012), Black multiracials report multiracial identities at lower rates than Latino and Asian multiracials. This suggests that perceptions of Blackness and the one-drop rule, in which any person with a visually discernable trace of African ancestry is to be identified as Black (Hollinger, 2005), continue to influence racial construction and personal identity choice in our society (Tafoya et al., 2005).

Unlike Black multiracials, Asian and Latino multiracials are positioned within the non-Black side of America's racial hierarchy, which originated as a White-Black racial divide. The racial divide has now developed into a Black-non-Black divide which continues to keep Blacks, whether monoracial or multiracial, at the bottom of America's racial hierarchy and subjects them to pervasive discrimination, segregation, income inequality, and antipathy (Lee and Bean, 2007).

Research suggests that the Latino-White and Asian-White color lines are not as persistent as the Black-White color line (Lee and Bean, 2007), contributing to the racialization process being much different for the three racial minority groups. This study's findings suggest that the position of dual-minority multiracials without Black heritage along the Black-non-Black color

line may contribute to parents taking different approaches and having a different set of responsibilities for teaching their children about race. Findings also suggest that race continues to be more consequential for persons with Black heritage than any other monoracial or multiracial minority group.

The Intersectionality of Race and Gender

Different racial minority groups are racialized in various ways. Their racialization is in part informed by the intersection of gender and other social identities and statuses. The intersectionality of an individual's race and gender also contributes to racial stereotypes. For example, what it means to be an Asian, Black, or Latina woman in American society is quite different than what it means to be an Asian, Black, or Latino man.

The term intersectionality originated from the work of legal race scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw (1989) and was reintroduced in the 1990s by Patricia Hill Collin. Intersectionality contributes to an understanding of people's multiple lived experiences as shaped by more than one single identity or status (Crenshaw, 1989). Although the term "intersectionality" originated from the work of Crenshaw—a third wave Black feminist (Crenshaw, 1989)—it is an interdisciplinary concept that focuses on analyzing how several identities, such as race, class, gender, nationality, ethnicity, age, and sexuality intersect with one another and contribute to one's experiences and social conditions (Collins, 2012).

This paper's analysis draws on the concept of intersectionality in order to understand how multiracial children's appearance and gender contributes to their racialization. Each of these children's intersecting identities contributes to the production of their distinct social experiences.

Method

This paper's analysis draws from a larger study that was designed using the Constructivist Grounded Theory Method (Charmaz, 2006). The larger study involved gathering both interview and observational data from thirteen dual-minority multiracial families in order to gather information about the parental racial socialization process. Utilizing this method, we explored participants' meaning-making processes, as well as the social processes of parenting around race. Our goal was to develop theory from data on the lived experiences of these families in order to see how they constructed their world. In order to do this, data was collected and analyzed simultaneously.

Recruitment and Sample

This study employed recruitment methods including the distribution of print and web-based flyers. Web-based flyers were posted to Facebook, UChicago Marketplace, Craigslist, and multiracial organizations' websites. Print flyers were distributed to private schools, churches, and universities across the Chicagoland area. Participants were also recruited via word of mouth. The recruitment audit trail revealed an uneven clustering across paper (n = 0) and internet advertisements (n = 2), and word of mouth (n = 11). Criteria for inclusion were non-adoptive families who self-identified as dual-minority multiracial families. The term "dual-minority" is inclusive only of families of minoritized racial and ethnic backgrounds; it excludes those with White backgrounds. I sought out families with children of all ages.

A total of twenty-four parents across thirteen families participated in this study. Seven of the families were living in neighborhoods they identified as diverse, four in predominantly White neighborhoods, and two in mostly non-White neighborhoods. The demographic characteristics of the thirteen families varied across race, age, class, and relationship status. Eleven families had a

Black parent, eight had a Latino parent, and seven had an Asian parent. Nine parents were between 28 and 32 years old, nine were between 33 and 37 years old, four were between 38 and 42 years old, and two were between 43 and 46 years old. Three of the parents had a 2-year college degree, ten had a 4-year college degree, and eleven had a graduate level degree. Two of the families earned less than $35,000, 4 families earned between $95,000 and $124,999, two families earned between $125,000 and $154,999, and five families earned between $155,000 and $184,000. Parents collectively had 23 children. Fourteen of these children were males and nine were females. Children fell within the following age groups: 0 to 5 years old (n = 13), 6 to 11 years old (n = 4), 12 to 17 years old (n = 4), and 18 to 21 years old (n = 2).

Table 3. Family Breakdown

Family Background	**Mother's Background**	**Father's Background**	**# of Children, Gender, and Age**
Latino & Black	Black	Mexican*	1 Female (2), 1 Male (4)
Latino & Black	Guatemalan*	Black	1 Female (1), 2 Males (3, 5)
Latino & Black	Peruvian	Belizean/Black*	1 Male (4)
Latino & Black	Mexican	Black	1 Female (2)
Latino & Black	Mexican	Black	3 Males (2, 6, 10)
Latino & Black	Mexican	Black	1 Female (10 months)
Asian & Black	*Vietnamese	Black	1 Females (13 months)
Asian & Black	+Chinese	Black	2 Females (15, 21), 2 Males (13, 18)
Asian & Black	*Anglo Indian	+Liberian/Black	1 Female (3)
Asian & Black	*Indian	*Black, Guyanese/Black	1 Male (12), Female (2 months)
Asian & Black	*Filipino	Black	1 Female (5), 1 Male (3)
Multiracial & Asian	Ecuadorian/White	+Indian	1 Male (4 months)
Latino & Turkish	*Mexican	+Turkish	2 Males (8, 14)
*First generation American +Immigrant			

Data Collection

I conducted a total of forty-three in-depth interviews with the thirteen dual-minority multiracial families in this study regarding strategies that parents used to teach children about race. I conducted the first wave of interviews with the first ten families between September 2014 and January 2015. The second wave of interviews with the last three families was conducted

between April 2015 and July 2015. Although this paper draws only on the interview data, the larger study draws upon observational data as well. Approximately five couples' interviews, five individual interviews, and one child interview were conducted prior to the first observation in November 2014. I collected interview data and observational data simultaneously until July 2015. I designed the study in this way so that interviews conducted before and during the observation phase could contribute to the development of additional interview questions and deeper probing. This design provided me with the opportunity to pursue themes that were identified early on in the first wave of interviews. For the five families who agreed to participate in observations, I conducted all couples' interviews and individual interviews before their first observation with the exception of two fathers whose schedules required their interviews to be conducted at a later time.

Each interview lasted approximately one to two hours and took place at the participants' homes, their places of work, or local coffee shops. All interviews were conducted by the author, audiotaped, transcribed verbatim, and downloaded into Atlas.ti, a computer assisted data management and analysis program. I gave participants pseudonyms that were consistent with their real names. If names were ethnic towards a specific heritage, I went online and researched names that were specific to that ethnic group. When names were not ethnic towards a specific heritage I chose names that were similar but would still protect the confidentiality of the participants.

I conducted three types of interviews: 1) couples' interviews, 2) individual parent interviews, and 3) child interviews. Couples' interviews focused on parents' experiences as an interracial couple, their collective plan for teaching their children about race, and their individual parenting strategies for communicating with their children about race. I began the parent

interviews by asking parents to tell me about their own racial backgrounds and upbringing. Participants described their childhood communities and groups of friends, how they learned about their own racial background, and how they learned how to navigate interactions with communities with different racial backgrounds. They shared stories of always being aware of race or having a pivotal moment that contributed to their awareness, experiencing racism and prejudice, and marrying outside of their racial group. In the second part of the parent interview I asked parents to talk about their strategies for teaching their children about race. The original interview protocol for this part of the interview sought to learn about a range of parent-child dynamics that were not specific to race or culture. For example, parents in the beginning of the study were asked questions about who they went to for childrearing advice, their goals as a parent, the kind of person they want their child to be, and the types of qualities they want their children to possess. As the study progressed, I noticed that these questions were not helpful in understanding how parents taught their children about their backgrounds. Instead, these questions contributed to tangential conversations that had nothing to do with the aim of the study. These types of questions were removed from the protocol and replaced with questions that were closely related to their parenting practices and strategies around race and culture. For example, I added questions that asked about how they specifically thought about teaching their child about their background, how they thought their child would be perceived by society and in specific communities, how their child's physical appearance influenced what they did, and how their messages varied based on their child's gender.

Although child interviews were not part of the original research design, the study was modified to include interviews with children over the age of twelve years old. I determined, along with my chair, that this age group would be better equipped to articulate their

understanding of race than younger children. I received IRB approval for the change and I obtained written consent from the parents of all children who were interviewed. Six interviews were conducted with children to gain an understanding of how they thought of and understood race and how they had learned about it.

Analysis

I used an analytic approach rooted in the Constructivist Grounded Theory Method developed by Kathy Charmaz (2006). During the initial phase of line-by-line coding, I noticed there were a significant number of conversations about the Black experience and parents' parenting to this part of their child's identity. During this early stage, I discussed my codes with my colleagues in a qualitative research seminar and with my chairperson. My analysis was openly critiqued by my peers and contributed to my revisiting the data and recoding for more broad occurrences of families of both Black and non-Black backgrounds. Racialization and physical appearance then became the salient categories for the thesis of this article.

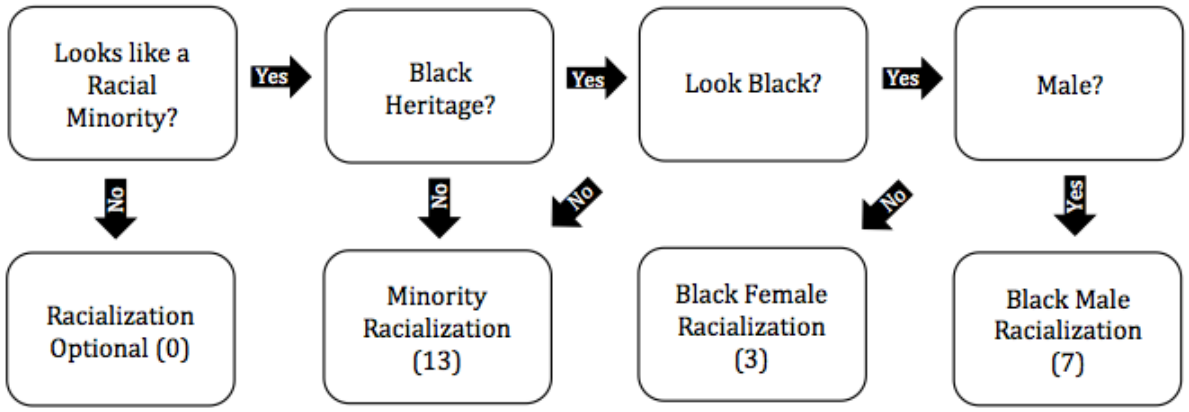
I was interested in examining the idea that parents were racializing their own children based on society's perception of them, and then teaching their children about race accordingly. I decided to draw on dimensional analysis in order to develop a grounded theory from my data (Bowers et al., 2009). I am a visual learner, so I decided that dimensional analysis would be the perfect tool to help me better interpret and understand what I was seeing in my data—that parents were racializing their own children. I wanted to reconstruct multiple components of the racialization process, so using this analysis provided me with the opportunity to begin to structuring and analyzing the data. I identified Parental Racialization as the overarching broad dimension that guided the reasons behind why parents were racially socializing their children. Using dimensionalization, I began to view the complexity of racialization. After several revisions

of my dimensional analysis, I, with the help of my committee members, identified the process that I was viewing as Parental Racialization. Because the goal was to theorize about the ordinary living experiences of the study participants, it was necessary to develop smaller, more familiar sets of dimensions that fit within this broader dimension. I expanded this data into the following sub-dimensions: minority racialization, Black female racialization, and Black male racialization. Each of these dimensions encompasses a wide range of properties and is a component of the Parental Racialization process.

The process of developing a dimensional analysis created a broader view of the complexity of Parental Racialization and helped to identify the properties involved in this process. Dimensionalizing provided me with the opportunity to unravel racial socialization and identify a process that is central to its functioning.

The dimensional analysis in Figure 1 portrays how parents theorize societal racialization and, in turn, how they construct their own racialization of their child through their parenting. Figure 1 identifies the basic social process used by parents when they racialize their children based on how they believe society will racialize them.

Figure 1. Dimensional Analysis: Parental Racialization Process



Parents demonstrated four different approaches to racializing their children. These approaches can be understood as the result of several "yes" or "no" answers about their child's phenotypic appearance, with each answer leading to a different trajectory of each approach. As parents assessed how they would go about teaching their children about race, they first determined if there would be a need to teach them about racism at all. In our society, White children and non-White children have very different lived experiences with regard to race. Children perceived as White often go about their lives unaware of race and the impact it has on their day-to-day lives. The racialization of these children is that of a privileged status. That privilege also allows parents more freedom and choice around not teaching children directly about racism and racial prejudice (Sullivan, 2006). This is much different than the racialization of children who are perceived as people of color—a stigma that presents this group of parents with the added task of anticipating their child's future experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination. Figure 1 demonstrates that there were no dual-minority multiracial children in this study who were identified by their parents as not looking like a racial minority. For parents whose children did look like a racial minority, there were multiple approaches that these parents took when determining how they and society would racialize their children, and as a result, how they would or would not teach their children about race.

Each box on the second line in Figure 1 represents a different dimension of the Parental Racialization process: 1) minority racialization; 2) Black female racialization; and 3) Black male racialization. Minority racialization refers to those children who are perceived as non-White and people of color. Each dimension identifies how parents racialized their children based on society's racialization of their child and their need to prepare their children for this racialization. For families whose children looked like people of color, but did not have Black heritage, parents

racialized these children as minorities. For these children, their racialization as a minority meant that they would have different experiences than both White people and Black people. Children who looked like people of color and also had Black heritage, but did not look Black, were also racialized by their parents as minorities.

The next distinction between Parental Racialization was a result of how Blackness is perceived in American society. Despite the multiracial background of the children in this study, once children were viewed as a racial minority, had Black heritage, and looked Black – i.e., they had physical features and skin tones that would be associated with Blackness – parents' approach to racializing them centered around their Blackness. The intersectionality of these children's Blackness and their gender was seen to contribute to parents of Black females and Black males taking different approaches to racializing their children and teaching them about race. This gendered distinction meant that Black females were taught more about ensuring that they did not develop the negative stereotypes that are attributed to Black females, whereas Black males were warned and prepared for the negative stereotypes that are associated with their being seen as Black males.

Findings

Differences in Racialized Experiences

Given the different perceptions and stereotypes that exist, there are different sets of experiences that parents from different racial groups have to prepare their children for. The parent of the child who is racialized as being passive—e.g., Asian females and males—may be less concerned about their child's day-to-day experiences and preparing them for these experiences than the parent whose child is stereotyped as promiscuous or dangerous—e.g. Black females and Black males.

Every parent in this study was well aware of the existence of different stereotypes for different racial groups. This informed how parents approached racialization. Specifically, parents were aware of the fact that the stereotypes of Blacks—particularly Black males—as dangerous contributes to an additional set of responsibilities for this group of parents. As the analysis in this paper will illustrate, how parents anticipate their children experiencing or avoiding specific racialization experiences drives the way in which these parents racialize, and thus approach teaching their kids about race.

Parental Racialization

This study initially sought to investigate familial processes of racial socialization as it occurred in dual-minority multiracial families. Instead of solely drawing attention to how this process occurs in these types of families, this study builds upon the existing research on racial socialization and introduces a new term—Parental Racialization—to identify an additional dimension of the racial socialization process that is specific only to race.

Parental Racialization is not distinct from racial socialization. It is a sub-dimension of the racial socialization process that helps one to understand the *why* behind parents' racial socialization strategies. Parental Racialization influences multiple dimensions of the racial socialization process such as content, frequency, and prevalence of messages transmitted. Parental Racialization is a multi-step process by which parents first rely on their own understanding of race and racialized experiences to prepare their children for how they will be perceived in society. Drawing from their understanding and experience, parents then develop an awareness of how their child will be racialized in society, and the types of experiences they will have based on this racialization. Parents then use this awareness to project this racialization onto their children. This racialization corresponds with the societal racialization of these children.

Parents then draw from this racialization and the existing racial stereotypes and teach their children strategies for defying these stereotypes.

The Parental Racialization process is a result of parents' concern about what other people are going to think of their child and how they will identify them. Instead of parents teaching children that they can be whatever they want and self-identify however they see fit, parents racialize their children to match the outward experience that they anticipate the child having. The experiences that parents are anticipating their children having rely on their child's phenotypic features and appearance. While familial variations of phenotypic appearances and features are not specific to multiracial families, the variation that exists amongst the dual-minority multiracial families in this study has highlighted the important process by which parents of multiracials, as well as parents of monoracial minorities, are required to prepare their children for experiences that may be similar or different from their own, based on the child's appearance.

Intersectionality operated on several levels throughout this study. Parents' strategies for teaching their children or not teaching their children about race were primarily influenced by each child's racial appearance, but also by their gender. Parents in the study were aware of how these factors contribute to their child's racialization. Parents who had children with lighter complexions and whose children would be perceived as racially ambiguous approached teaching their children about race in a much different way than parents whose multiracial children would be perceived as Black. Parents whose children were racialized as Black honed in on the intersection of their race and gender identities as separate entities when teaching these children about race. Although appearance and gender were two of the dominant factors that influenced parents' strategies for teaching their children about race, the third dominant factor in combination with the second factor—Blackness and maleness—trumped all other factors.

Minority Racialization

Many of the parents in the study had children under the age of five. Because of this limited number of years of parental experience, most talked in generalities when I asked them about how they had taught or planned to teach their children about race. At the root of these generalities, regardless of how many years of experience the parents had, was their understanding of how society would perceive their child as a racial minority and how these perceptions contributed to their children having different experiences than White people. Parents didn't feel that any of their children's features would contribute to them being identified with one specific racial group. However, their awareness of the different lived experiences of White versus non-White people in American society contributed to their desire or efforts to teach their children about the importance of needing to be twice as good as Whites, about not having an upper hand or equal chance in society, and about different sets of behavioral expectations for them. Here, Natasha (Black mother of a Black-Mexican 4 year-old son and 2 year-old daughter) explains how she understands this shared experience of being a racial minority and what this means to her, and thus, for her child:

> This is what I want them to understand. Yes, some people are not going to like you because of your skin color. But you know what? You can't do anything about it *(said in a playful voice)*. Keep it moving. The best way to show them that they're wrong is to be successful—whatever successful means to you. That's about it. That is truly about it…. But the thing is, as little brown kids, they also can't play into that. You can't give *(she snaps)* anybody an inch of, 'See? I told you. I told you that.' You also have to be on your toes on that too. But that's just the way it goes. That's a small price to pay…. Unfortunately, that's how it is when you're a minority. When you're somebody else, maybe you don't have to make that decision. But these are the cards that you're dealt.

Each of the families who thought society would perceive their children as minority group members, and as a result chose to racialize them as such, had children who would be considered racially ambiguous. Although these parents' goals were to prepare their children for a more

general racialized experience rather than a specific set of experiences, they still felt that they had an additional set of parenting tasks from non-minority families. Some parents taught or planned on proactively teaching their children how to cope with being a minority by dressing appropriately in clothes that fit, speaking articulately, carrying themselves in a non-threatening way, being presentable and polished at all times, and making sure their behavior does not feed into any negative stereotypes. While some parents talked about proactively teaching their children how to navigate their ascribed minority racial identity by ensuring their children don't fit into any of the negative stereotypes of minorities, others rejected the idea altogether:

> No, I'm not teaching my kids that shit. I'm sorry…. That comes from this tradition of the politics of respectability, which is this idea that you have to distance yourself from any ongoing stereotypes that White people hold against you, which to me perpetuates White supremacy. It appeases racism and ethnocentrism because it suggests that you can't be who you want to be in a society. So I'm not going to play that game with my kids…. Be who you are…. That's exactly what I'm teaching my kids….
>
> (Terrance, Belizean/Black father of a 4-year-old Belizean/Black & Peruvian son)

Parents who chose to not teach their children how to navigate an ascribed racial category still felt that their child would be perceived as a minority based on their child's phenotypic features, but decided that the approach they would take to teach their children about race would not consist of appeasing White people. Instead of identifying an alternative approach, perhaps due to their child's racial ambiguity and young age, parents like Terrance continued to place an emphasis on the importance of teaching their children to be confident in who they were as racial minorities.

Several parents talked in depth about navigating their day-to-day life as a racial minority. Some parents even discussed this shared lived experience as being one of the things that brought them together. For eight of the families, it was essential that their child learn about their minority status in America, as this would be the way in which their child would be racialized on a day-to-

day basis. The minority racialization differs from racialization of a specific race in that parents are unable to identify exactly what their children might experience based on their appearance. Said differently, this approach to racialization overlooks the fact that there are different stereotypes attached to different racialized categories. Children's level of preparation for that race-specific discrimination will be absent. For example, within this model, Carlo, the Black-Mexican son of Natasha, will likely be prepared for others to perceive of him as a minority and may even have an awareness that he needs to work harder than his White peers to get by in society. He may not, however, be specifically prepared for the special brand of racism and racial stereotypes that target Latinos or those targeting Blacks.

Black Racialization

While the parents in this study made clear distinctions between their experience in society and the experience of Whites, parents also made clear distinctions about the different parenting tasks for children who would be perceived in society as Black. Every parent, regardless of their own racial identity, had a general understanding that while all minorities differ from Whites in their lived experiences, Blacks differ from all other racialized minorities in their experience of racism in America. Among the families who determined their children would be perceived as Black, there was also an understanding that both their Blackness and their gender contributed a need for a different approach to Parental Racialization.

Black female racialization

Parents whose daughters had Black heritages, and whose phenotypic characteristics contributed to them being more likely to be perceived as Black, approached the racialization of their daughters in two ways: 1) as Black females and 2) as multiracial females. This dual

racialization can be attributed to parents anticipating how their daughters would be perceived by the broader White community and specifically by other females within the Black community.

There were three families whose daughters' darker skin complexion, hair texture, and physical features contributed to the parents in these families feeling like their multiracial daughters would be perceived as Black by the White community, which was often referred to interchangeably as mainstream or general society. These families have the additional responsibility of preparing their daughters to be racialized by a general society that would attribute certain characteristics to them based on their appearance. Each of the parents in these families had an awareness of the ways in which stereotypes of Black women would be ascribed to their daughters. Society frequently stereotypes Black women as oversexed, promiscuous, argumentative, and overly demanding (Harris-Perry, 2011). One father's concern for his daughter's racialized stereotyping by others demonstrates this worry:

> I'm more concerned about raising a girl to be a woman who has self-esteem, who has all those kind of stuff…. I think about this all the time. It's how I'm going to raise her to not be promiscuous… doesn't need anyone else to tell her self-value.
>
> (Richard, Liberian/Black Father of a 3-year-old Black and East Indian daughter)

This father, and the parents of other daughters perceived as Black, used their awareness of the characteristics that would be attributed to their daughters by mainstream society to develop strategies to ensure that their daughters didn't display any of these negative characteristics. The racialization process used by parents of multiracial daughters perceived as Black in this study can lead one to believe that the stereotypes attributed to Black women aren't just perceived assumptions, but that they are inherent. This inherent notion contributes to the impression that there is a set of characteristics that are specific to Black women only and engrained in who they are. The concern for the multiracial daughters perceived as Black in this study was that they had the potential to possess these stereotypical traits at some point in their life, so parents actively

worked to teach their daughters how to *not* behave in these stereotypical ways. The preparation for these girls wasn't aimed at teaching them how to anticipate stereotypes that would be attributed to them, but instead was focused on an internal process where parents' aim was to alter their daughters' behavior in ways that anticipated other's perceptions.

Although the parents in this study felt like their daughters would be racialized as Black females and aimed to teach them about self-esteem, developing their independence, and behaving in acceptable ways, one of the central concerns of both non-Black mothers and Black fathers whose daughters would be perceived as Black in general society was how their daughters would be viewed and treated within the Black community. For example, Anne, the Vietnamese mother of 13-month-old Sage, expressed the following concern:

> So I was telling Marlon, "I wonder if the African American girls are going to be like, 'You're not Black enough.'" You know? *[pause]* But Marlon made a good point. It's like, if she's talking to those people, she doesn't need to be *[snickers]* interacting with those types of people that think like that. And I was like, "Yeah, that's true."
>
> (Anne, Vietnamese mother of a 13-month-old Vietnamese and Black daughter)

While Anne's concern is rooted in her belief that Black girls will judge her daughter and view her as not being Black enough, her husband Marlon's disregard for Anne's presumed mistreatment by Black girls further suggests that there is a deeply embedded perception of Black girls as mean, hostile, and exclusive. It also suggests that parents may prepare their daughter to avoid and ignore other Black girls who might question their daughter's Blackness. This concern highlights how society, and even people of color, reinforce notions about Black women. It also draws attention to the understanding of the mixed Black female experience as an experience where their biggest suffering is mistreatment from other Black women. For the parents who were concerned about Black women's policing of their daughter's Black authenticity, their concern

revolved around their daughters' phenotype and how it contributed to admiration that could potentially lead to envy (Hunter, 2007).

> All I get is when I go to…Whole Foods, I will get about four women saying, how beautiful her hair is. "Oh my god. She is so beautiful. Look at her hair."…. I'm worried about her getting teased about her hair…. from other Black girls…. I worry that like sometimes I think like what if some other girl like gets mad and cuts it.
> (Nicole, East Indian Mother, of three-year-old East Indian and Liberian-Black daughter)

In American society, Eurocentricity contributes to heightened value, acceptance, and desirability of straighter hair and lighter skin and identifies these features as more attractive. These features also contribute to those within the Black community viewing those who are of mixed race as 'other' or 'not Black enough' (Ifekwunigwe, 2015). While the daughters in this study didn't have straight hair, their looser curled hair texture was viewed as potentially providing them with a source of physical privilege that distanced them from Blackness. While parents believed their daughters' complexions would lead to them being placed into the Black racial category by mainstream society, they also believed their daughters' other features put them into a sub-category of Blackness within the Black community. As a result, parents were concerned about their daughters' appearance putting them at risk for being excluded from a racial group in which others in society would place them. The distinction between who is and who is not Black or Black enough, and the tendency to view certain features as more desirable, contributed to Nicole's concern about her daughter's hair being cut off. Her fear might also be a result of the influence her Black husband has had on the way in which she thinks about race, as Richard had similar concerns about how his daughter would be perceived within the Black community. As a Black male raising a daughter who will be viewed as "other" in the Black community, Richard's comment "I – one day I might have to explain to her she's not as cute as she thinks she is" demonstrates how he anticipated having to teach his three-year-old Black and

East Indian daughter how to ensure she didn't present herself as better than anyone else in the Black community just because she was mixed.

There are a range of negative stereotypes that parents in this study anticipated their daughters being confronted with: being perceived as sexually promiscuous, having low self-esteem because of their devaluation within society, and having their mixed characteristics contribute to them being viewed as and thinking that they are better than darker skinned Black girls. Each of these stereotypes highlights how racism and racialization impact Black females and those perceived as Black. Parents spoke about developing and strengthening their daughters internally in order to help them navigate the external environment as a Black girl or a girl not perceived as Black enough in the Black community. Rather than teaching their daughters that each of these stereotypes might be attributed to them, parents' strategies were to teach their daughters how to avoid fitting into either of these stereotypes. Parents were focused on teaching their daughters both how not to be a stereotypical Black girl and how not to be a stereotypical mixed girl. In doing so, they presented their daughters with negative images of both Black females and mixed females. By emphasizing who their parents don't want them to be, this strategy puts the daughters into a confusing predicament where they aren't supposed to act Black or mixed, but are not provided with information on who they should be or how they should act.

Black male racialization

While parents' approaches are similar for Black boys, in that they also focus on how their children will be treated based on their racialization, the content for males perceived as Black is much different.

> When the boys were getting a little bit older, we always taught them about some of the stereotypes of the African-American males and how that could be difficult. My husband often describes, even though he has a PhD in Physics, he walks into a bookstore or store of any kind, he makes sure that the store clerk sees him at all times and this is a thing that

> every adult Black male has to carry in the US. And so we teach the children…we teach the two boys about that too.
>
> (Chinese Mother, 13 and 18 year-old Chinese and Black sons)

For parents raising multiracial daughters who would be perceived as Black, their concern for their daughters revolved around their daughters having the potential to display negative behaviors that are viewed as stereotypical and specific to Black females or mixed females. Parents were conscious of how the general society would perceive their daughters and how Black women would treat their daughters. For these parents, their biggest source of fear and concern for their daughters revolved around their mistreatment by other Black women.

For parents whose multiracial sons would be perceived as Black, they were most concerned about their sons' experiences and treatment by the White community and authoritative figures—specifically, police officers. The racialization of Black males consistently contributes to a heightened sense of fear amongst the White community. It is this perception that contributes to a distinct experience for Black males in American society when compared to other racial and gender groups, even Black females. This perception contributes to parents having a different set of concerns when teaching their multiracial sons, who would be perceived as Black, about race.

> I still quite honestly have not had a chance to really have a conversation I would like to with Indra about, because again it's about this whole attack last week that I'd say is happening with Black boys' bodies. Right? And this onslaught of young Black males being murdered. And the reality is that although Indra is bi-racial, he will be perceived as a Black boy, and that is something that I am very aware of…it's certainly something I know I need to talk with him more about, sort of the navigation and the survival skills.
>
> (Harold, Black father of Black and Indian 12 year-old son)

Regardless of one's educational background, socioeconomic status, and upbringing, Black men are perceived as threatening and violent. Ten of the thirteen families had a Black father. Many of these men, as well as their wives, drew upon their experience as Black men in order to racialize their sons and prepare them for the experiences they would have. Parents felt that how they

navigated the racialization of their Black sons and the strategies they used to teach them about race had to be more explicit, strategic, and consistent, as they are, even in their youth, aged up and perceived as adults.

Several of the parents who had sons over the age of ten who would be perceived as Black discussed having already taught their sons about the need to proceed with caution in their day-to-day interactions. Parents who hadn't gotten around to teaching their sons about how they would be racialized did anticipate needing to prepare their sons at some future point in time. These parents identified time and age as being critical factors in preventing them from having explicit and focused conversations with their sons about race, as well as their uncertainty as to whether or not their sons would understand such a conversation.

Many parents of sons who would not be perceived as Black were aware of not having the added responsibility of helping their sons prepare for the same type of racialization that occurs for males who are perceived as Black. They had an awareness of the difference between their child's life experience and the life experience of a male perceived as Black. They viewed themselves as lucky to not be confronted with the challenges of raising a Black son.

> I don't have to—you know, what I warn my kids about—I warn my kids about *[pause]* you know *[pause]*, the normal *[pause]*, 'Be careful in the dark.' You know? 'Be aware of your stuff.' I don't have—I don't think I've ever—it's never even dawned on me that I have to warn them about the cops. *[snickers]* I don't have to have those conversation—I don't—I've never felt the need to have that conversation with Adulio and Dario for that matter. You know? For them, it's like, '*[upbeat]* Yeah! Trust the cops! They're the good guys!' You know? 'If something's going on, find a cop!'. My sister can't say that. *[pause]* She can't! *[emphasized]* You know? *[Stuttering and holding back tears]* If I were Alex's mother, I would be having a very different conversation. 'If you see a cop, follow directions. Keep your hands on the steering wheel. Don't make any...quick movements. And you know, talk it out…. You know, if they pull you over, *[snidely chuckles]* 'My driver's license is in my left pocket. I'm going to reach down and get it. My other hand is up here.' You know what I mean?
>
> (Yolanda, Mexican Mother of Mexican-Turkish 8 and 12 year-old sons, and aunt to a Black and Mexican nephew and niece)

These parents, as well as parents who were teaching their sons perceived as Black about race, discussed the fact that these sons would be perceived as violent, dangerous, and threatening. In raising boys who would be feared, parents discussed the added responsibility of teaching them how to survive in American society. In order to survive, parents taught them about the need to navigate negative perceptions, how to interact with police, and how to ensure they aren't seen as threatening.

For parents of multiracial boys who would be perceived as Black, parents' strategies for teaching them about race centered on the combination of their racial and gendered attributes, which creates a unique discriminatory dynamic for these boys (Solanke, 2009). This dynamic contributed to the development of a figure that parents recognize as being vilified and to be feared in American society. No other group in American society is perceived to be as violent and dangerous as Black males are. The exceptional burden and marginalization of these individuals played a significant role in how many of the parents in this study relied on the intersectionality of their children's race and gender to develop strategies to teach, or not teach, children about race.

Limitations

Although the present study addresses an important gap in the current literature, it is not without limitations. First, thirteen of twenty-three children in this study were under the age of five years old. Only six children were over the age of twelve. The age of the children and the years of parental experience shaped the type of data that I collected. Second, since the study was not longitudinal, the data only examined a brief segment of these families' lives and cannot provide information about how parents' strategies changed as their children got older and had broader environmental contexts with which they interacted. Third, eleven of the thirteen families that participated in this study had one Black parent. While the two non-Black families addressed

Blackness and its direct and indirect influence on their parenting strategies, the experiences of families of different backgrounds may be different. Blackness and one's connection to or separation from Blackness was a central theme throughout the study for all families. If the sample had more non-Black families, there might have been additional themes that shaped the findings. Lastly, the results of the current study are derived from interview data with families with high socioeconomic status. Thus, the findings here do not fully reflect the dynamics of families of different socioeconomic statuses. One might expect socioeconomic status to contribute to differences in how parents teach their children about their racial background based on its significance in their immediate surroundings. Although the sample of thirteen cannot be generalizable to the entire dual-minority multiracial population, the sample is representative of national patterns of interracial marriage, so in some ways it is typical of out-marrying patterns across the country (Wang, 2015).

Although the dual-minority multiracial population, and specifically this sample, is a minority group within an existing minority group, the findings have relevance for families of all racial backgrounds. The Parental Racialization process itself has mass generalization and can be used as a way to think about Parental Racialization in a myriad of contexts. The dimensional analysis presented in this paper is not only relevant for all multiracial families, but also to all families of color, and families whose children would be perceived as Black without any Black heritage. The Parental Racialization concept can help to analyze and understand the racial socialization choices of parents in other kinds of relationships—e.g., the active role that some White parents of mixed-race children take in socializing their kids racially for minority identity and roles in society. The current study raises interesting and important avenues for future investigations. It would be useful for future research to explore the importance of Parental

Racialization for families of all monoracial and multiracial minority backgrounds at various locations across the country.

Conclusion and Discussion

For the past forty years, the research on racial socialization has focused on the process as it occurs for monoracial Black families. This study fills the gaps in the literature by focusing on an alternative population—dual-minority multiracials—for whom race is also relevant. This study highlights the fact that while all minorities are racialized in American society, there are still certain racial groups, specifically Blacks and those with Black heritage, for whom race plays a central role in their day-to-day lives. This study demonstrates minority parents in dual-minority multiracial families' awareness of the relevance of race, and highlights the parental process of drawing on society's racialization of their own children in order to racially socialize them.

The findings in this study suggest that racial socialization does not occur within a social vacuum. Rather, societal perceptions—especially with respect to racialization—heavily influence how parents teach their children about race. Participants in this study are conscious of the societal racialization of their children—most notably that their multiracial children are inevitably perceived as belonging, or not belonging, to distinct racial minority groups. Rather than reject this perception and emphasizing the importance of both of their backgrounds, parents place an emphasis on preparing their children for the way in which they will be seen as either belonging to one racial group—e.g., Black—or a more general minority group.

Race and Racialization

Consistent with research on racial socialization, this study observed that dual-minority multiracial children have distinctly different experiences than White children in America. Results from this study advance our understanding of the importance of race and racialization as it

occurs for different minority groups, both multiracial and monoracial. It also provides us with information about the way in which racialization shapes parents' understandings of how their children will be perceived and influences the strategies parents use in teaching or not teaching their children about race. The findings of this study demonstrate that this process, which I refer to as the Parental Racialization process, is central to the racial socialization process. It is through this process that parents develop an explicit understanding of how their children will be perceived in the world and transmit this understanding to their children as they teach them about race. Parents of multiracial children in this study aimed to develop only one of their children's racial backgrounds, rather than developing their understanding of all of their backgrounds, focusing on the background that they anticipate them being identified as within society.

Although the multiracial population is rapidly increasing and changing the face of America, old methods of racial categorization and racialization are being applied to the multiracial population and influencing how parents prepare their children for these experiences. While some dual-minority multiracials will have the lived experience of being perceived as racially ambiguous minorities, others are viewed and treated in ways that are similar to monoracial minorities. Despite the multiraciality of the children in this study, the findings of this study suggest that no other group's racialization and experience in American society has been parallel to the experiences of Blacks and those with mixed Black heritage. This finding provides further evidence of Black exceptionalism and the way in which Blacks, and those perceived as Black, continue to be viewed as threatening, dangerous, and as the single racial group that is the most distant from White.

Perceptions of Black Females and Mixed Race Narratives

While scholars have argued that Black females endure a specific form of discrimination

based on their race and gender (Smith, 2013), parents in this study didn't perceive this discrimination for their multiracial daughters who they felt would be perceived as Black. Instead, parents saw their daughter's racial and gendered attributes as putting them at risk of displaying certain types of negative and stereotypical behavior unique to Black women or to women who are mixed. For these parents, ensuring their daughters didn't develop stereotypical behaviors and developing a strong sense of self-esteem was central to their strategies for teaching these females about race.

In the Black community, there is a narrative that those who are of mixed race are viewed by mainstream society as more acceptable and desirable (Ifekwunigwe, 2015; Ziv, 2006). As a result, mixed race women are viewed as more attractive and have better physical attributes than those who are not of mixed race (Ifekwunigwe, 2015; Ziv, 2006). The mixed-race narrative is embedded within Eurocentricity and the idea that mixedness gets you closer to Whiteness and further from Blackness. Any racialized phenotype that makes you something other than Black–if you have a looser curl, thinner lips and nose, lighter skin–contributes to how you will be perceived, as well as to how you behave. This mixed-race narrative differs from the White narrative, where darkness is automatically associated with Blackness. Parents in this study had an awareness of this narrative. This narrative contributed to strategies for ensuring their daughters did not internalize these messages about mixed superiority and attractiveness.

The Current Social Climate for Black Males

Over the past several years, dozens of videos of police brutality against Black males have been released. Several of these videos document the deaths of children and adults. The broader American society has been sensitized to what is happening to males perceived as Black and the fear that police have of this population.

The parents in this study were well aware of society's fear of Black maleness. This fear steered the Parental Racialization process for all of the parents in this study. Some parents felt fortunate that they could racialize their children as minority and not worry about their child being perceived as Black. Instead, they focused their attention on teaching their children to be prepared to work twice as hard as White people. Other parents had an awareness of the meaning of Blackness, but had a different set of concerns for their daughters who would be perceived as Black. For those parents whose sons are perceived as Black, their sons' identification as Black males, despite their multiraciality, and the development of their son's awareness of their racialization was crucial to the Parental Racialization process, as it required them to develop strategies for teaching a group of boys about a racialized world that is fearful of them.

Implications and Future Directions

Limitations notwithstanding, the aim of the current study was twofold: 1) to highlight the role that parents play in the racial socialization process, and 2) to examine the process as it occurs for a group of multiracials who are rarely examined. By focusing on a population that has been highly overlooked, this study achieves the following: 1) it advances our understanding of racial socialization by introducing a new dimension to the racial socialization process that addresses the question of why parents are teaching their children about race; 2) it offers a more detailed picture of the way in which parents in dual-minority multiracial families teach their children about race, and 3) it draws attention to how racialization differs for minorities of all backgrounds, regardless of whether they are monoracial or multiracial. This study offers a more detailed and inclusive picture of the relationship between parents' experiences with and understanding of race and why they teach their children about race.

This study also reveals some of the limitations scholars face when using broader

understandings of race and racialized experiences. Specifically, the existing research on the multiracial population frequently identifies the multiracial movement as inclusive of all multiracials, yet, with a few exceptions (Bald, 2013; Guevarra Jr., 2012; Leonard, 2010; and Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard, 2017), focuses on collecting data on White-other multiracials and overlooks the unique experience of dual-minority multiracials. Future research can address the experience of this growing population and examine whether or not these families identify and consider themselves to be part of the multiracial movement.

Other areas needing further investigation include how this process occurs for families from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds, multiethnic families within the same racial group, for non-Black dual-minority multiracial families, and for monoracial minority families. The Parental Racialization process is not unique to the dual-minority multiracial population, and an examination of this process as it occurs for families of various backgrounds can provide more in-depth information about variations of racialization and the concerns of parents of different backgrounds.

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Parental Racial and Cultural Socialization: Examining the Multiple Modes of Transmitting Messages to Children About Race and Culture

In multiracial families, children learn about race and culture from adults who have no experience with the possession of multiple identities. According to McClurg (2004, p. 170), "…single-race individuals, the parents of biracial children, may have only minimal understanding of or experience with the conflicts their children are facing" (Padilla, 2006). Interracial couples, limited by their own monoracial parental socialization experiences, have the unique challenge of trying to raise and socialize a child whose life experiences will be much different from their own. The success of socialization by parents in multiracial families is dependent on their ability, or inability, to understand the types of life experiences and race-specific challenges their multiracial children may have. Unfortunately, they are often ill prepared to address the developmental tasks and socialization processes of their multiracial child.

There is no coherent model of the racial and cultural socialization process as it occurs for multiracial children. In multiracial families where both parents are minorities, children learn about their backgrounds from parents with distinct racial and cultural experiences. These parents not only look different from one another racially, but they have different beliefs, values, traditions, and practices. For some parents, race plays a significant role in their day-to-day life and the experiences they have. This is because as a society, we all use race on a day-to-day basis as a way of categorizing, and often dichotomizing, human beings. While society racializes all minority groups, including those of multiracial backgrounds, racialization is more significant for some racial groups, specifically for people with Black heritage, due to the one-drop rule of hypodescent (Lee, Bean, and Sloane, 2003). For other parents, race is secondary to culture, which has more prominence for them. This may be a result of their lack of concern for their

children's racialization, or their emphasis on the importance of culture and the need for it to be embedded in one's daily actions. For example, on a day-to-day basis Mexicans may be less aware of how they are viewed racially and more invested in their cultural practices and traditions. Parents may emphasize the importance of familialism and respect, and not be immediately thinking about the way in which their skin color and physical features impact their lives.

We live in a society where we have multiple ways of identifying and being identified. As children, we learn about our identities and our perceived identities through our parents. Parents socialize us, both racially and culturally, in ways that are intentional and unintentional. Unknowingly, messages are transmitted to children in indirect and nonverbal ways. Parents even transmit underlying messages through the avoidance or absence of messages. Researchers who have studied the racial and cultural socialization process have identified a range of dimensions that are central to the process (Boykin and Toms, 1985; Coard et al., 2004; Hughes and Johnson, 2001; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Phinney and Chavira, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994). They have also focused on the process as it occurs in intentional, direct, and verbal ways (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Demo and Hughes, 1990; Hughes and Chen, 1999; Murray et al., 1999; Richardson, 1981; Thornton et al., 1990) for single-race families, mainly Black families (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Jackson, 1991; Ogbu, 1982; Thornton et al., 1990). What is missing from the existing literature is exploration of the way in which dual-minority multiracial families—i.e., families where both parents are from different racial and cultural backgrounds—navigate the racial socialization process.

Taking all of this into consideration, important questions arise concerning the way in which minority parents in dual-minority multiracial families navigate each of their unique heritages to

teach their children about their multiple backgrounds. How does this process actually occur in real time? How does the prominence of one's culture compared to one's race impact this process?

This paper uses data from interviews and observations to draw attention to how the racial and cultural socialization processes occur in multiracial families with parents of different minority backgrounds. The data from this study resulted in multiple analyses. This paper focuses on *how* parents transmit messages about race and culture to their children. It identifies the way in which parents use intentional and unintentional approaches to send messages that are verbal, nonverbal, direct, and indirect. Other analyses focus on the *why* behind parents' socialization strategies—which is parents' assessment of their children's external racialization. Another analysis focuses on parents' assessment of their own identity and its role in shaping the socialization approaches they take.

For the analysis presented within this paper, I made the choice to focus on a single family unit in order to deeply illustrate a finding. This paper focuses on the Taylor family, which participated in both components of this study (i.e., interviews and observations). This analysis draws upon twenty-one hours of observational data and six hours of in-depth interview data with this family. The analysis showed that parents utilize a combination of unintentional and intentional messages to transmit messages about race and culture in nonverbal, verbal, direct, and indirect ways. These modes of transmission were central to the parents' prioritizing the Latino cultural socialization of their children and avoiding or being silent about their children's Latino and Black racial identities, as well as their Black cultural identity.

Race versus Culture

This study makes a distinction between race and culture. I identify race as what we see and how we read people with whom we interact. We distinguish race by skin tone, facial features, and hair texture. We then fit people into preexisting designated racial categories based on our perceptions. I draw from the definition of culture used by Knight et al. (1993) and view culture as being manifested in values, food, language, patterns of behavior, artistic expression, and beliefs (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993; Appiah, 1994). Although conceptually race and culture seem to be distinct from each other, these distinctions are complicated by the ongoing tendency for race and culture to be conflated, both by scholars and by participants.

In the United States, racial boundaries are culturally marked (Appiah, 1994). Although culture refers to what we eat, the music we listen to, the way we speak, how we dress, and the décor in our homes, we tend to associate these things with race. For example, if a Black person dresses or speaks in a way that is identified as being outside of the cultural norms for the Black community, they are labeled as not being authentically Black and run the risk of having their "Black card" taken away from them. Although I argue that the two concepts are distinct, racial identities are consistently associated with cultural features. In my analysis I will show how the racial socialization and cultural socialization processes occur in different ways, and how one's racial identity does not always reflect one's cultural identity. An individual may be racially but not culturally Black.

The process of conflating race and culture becomes even more complicated in multiracial families. For example, parents may prepare their children for a Latino cultural identity and a Black racial identity. Studying dual-minority multiracial families allows us to see how race and culture can, in fact, involve separate socialization processes.

Existing Knowledge on Racial Socialization

Conceptually, the research on racial socialization has consistently focused on the racial socialization process as it occurs for monoracial families, with the majority of research examining African American families. Few studies have examined the process as it occurs in multiracial families. Those that have explored the process within this population have focused on the process as it occurs for multiracials with White heritage (Coleman, 2012; De Smit, 1997; Marbury, 2006; Rollins & Hunter, 2013), on maternal transmissions (Coleman, 2012; O'Donoghue, 2006; Rollins & Hunter, 2013), and on racial identity and identification (Brunsma, 2005; Harris & Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004; Houston & Hogan, 2009; Lee & Bean, 2004; Lee & Bean, 2012). While much of the existing research has focused on these three aspects of the process as it occurs for multiracials, a more recent study has focused on the process as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families (Ortiz, forthcoming). This study focuses on the way in which racialization happens within these types of families and as a result influences the racial socialization process. Ortiz (forthcoming) identified Parental Racialization as a sub-dimension of the racial socialization process. This sub-dimension helps to understand the *why* behind parents' racial socialization strategies. She defines Parental Racialization as a multi-step process by which parents rely on their own understanding of race and racialized experiences to prepare their children for how they will be perceived in society. While this study focused on dual-minority multiracials, the Parental Racialization process has implications for families of all racial backgrounds.

Although research on racial socialization of the multiracial population continues to be sparse, researchers tend to agree that multiracial parents and families will inevitably deal with matters of identity based on the larger society's need to define them (Lamb, 1999). This need is

rooted in society's ongoing practice of racially categorizing individuals within a hierarchical system. Multiracial individuals more often than not have backgrounds in more than one racial category, which complicates this categorization process. Thus, there is much that can be learned and applied from the examination of the racial socialization process as it occurs in monoracial minority families.

Racial socialization has been identified as essential for minority children in order to ameliorate the stress of dealing with racism and discrimination (Murray et al., 1999). It has also been referred to as an "adaptive strategy parents use to prepare children to negotiate experiences associated with social position" (Rollins et. al., 2013). Over the past forty years, numerous researchers have examined the racial socialization process. Methodologically, these researchers have focused on examining this process through the use of qualitative interviews. The use of these methods have provided in-depth data on the following dimensions of racial socialization: content (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Coard et al., 2004; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Marshall, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thornton, 1997; Thornton et al., 1990), frequency (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thomas & Speight, 1999); prevalence (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Jackson, 1991; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990), and outcomes (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995). The commonly used methodological approaches to examining racial socialization have provided information on the way in which parents transmit race-related messages to children in verbally explicit and/or intentional ways (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). Studies that only focus on direct verbal or intentional modes of

transmission, however, have been limited in advancing the field's understanding of non-verbal and unintentional modes of parental socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1999).

In 2015, Miwa Yasui highlighted how existing measures have been unable to assess the specific mechanisms of socialization and explored how socialization messages are transmitted from parent to child. In her review, she found that seventy-four percent of existing measures include items that target verbal socialization processes. She draws attention to the fact that there are a range of nonverbal behaviors that transmit ethnic-racial socialization messages that existing self-report measures are unable to obtain information on. She identifies these modes of communication as having the potential to account for a significant amount of the socialization process. Yasui argues that these nonverbal modes of transmission need to be examined in order to fully understand the transmission of socialization messages. In addition to Yasui, multiple scholars since the 1990s have identified the nature of transmission of racial socialization messages as occurring nonverbally and unintentionally through a variety of forms, including exposure and modeling behaviors (Caughy et al., 2002; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Thornton et al., 1990) and exposure to specific objects, contexts, and environments (Thornton et al., 1990).

In 2006, Lesane-Brown wrote a comprehensive review of racial socialization. In the review, Lesane-Brown called for the examination of the *process* of racial socialization in order to expand beyond the usual focus on content, prevalence, and precursors of racial socialization messages. In Lesane-Brown's call for additional research, the incorporation of observational methods was identified as a methodological approach that would assist in gathering information about parent-child race-related interactions. The field has continuously called for the use of an alternative method to examine these messages (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Yasui, 2015). Time and time again, direct observations have been identified by numerous scholars in the field as the best

alternative method (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Thomas and Speight, 1999; Yasui 2015). While the identification of a range of modes of transmission about race and culture has been significant, few researchers have answered the call to incorporate alternative methods of data collection.

Research that fails to take into account the diverse array of modes of transmitting racial socialization is unable to see how parents can combine seemingly contrasting modes of socialization. Racial socialization messages include intentional nonverbal messages (e.g., exposing children to Black art and books) as well as intentional indirect messages (e.g., parents who stress the development of their child's Black pride but behave deferentially towards Whites) (Lesane-Brown, 2006). In order to complement the existing self-reported data, my study used direct observations to examine multiple modes of transmission, especially the unintentional, nonverbal, and indirect messages that have been typically overlooked.

Cultural Socialization

Few scholars have identified or examined the cultural socialization process as distinct from racial socialization. The convergence of these socialization processes is problematic, given that race and culture have varying levels of meaning and salience within our society. Those who have examined the process have identified ways in which individuals are culturally socialized into more than one culture. These scholars focus on biculturalism, with its conceptualization being specific to one's native culture and the dominant mainstream culture (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Felix-Ortiz, et al., 1994; Knight et al., 1993; LaFrombois, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993; Oetting and Beauvais, 1991). This conceptualization of biculturalism overlooks how biculturalism can be conceptualized as being specific to one's own multiple heritages. Incorporating existing understandings of cultural socialization, and their emphasis on the dominant mainstream culture, into the research on dual-minority multiracials result in these

individuals experiencing tri-culturalism. While this paper focuses specifically on socialization that is specific to each of a multiracial's individual heritages, existing research is helpful in highlighting the broad way in which culture is conceptualized and the range of cultures into which one can be socialized.

Multiple researchers have called for the further investigation of the cultural socialization process (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Knight & Bernal, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor and Allen, 1990). This paper answers their call and examines the cultural socialization process in a way that other scholars have yet to do.

Existing Gaps in the Knowledge on Racial and Cultural Socialization

In the 1980s and 1990s, a great deal of attention was given to the racial socialization messages that were being transmitted and who was transmitting those messages. This focus contributed to limited information on the actual process of message transmission. Additionally, there is a gap in the knowledge on the racial and cultural socialization processes and both intentional and unintentional transmission of messages in nonverbal and indirect ways. Overall, there have been relatively few instances where the behavioral dimensions of the racial socialization process have been viewed in real time and in naturalistic settings (Bracey, 2010; Caughy et al., 2002; Overby, 2005).

The incorporation of additional methods of data collection could introduce new dimensions to the process that have been overlooked by empirical work in this field for over thirty years. The analysis in this paper contributes to the existing scholarship in three ways: 1) it draws attention to *how* the cultural and racial socialization process occurs; 2) it highlights intentional and unintentional approaches to socialization and how direct, indirect, verbal and nonverbal modes of transmitting messages are transmitted, and 3) it begins to demonstrate how parents prioritize the

development of certain aspects of their children's identity while being silent or avoidant about others.

While the data gathered in the study can highlight a range of dimensions of the socialization process, such as why parents do what they do, how they do it, and factors that influence parents' socialization strategies, I made the decision to focus on a single family for this analysis not only to provide detailed and in-depth knowledge that would fill the existing gap of how the socialization process actually occurs in real time within a naturalistic setting, but also to demonstrate how parents with multiracial children monoculturally socialize them.

Methodology

The initial goal of this study was to understand why and how parents in dual-minority multiracial families teach their children about race. However, preliminary data analysis of interview transcripts and observational notes suggested that transmissions of culture would play a central role in families' day-to-day interactions. Because this study utilized Constructivist Grounded Theory methods (Charmaz, 2006), which emphasize the importance of collecting and analyzing data simultaneously, I was able to identify the emphasis families were putting on cultural socialization early on in my data collection. I then broadened the scope of my data gathering and began asking participants about the importance of culture as well as race. This expanded lens allowed me to see how culture drives some families' socialization strategies, whereas for them attention to race remains in the background and is either avoided, delayed, or completely absent.

Approach

A qualitative approach was particularly appropriate since in the overall study I sought to learn more about parents' socialization of their children and how it occurs in a natural setting.

Part of doing qualitative work is discovering the why behind people's actions.

The study employed a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach for collecting data (Charmaz, 2006). I began with open-ended research questions that explored the racial socialization process broadly, but followed the ideas that were generated once I was in the midst of data collection. I used an iterative process of going back and forth between data collection and analysis, which informed subsequent data collection.

Study Design

The study utilized multiple methods of recruitment, including: 1) distribution of print flyers to private schools, churches, and universities across the Chicagoland area; and 2) the distribution of web-based flyers via Facebook, UChicago Marketplace, Craigslist, and the websites of multiracial organizations. A special effort was made to include families of all backgrounds and racial and ethnic combinations.

The overall study relied on in-depth interviews and observations to gather data. In-depth interviews consisted of one couple's interview, one individual interview with each parent, and one follow-up interview for participants who agreed to be observed. Forty-three in-depth interviews with parents from thirteen dual-minority multiracial families were conducted. Each married couple participated in a couple's interview that lasted from one to two hours, and each parent participated in an individual interview, which also lasted from one to two hours. Participants who were not married participated in a one to two-hour individual interview. I conducted thirty-two naturalistic observations with five of these families over the span of nine months. Each family was observed for an average of six visits, with visits lasting anywhere from one to five hours. I spent an average of nineteen hours with each family.

The combination of in-depth interviews with over ninety-five hours of naturalistic

observations produced a uniquely rich set of data. The use of interviews allowed for direct inquiry into parents' experiences, beliefs, and strategies for teaching their children about race and culture, while the observations captured the unintentional, nonverbal, and indirect ways in which parents taught, or did not teach, their children about race and culture within the context of everyday family interactions.

The Taylor Family

The analysis for this paper focuses on a single case to illustrate a process. I will identify this case as the Taylor family. The Taylors, like other parents in the sample, were uncertain of the experiences their multiracial children would have in American society and their ability and/or inability to prepare their children for these experiences. However, I chose to focus on this individual case because they provided me with the opportunity to dig deeper into the Parental Racialization process. Specifically, this case helped me further break apart the minority racialization dimension of the Parental Racialization process and understand how these parents taught their children about race and culture in real time. In doing so, I was able to distinguish the racial socialization process from the cultural socialization process.

Of all the five families who participated in observations, the Taylor family was the only family that gave me insight into a more typical route of monocultural socialization. In this family, the mother not only emphasized their children's Latino background, but the father also emphasized the development of this background although it was external to his own. No other family had a father who did this in such an active way. Additionally, this was the only case where both parents actively socialized around a specific culture and avoided, or were silent, about race. This avoidance and silence allowed me to identify how messages that weren't technically transmitted were in fact sending messages about race and culture.

The Taylor family currently resides in a suburban neighborhood of Chicago that both parents identify as mostly White. Census data supports this subjective appraisal, indicating that the suburb's population is 88% White, 6% Latino, 7% Asian, 1% Black, and 1.5% multiracial (U.S. Census, 2016). The family was recruited through word of mouth via another family who was involved in the study. Angelica and Russell Taylor began dating in college at the age of twenty, and have been married for nine years. The Taylor family consists of a mother who identifies both as Latina and Guatemalan, an African American father, and three biological children.

The in-depth analysis of this single family is particularly important to highlight among the thirteen families in this study. Their in-depth interview and observational data from the Taylor family draw attention to the following: 1) the range of approaches, both intentional and unintentional, that parents employ to culturally and racially socialize their children; and 2) the way in which socialization occurs through multiple modes of transmission (i.e., verbally and nonverbally, directly and indirectly). The Taylor family represents only one way of socializing children, and in this paper I will show what that socialization process looks like.

Data Collection

Interviews

I spent a total of six hours conducting interviews with Russell and Angelica Taylor in their home. Their initial interview phase began in early January of 2015 and consisted of one couple's interview and two individual interviews, each lasting one to two hours. As with all of the families in my study, I asked Angelica and Russell questions about their relationship and experiences as an interracial couple, as well as exploring how racial differences have impacted their relationship. Questions in the individual interviews focused on each parent's upbringing,

their own racial and cultural socialization, their experience with race in society, and their own parenting practices and strategies for teaching their children about their heritage.

The second phase, conducted only with families participating in observations, begin in late January of 2015 with this family and included informal interviews and follow-up interviews. Informal interviews, which lasted twenty to thirty minutes, were conducted in the middle and near the end of the observations and focused on specific interactions that occurred during those observations. A one to two-hour follow-up interview was conducted with Russell and Angelica in May of 2015 after the last observation and focused on the impact of the presence of the researcher, as well as parents' thoughts about the data collection process, how their views on teaching their children about their background had or had not changed, and future plans and strategies for continuing, or starting, to teach their children about specific aspects of their background. Both the initial interviews and the follow-up interview were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Observations

I collected 21 hours of observational data on the Taylor family over the span of six visits between January 2015 and May 2015. Observations took place after the initial interview phase for both parents. As with the other four families I observed, I observed the Taylor family in a range of settings: in their home and car, and on outings to Costco, Target, Ikea, and to church for Easter Sunday. I took in-depth field notes that captured the family's everyday routines and interactions, including events such as mealtimes and episodes of play. Observation notes also consisted of careful and systematic descriptions of each individual, including their behavior, demeanor, gestures, intonation, temperament, their environment, and their interactions with one another as well as with others outside of their family. The observations provided me with the

opportunity to view familial interactions and behaviors in real time and to identify sources of stimuli for the family both inside and outside the home. They also allowed me to identify different approaches to socialization and to observe interactions that were unintentional, nonverbal, and indirect.

Analysis

This paper explores the following analytic questions: What do parents do, or not do, to socialize their children? What are the approaches they take? How do they talk about the socialization process and how do they actually do it in real time?

Data consisted of observational field notes, verbatim transcriptions of interviews, and memos. I used Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software to organize the interview transcripts and observational data. The process of analyzing the data was an iterative one that included reading through transcripts and reviewing earlier observation notes while still collecting data. I began to develop a set of open codes on a wide range of socialization processes that were discussed in the interviews, specifically racial socialization and cultural socialization. Then, I selected portions of my observational data to present for discussion with colleagues in a qualitative methods seminar at the University of Chicago in order to get a sense of their interpretation of the data and whether it was similar to or distinct from my own. I presented an introduction of each of the families that participated in the observations and discussed some of my early interview coding. One family—the Taylors— was of particular interest to the group, which led me to focus on them for this analysis. I then consulted with my chair to discuss the specifics of analyzing a single family and the level of depth at which to do so. This discussion contributed to my reassessment of existing interview codes and observational notes and to focus on the distinction I was seeing between the cultural socialization process and the racial socialization process as it occurred in this family.

The frequency of my initial interview codes on cultural socialization and my discussions with my colleagues and chair contributed to my decision to place an emphasis on further examination of the cultural socialization process in my subsequent data collection as opposed to solely focusing on the racial socialization process. After my decision to focus on both processes and their interactions, I went back through the process of open coding both the mother's and father's transcripts while I was still gathering data. I identified the frequency with which they were referring to cultural socialization compared to racial socialization. I began noticing that what appeared to be occurring was monocultural socialization, so I incorporated this code as well.

I used Constructivist Grounded Theory procedures throughout my analysis (Charmaz, 2006). I used constant comparison to make within-case comparisons for both the mother and father and to analyze how they were talking about how they approached the socialization of their children both culturally and racially. I then began coding the observational data to develop an understanding of how socialization was actually occurring in this family. I coded for several approaches to socialization: intentional, unintentional, verbal, nonverbal, direct, and indirect.

Once all of the observational data and interview data was completely coded for this family, I used constant comparison again to make within-case comparisons of both the mother's and father's interview and observational data. I found that while what parents were saying they did was accurate, there were transmissions and actions that I observed that were not discussed in the interviews. I also began to find that in both interviews and observations parents placed different levels of emphasis on the importance of their Latino culture versus their Black culture. I then went back and recoded for both Latino socialization and Black socialization. This process helped me identify the Latino cultural socialization as being more central to this particular

family's socialization process.

I utilized the process of axial coding, which is the disaggregation of core themes and the process of relating codes to each other (Charmaz, 2006), to understand more about all of the ways that Latino cultural socialization was occurring, and began identifying the multiple routes of transmission. I integrated my Latino cultural socialization codes, as well as my Black socialization codes with my intentional, unintentional, verbal, nonverbal, direct, and indirect codes. I found that each of these approaches was used throughout the Latino cultural socialization process, but there were few instances where they were used for Black socialization. I further separated the cultural socialization process codes from the racial socialization codes and recognized that there were few instances where the mother talked about racial socialization, whereas there were several instances where the father talked about racial socialization—specifically, his avoidance of it. I developed a code, intentional avoidance, to indicate all of the instances of this. I then utilized axial coding once again to assess how the avoidance, and absence, of racial socialization messages could transmit specific kinds of messages. I found that the absence and avoidance of messages transmitted unintentional messages to their children about the prioritization of one of their backgrounds over the other.

Findings

Latino Parental Socialization: Emphasizing Culture

Racial and cultural socialization occur via a range of processes aside from verbal transmission. Socialization occurs through behaviors and actions, as well as through inaction and the absence of messages. Much of what I observed and heard from the Taylor family focused on culture rather than race. Conversation about race within the Latino community or how having a racial heritage as Latino/a impacts the Taylor family was never broached or even alluded to at

any time during my interviews or observations with them. The absence of discussion about the significance of race as it pertains to the family's Latino background transmits messages to the children in a nonverbal and indirect way. It creates an environment where race is not viewed as an important pathway for connecting to Latino/a identity. Instead, Russell and Angelica Taylor have developed an environment in which cultural socialization is used as a pathway for their family's development of their Latino identity. The following excerpt from my field notes during an evening meal describes this process in depth.

> *Notes from dinner with the Taylor family*: It's 3:40pm on a Thursday afternoon in early April and the fourth visit to the Taylor Family home is about to commence. The family lives in a northwest suburb of Chicago. Angelica is in the kitchen preparing for an early dinner with the entire family. Their five-year-old and three-year-old sons, Enrique and Ricardo, answered the door and provided embracing hugs. The aroma of tonight's dinner lingered in the air and the laughter of their fourteen-month-old daughter, Yesenia, echoed across the entry hallway. Yesenia was only eleven months old and crawling when I conducted my first observation in January. Now, three months later, she is running around trying to catch up with her brothers as their parents instruct them to wash up for dinner. As Angelica stirs the pot on the stove she informs everyone that we'll be having Panamanian-style arroz con pollo for dinner, which happens to be one of their children's favorite dishes. Mealtime with the Taylor family consists of the same ritual regardless of the time of day. The entire family takes their seats and bows their heads in preparation for prayer. Their eldest son, Enrique, typically recites the prayer in Spanish. At this dinner, he said the prayer in English. After Enrique finished the prayer, Angelica asked him if he wanted to do the prayer again, but this time in Spanish. Enrique nervously looked around the room until he caught eyes with me and then told his mother "no". Angelica assured him that I understood Spanish and asked Enrique if he would feel more comfortable if his father would say the prayer along with him. This eased Enrique's nervousness and he began to recite the prayer in Spanish with his father. After about ten seconds Angelica chimed in and the three of them recited the prayer in unison. Under their three voices was the much lighter voice of Ricardo, whose speech was still developing, mumbling along with them in Spanglish.

Both of the parents in the Taylor family refer to their familial identity as Latino. The development of this familial identity is spearheaded by the mother of the family, Angelica, who is actually Guatemalan and Panamanian. Angelica is not only the primary socialization agent around the family's Latino cultural heritage, but she also places an emphasis on the development of their children's cultural identities as Latino/a. As I spent time with the Taylors in observation

and with Angelica in interviews, I watched as she transmitted a range of cultural socialization messages to her children using a variety of approaches and modes of transmission.

Much of Angelica's approach to teaching their children about their Latino culture is rooted in intentional strategies. The most frequently used method of cultural socialization occurs through the transmission of verbal messages through the use of Spanish on a daily basis. Although Russell communicated with the children in English, Angelica was adamant about only speaking to her children in Spanish. In our first interview together Angelica stated the following:

> …I've spoken to them in Spanish all their lives and I only speak to them in Spanish even if I'm outside speaking English to everyone in the whole world. I turn to them and when I talk to them, I speak to them in Spanish.

Following this conversation, this behavior of Angelica's became very apparent to me. Throughout the observations I paid close attention to all of her interactions with her children to see whether or not her claim of *only* speaking Spanish to her children was accurate. While occasionally I'd hear her use a few words of English with the children, the majority of her communication with them was in fact in Spanish, regardless of their age. In fact, during my third visit with the family, Angelica was proud to show me their one-year-old's newest behavior. Angelica called Yesenia, who she occasionally lovingly refers to as 'gorda' (chunky), to the kitchen. She said one word to Yesenia, 'ojos' (eyes) and Yesenia started smiling and began batting her eyelashes. This observation confirmed our interview discussion that she has indeed spoken to them in Spanish their entire lives.

Through speaking Spanish, the Taylor family is able to connect and share this dimension of their mother's culture. This verbal and direct method of socialization includes not only speaking to their children in Spanish, but also praying in Spanish before every meal, and giving the children names with Spanish origins and Spanish nicknames like 'gorda' and 'guapo.' While

Angelica took the lead in teaching the children Spanish, Russell has also supported and assisted in their language development. He has learned quite a bit of Spanish over the past few years and even prays with his eldest son in Spanish before mealtime. He emphasized the importance of his children learning about their Latino culture in the following quote:

> Oh I love it. I love it. 'Cause I think like I think they need to be open to that cause it's a part of them. You know? And I just think…it's a part of my life…. she speaks Spanish so I can't shun that part of her…. You know, it's just her. So like I love when she interacts. I try to interact…I try to help but I also see like how like even me doing it like encourages them. So they feel more comfortable. And so I just think…I always like told her like I want to get to a point where…a Spanish-only house. You know what I mean? And I just love her so much and it's just like, it's a part of her and like I don't want to take her or take that away from her.

While language can serve as a point of entry to the Latino culture, it is not the whole of it and it is not the sole indication that an individual understands or identifies with their Latino heritage. Angelica has also used nonverbal direct modes of socialization through daily exposure. When I asked her to identify all of the items in her household that were specific to her culture, she pointed out all the Latino artwork and decor that adorns their home. The kitchen is a central site for most of this cultural artwork and decor, with colorful paintings from Guatemala and Puerto Rico hanging above the kitchen table, and pots and storage containers from Honduras lining the shelves above the kitchen counter. Through this mode of socialization, the children in the Taylor family are immersed in their Latino culture through their mother's cultural heritage and identity. This is also externally expressed through the art, food, music, toys, books, and décor in the home.

While the parents are still exposing their youngest children to dolls that are brown skinned and toys that play Spanish music and count in Spanish, their socialization efforts are already beginning to be externally expressed by their eldest son, Enrique. There are additional pieces of artwork throughout the home that have been created by Enrique. In the living room there is a

drawing that uses a combination of English and Spanish words—'Daddy y Enrique'—to express his love for his father, whom his mother refers to as 'Papi'. On the refrigerator there is a similar drawing that has 'Enrique' on the left and 'Mami' on the right and has a heart drawn in the middle. Enrique's art serves as early evidence of the result of the Taylors' socialization strategies and the prominence of the Spanish language in their home. While Enrique's cultural identity and connectedness to his Latino background is already starting to develop, it is important to note that by his contributing to his family's surroundings, he is also playing a role in culturally socializing his younger siblings.

Another way in which the Taylor family is culturally socializing their children is through religion. In our interviews, both parents talked about how their family is heavily involved in Catholicism. Angelica talked to me about Catholicism being more than just a religion for her. Instead, it is an additional way to stay connected to her culture and her Latina identity. Russell talked to me about developing an understanding of this connection very early on in their relationship. In 2007, Russell converted to Catholicism in order to spend more time with Angelica and develop a stronger bond with her since she spent so much time at church.

In order to further connect the family to Angelica's culture, the entire family participates in weekly outings to church. When we talked about the importance of religion in their lives and how it provides a way for the family to develop a further sense of their Latino background, I had assumed that they went to a predominately Latino church. This assumption was challenged when I had the opportunity to observe the family at church for Easter Sunday. Based on the understanding of the cultural importance of Catholicism for this family, I was surprised to observe that the congregation was primarily White. I never directly asked Angelica about this, but do recall her talking about having a hard time finding a church that she really enjoyed. In our

early interviews she mentioned trying to attend Spanish mass on several occasions but not feeling like the church was a good fit.

The significance of their religion, its connectedness to their culture, and the messages they take away from mass are easily observed in their home. Throughout their home there are statues of saints, crosses that adorn the hallway and bedrooms, as well as religious jewelry, books, videos, and Bibles. I also observed two children's worksheets that were posted on the wall. When I asked Angelica about these worksheets, which had forty boxes in the shape of a path that were to be individually colored in as each day of Lent passed, she informed me that these were to help the children develop an understanding of Lent and of each of the events that occur within the forty-day period.

The approach that Angelica and Russell take using religion as a way to culturally socialize their children is similar to many of the other ways in which they are culturally socializing them. Russell and Angelica do not frequently surround themselves in external environments where their children are exposed to their Latino culture. Instead, they transmit most of their messages within the home. For example, Russell and Angelica live in a predominately White neighborhood. Neither they nor their children are exposed on a day-to-day basis to many other people who look like them. Instead, Russell and Angelica choose to place a heavy emphasis on exposing their children to their mother's cultural background within their home.

While many of the socialization strategies that Angelica uses are intentional, there were occasions when I observed her unintentionally transmitting messages to her children about their cultural background verbally and in both indirect and direct ways. For example, early on in my data collection, Angelica mentioned to me in an interview that she feels like they are more of a Latino family than anything else. Although this was just between the two of us and the children

were not around, it is no secret that she is strategic in her efforts to ensure that her family and children will identify as Latino. An example of her transmitting these messages verbally, but indirectly, occurred during an observation in the family's car. I spent a significant amount of time with the parents in their home and in their cars. Many of these visits included periods of time where just the adults were engaging in conversation. Oftentimes when adults are speaking to one another they aren't certain of or aware of the fact that their children are within earshot and are listening to everything that they are saying. For example, during a family outing to Ikea, Angelica was talking to me about the dynamics of their family and how they plan out their year far in advance. We were by no means alone — she and I sat in the front two seats of the SUV and her children and husband sat in the back two rows. Angelica began discussing how their family is a Latino family and given this, they do certain things and plan trips in certain ways. Although this conversation was directed at me specifically, it was occurring in front of the entire family.

Although Angelica's desire to have the children and her family identify as Latino is intentional, the transmission of these intentional messages contribute to the transmission of a range of unintentional messages. Conversations like the one that occurred in the car, where everyone is present, are evidence of transmissions that occur both verbally and indirectly. Although this message about their familial identification was not directed at the children, the transmission of this message to their children, which had been transmitted on several occasions in a range of modes, cannot be denied. Communications such as these unintentionally transmit messages about their children's Blackness and mixed race heritages. Although Angelica is multiethnic herself, she does not attend to her children's Black background, or even their mixed-race background. Instead, she emphasizes the development of their pan-cultural identity as

Latino/a. This emphasis unintentionally transmits a nonverbal, direct, and monocentric message that their Latino heritage is the more important and dominant shared heritage and therefore, the shared family identity.

Black Parental Socialization: The Intentional Absence and Avoidance of Messages

As mentioned in the previous section, avoidance and the absence of messages are also ways in which messages about race and culture are transmitted. Russell Taylor discussed at length his understanding of the importance of socializing their children around their Latino identity. When it came to socializing around the other part of their identity, Angelica also spoke about her understanding of their children's Black identity—specifically, their racial identity. Angelica's approach to teaching her children about their Black racial background is similar to her approach to teaching them about their Latino racial background—through the absence of messages. Although she didn't discuss race in the context of their Latino identity, she did talk about it in the context of their Blackness. Specifically, she discussed feeling that there was no need to teach them about their Black racial identity. She did not think that her children looked Black, and as a result racial socialization wasn't necessary. In fact, when asked if teaching her children about their racial background in the future was a priority, her response was, "In my opinion, right now, no. I don't think that I really need to say anything about it." As a result, when asked about how she would go about teaching her children about prejudice and discrimination, she responded by saying: "I don't see that as an issue. I think that our kids are probably going to have less…I feel like the more generations that are so mixed, I think that it kind of dwindles and dilutes it." What this shows is that while Russell intentionally avoids conversations about race, Angelica feels that they are irrelevant for her children so she is intentionally silent about this part of their identity.

While Angelica's method of transmitting messages is through intentional silence, Russell's approach to teaching his children about their Black heritage, both culturally and racially, is to be intentionally avoidant. The almost total avoidance of discussions and behaviors that emphasize the importance of their Black background was notable and discussed explicitly. During our interviews, Russell identified his children as "one big ball of other" and discussed his efforts to avoid and postpone talking to his children about their Black heritage. This is evidenced in his following statement when asked about the importance of their Black heritage:

> … I don't think … I really don't think it's that important. Meaning like I don't feel … I feel like it's something that should come from them. Like if … if they want to know, if they are interested in that then by all means.

When I asked Russell how he believed that society would view his children racially he believed that they would be viewed as "other". Their racial ambiguity may be one factor that contributes to Russell's intentional decision to wait until his children inquire about their Black background before discussing it. He discussed this decision on several occasions and talked about not only letting them figure things out on their own, but also letting them determine what they wanted to learn about when they were ready. This was evident when he stated "If they come to me with a question, or something happens at school…that's what I kind of prepare for." I broached the topic on several occasions, and each time his answer was some variation of the above response. When asked explicitly about how he wants to teach his children about his background, he responded by saying he would teach them "when they're ready, when they want to, when they're open to it…. I'll give them the choice to define their own way".

During our interviews he mentioned this decision to wait, and this decision was evident throughout my time observing the family, occurring in stark contrast to the family's approach to Latino cultural socialization. While Russell actively engages in explicit cultural socialization of

his children within a familial grounded and shared version of "Latino culture," he actively disengages from a similarly explicit socialization of his children within a familial grounded and shared version of "Blackness" culturally or racially.

Throughout our interviews, Russell indicated that his intentional avoidance of socializing his children within his race and culture of origin is rooted in his own upbringing and socialization experience. To ensure his children avoid the racialized exclusion he has experienced, he has decided it is currently in his children's best interest to not transmit to them any messages about Blackness at all.

The value Russell Taylor places on the development of his children's Black identity is opposite to the value he and his wife place on them learning about their Latino background. During the twenty-one hours I spent with the family, there were two instances—one which I was told about and one which I observed—where Russell taught his children about or referenced their Black culture. In an interview with Russell, he recalled one occasion where he intentionally exposed his eldest son to his culture through the use of intentional direct exposure to the film *Buffalo Soldiers,* a film about the all-Black U.S. Cavalry Troop which protected the Western territories in post-Civil War times. During one of my observations in the family car, Russell asked his eldest son to rap with him, and his son refused to. Russell asked again jokingly, and his son refused a second time. Since Russell was sitting in the back of the SUV and I was in the front, I wasn't able to see his expression, but I was able to notice that a silence took over for a few seconds until their son asked his mother to put on his favorite song, which was a Spanish song called "San Miguel". The Latino family identity that Angelica and Russell have continuously sought to develop has already begun to be embedded into their children's understanding of who they are. Already, as five, three, and one-year-olds, not only are they more

attuned to their Latino background, but they are also not used to connecting with their dad around anything other than being Latino. This is no fault of their own, and one could also argue that if their father starts to try to actively socialize them around their Black cultural and racial background, they may reject it because it may seem foreign to them since they have gone several years without any exposure to or understanding of it.

Whether a parent's decision is to avoid transmitting messages about race and culture, be silent about race, or wait until children inquire about their background, they are still in fact transmitting a range of messages. Angelica is intentional in her decision to be silent about their children's Black racial background. She is nonverbally transmitting the message to her children that they will not be racialized or perceived as Black. Russell is intentional in his decision to avoid teaching his children about their Black culture and race. Unintentionally, he is nonverbally and indirectly transmitting the message that it is difficult to be accepted into the Black community if you look 'different.' In doing so, he may be reinforcing the idea that there is one type of Blackness.

Discussion

The parental racial and cultural socialization process is central to the development of all minority children. In 1985, Boykins and Toms developed a theoretical framework for examining the process of racial socialization. According to their framework, minority culture is not overtly socialized. Instead, they argue that parents engage in indirect socialization practices, where the transmission of racial messages occurs in unintentional ways through everyday interactions in a range of forms (Boykins & Toms, 1985). In 1990, Thornton and his colleagues identified the racial socialization process as consisting of modeling of behaviors and exposure to specific objects, contexts, and environments. Although scholars have asserted that human behavior

cannot be thoroughly understood without direct observation (Dishion & Granic, 2004), for the past thirty years we have continued to study racial and cultural socialization without focusing on its behavioral dimensions.

Regardless of whether the racial or cultural socialization process is applied to monoracial or multiracial children, socialization occurs in a range of ways. Children learn about race through their parents' direct and secondary conversations, modeling, and reinforcement, and through exposure. Parents even transmit messages about race and culture through silence and avoidance.

The Transmission of Racial and Cultural Socialization Messages

This analysis demonstrates how racial socialization and cultural socialization messages are transmitted both intentionally and unintentionally in ways that are nonverbal, verbal, direct, and indirect. It also demonstrates another racial socialization and cultural socialization approach through avoidance and silence.

The interviews in this analysis highlight how parents easily recall interactions that are intentional and direct, and often times verbal. They also draw attention to parents' decisions to avoid or wait to socialize their children until their children make inquiries. The observational data presented in this article highlight how although a significant number of the messages that are transmitted —specifically cultural messages—are intentional, the impact and underlying messages associated with these transmissions are not. For example, Angelica is fully aware of the potential outcomes of her intentional efforts to foster her children's Latino identity. However, it is unlikely that she is aware of the way in which these messages unintentionally transmit messages about the dominance of their Latino-ness and the unimportance of their Black background. It also raises questions about whether cultural socialization as Latino is sufficient in the absence of racial socialization around their Latino heritage.

This analysis raises the issue of whether or not observations of silence and the absence of messages can be considered data. I would argue that the combination of explicit conversations about not teaching children about race and Black culture and the observations of this could be identified as also transmitting underlying messages, even in the absence of an explicit message. Both parents explicitly talked about their decisions to avoid or be silent about transmitting messages about their children's racial backgrounds. The use of observational methods allowed me to actually witness the absence of these messages. It also provided me with the opportunity to understand how avoidance and silence still transmit messages about race and culture in unintentional and nonverbal ways.

The Prioritization of Latino Culture and the Absence and Avoidance of Messages about Race and Blackness

Latino cultural socialization

Angelica and Russell Taylor placed a heavy emphasis on the development of their familial and children's identity as culturally Latino. Their children were immersed in Latino culture and observations indicate that their children are already externally expressing their preference for their Latino heritage over their Black heritage. This family's emphasis on developing a strong connection to Latino culture, and only Latino culture, contributes to the family—although it is multiracial—monoculturally socializing their children. In doing so, these parents are developing an environment where their children's Latino cultural heritage is the only source of their identity development. It is important to note that Angelica is socializing the children around a pan-cultural identity rather than one that is specific to her own multiethnic Latino background. This emphasis on a pan-cultural Latino socialization contributes to the transmission of information that is not specific to their Guatemalan-Panamanian heritage. Thus, they are in an environment

where they may be learning about Latino heritages that are different from their own, but are not being exposed to information about their own Black heritages.

Black cultural socialization

When I asked Russell about his strategies for teaching his children about their Black culture, he indicated that he would wait until his children asked. Yet both parents were not waiting for their children to ask about their Latino culture. Russell's decision to wait was rooted in the experiences he himself had in the Black community. While this paper did not focus on why parents transmit specific messages, his avoidance, rooted in his own experience, transmits the message that there is one way to culturally be Black and acceptance into the Black community is tough if you are not aligned with their cultural practices. Rather than expose his children to an array of Black cultures, including his own, he avoids exposing them entirely. His decision to do so has further solidified the importance and priority of the Latino culture. Their Latino culture is so deeply embedded in their day-to-day activities that when Russell does try to introduce them to dimensions of Black culture, they reject it immediately. Waiting until his kids are ready, then, is contributing to an environment where Black culture is foreign and unfamiliar.

The avoidance and absence of messages about race

When I asked Angelica about how she felt society would perceive her children racially, she believed that society would view them as Latino. She explicitly stated that they wouldn't be perceived as Black and that there was no need to talk to them about race. When I asked Russell how he believed that society would view his children racially he believed that they would be viewed as "other". Both parents had a shared approach of being silent about race. This shared approach may indicate the value both parents place on the anticipated significance of racism in

their children's life. Yet it may, as in Russell's case, also be tied to avoiding negative socialization experiences for their children.

Avoiding or being silent about race still transmits a nonverbal and intentional message about race to children. The parents in the Taylor family have developed an environment where race, whether Black or Latino, is not a significant factor in their family's day-to-day lives. Had the children been a few shades darker, or had different features, the conversation might have been quite different. For decades, the research on racial socialization has focused on Black families. Existing research (Lee & Bean, 2007), as well as a previous analysis of this study's data, suggests that the level of significance of race and racialization varies by racial groups. What Russell and Angelica's silence about race confirms is the way in which Blacks continue to be the most racialized group in American society.

Multicultural socialization

Many people might be surprised that this family, which consists of two parents of color who each have distinct cultural and racial experiences, are not multiculturally socializing their children nor multiracially socializing them. In multiracial families, where both parents are racial ethnic minorities, there are multiple paths that parents can take to foster both their children's racial and cultural identities. For the Taylor family, there are three possible paths: 1) Latino socialization, 2) Black socialization, and 3) dual/multiple socialization. All three of these approaches can be both racial and cultural in content and focus. One might argue that there is a fourth path—i.e., the path of mainstream American socialization.

The Taylor family prioritized socializing their children around their Latino cultural identity and took an avoidant and silent approach to teaching their children about their Black and Latino racial identity and their Black culture. The Taylor family is not unique in their effort to socialize

their children utilizing monocentric categories of race and culture. Nearly everyone in my sample chose some sort of monoracial socialization. Very few had thought this process out explicitly to execute their children's multiracial socialization in a very thorough way. This indicates that in the Midwest we still live in a monocentric world where we typically identify with one category. It also draws attention to the difficulty of parenting children with an identity that neither parent has a lived experience of.

Parental Gender Dynamics

While the goal of this paper was to focus on how parents taught their children about their racial and cultural backgrounds, it is important to highlight the way in which the parental gender roles and family dynamics within the Taylor household contributed to their socialization process. Angelica and Russell Taylor's relationship dynamics fall within the traditional husband and wife division of labor. Russell is the head of household and works full time while Angelica is the primary caregiver and works part time. On a few occasions, Angelica actually talked about their family dynamics and that while she always anticipated her household being structured in this way, it took some time for Russell to get used to the idea of his wife staying at home to take care of their children. One might argue that their socialization process might differ if their roles were reversed or if there was an equal sharing of parenting and socializing. While this impact was not central to this paper or this dissertation, it starts to draw attention to the way in which parental gender roles also influence racial and cultural socialization processes.

Limitations

The findings in this paper are derived from both interview and observation data of a single family. This family had three children who were all under the age of five. These children spent a significant amount of time in the home with the mother while the father worked. The emphasis

on Latino cultural socialization may have been a result of the family's work dynamics and the limited amount of exposure the children had to broader contexts outside the home. Longitudinal studies can address this problem and examine the way in which age and environments outside of the home may contribute to a shift in the significance of race and racial socialization practices.

This analysis sought to be exploratory and, given the practical limitations, it cannot generate far reaching empirical generalizations about dual-minority multiracial families. Rather, the goal is to make contributions to the existing gaps in the literature by identifying the benefits of incorporating an alternative method of data collection.

While the strength of these data is in the richness of description, reliability is also a significant limitation. Observational methods are subject to my biases as the researcher. To counteract this, I used interviews to corroborate the information I gained through observations. The conjunction of these methods of data collection allowed me to actually view what participants did in their natural environments, rather than merely relying on what they recalled. Relying on participants' recollection of events and behaviors is one of the major criticisms against collecting data through interviews only. Through my observations, I learned that parents overlooked some of their behaviors that transmitted socialization messages. For example, in our interviews, the parents talked at length about the importance of religion and attending church regularly. In all of our discussions about their religion and church, neither parent mentioned their predominantly White congregation. Had I just relied on interview data, I would never have observed the racial composition of their church. Circumstances such as these highlight the complexity of the racial socialization process. There are some actions that parents easily recall while others and their impact are disregarded. Additionally, there are socialization strategies that may be intentional and direct, but nonverbal and not something that can be easily recalled by

parents when discussing socialization practices and strategies. While interviewing allowed me to understand a great deal about this family, the observations provided me with context for our discussions, the opportunity to get in-depth details about their day-to-day surroundings, and the opportunity to view the things that parents may not be aware of and that I might have otherwise made assumptions about.

Implications

Racial socialization is described as helping children to prepare for discrimination and prejudice. Cultural socialization has been identified as helping children develop a sense of pride. Neither of these processes is unique to monoracial children, yet the research continues to examine this process in these types of families.

This paper has implications for the research on racial and cultural socialization. Examining a different population provides insight into the variations that exist for multiracial families and highlights the distinction between race and culture and each of these socialization processes. Second, this study's incorporation of observational methods not only draws attention to messages that are being transmitted unintentionally, nonverbally, and indirectly, but also to the underlying messages that are being transmitted in these ways. This has implications for the current theoretical approaches to examining racial and cultural socialization. Future research needs to acknowledge the existence of underlying messages and the ways in which they are rooted not only in intentional messages, but also in the absence of messages.

This analysis also shows how racial socialization and cultural socialization can be identified as distinct processes that transmit messages with different types of content. Future research can utilize this conceptualization of these processes to provide further insight into the processes.

This paper also has implications for how we think about the significance of race and culture

for different minority groups. Future research can examine the prominence of race and culture in monoracial families or multiracial families of different backgrounds.

Conclusion

This study explored the socialization of dual-minority multiracial children. This study took an exploratory and descriptive approach to examining dual-minority multiracial families, yet much of the findings identify processes that mirror those found among monoracial minority families.

This paper utilized observational methods to draw attention to the range of approaches that parents take to socializing their children and modes of transmitting messages. The findings in this article suggest that the use of observations in conjunction with interview data provided me with the opportunity to not only highlight the multiplicity of approaches to socialization and the modes in which transmission occurs, but also show how families may prioritize cultural socialization over racial socialization. As a result, this study also demonstrates how such prioritization contributes to the monocultural socialization of multiracial children.

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Conclusion

This study sought to address four specific research questions: 1) How do interracial couples socialize their multiracial children? 2) What shapes their socialization practices? 3) What is the range of messages parents transmit to their children about race? 4) How are these messages transmitted? Embedded in these questions are queries concerning whether child gender plays a role in socialization, whether socialization messages are intentional or unintentional, and whether parents place emphasis on developing one aspect of their child's identity over others.

This study was designed to address these questions as well as to fill gaps in the existing literature on racial socialization. First, this study focused on the racial socialization process as it occurs for dual-minority multiracial families. Second, the way in which societal perceptions and racialization influence parents' racial socialization strategies was explored and analyzed. Third, observational methods were used to attain an understanding of the behavioral dimension of the socialization process as it occurs in one's natural environment. The observations resulted in data that highlights the significance of culture in the development of children's identity.

The findings presented in this dissertation expand dimensions of racial socialization that identify why parents choose specific strategies to racially socialize their children. The results also broaden methodological approaches used to understand the racial socialization process to determine how messages are being transmitted. In this concluding section, I first discuss limitations that should be considered along with these two papers. Second, I discuss my reflections on the process of conducting this study. Third, I present additional analyses based on this data. Then, I identify the implications these findings have for multiple fields of study. Lastly, I discuss future routes of research for myself as well as for other scholars interested in this topic.

Limitations

Although the research has reached its aims, there were some unavoidable limitations,

including: 1) sample bias, 2) longitudinal effects, and 3) outcomes. While all of these limitations are significant, the four that I think are the biggest limitations regarding my sample are: 1) the homogeneity of the sample, 2) the high percentage of Black fathers, 3) the ages of the children, and 4) the location of data collection.

Within this Chicago-based sample, eleven of the thirteen families reported over $100,000 in annual income, and all of the parents had attended college—with 46 percent of these parents having graduate degrees. Only one family was living in a predominantly Black or minority neighborhood. Six of the thirteen families lived in the same diverse neighborhood—which many of them moved to in order to raise their children in an environment in which multiracial families were the norm. It can be argued that the homogeneity of this sample in terms of class, education, and within network word of mouth referrals contribute to findings that are specific to upper middle class multiracial families of color. These demographics indicate that this sample is likely not representative of the diversity of dual-minority family experiences. Even so, the dual-minority multiracial population is scarce in the Chicago-land area and the data from this sample helps us understanding dynamics that may be operating, perhaps in different ways, in families of different socioeconomic statuses.

Second, ten of the thirteen families in the study had a Black father. Most of these fathers, whose children would be perceived as Black, were vocal about the need to raise racially aware children. They talked about their own experiences with racialization and how this shaped the strategies they used for teaching their children about race. This data bias significantly influenced my conclusions within the first paper, preventing me from elaborating on the experiences of other types of families that do not have Black parents. A similar limitation applies to my conclusions about the experiences of families with Black mothers since there was only one

family in this study who had a Black mother. Nonetheless, my findings were able to identify similarities in the ways in which racialization occurs for dual-minority multiracial children perceived as Black and those who are monoracially Black.

Next, while this sample is typical of out-marrying patterns across the country (Wang, 2015), there is much to be said about the way in which the racial demographics and dynamics in Chicago contributed to the sample I obtained and the concerns of these families. Chicago has the third largest urban Black population in the nation. Thirty-one percent of the 2.7 million people in Chicago are Black (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Even so, the Black-White binary, as well as the Black-non-Black binary, in Chicago is evident in the clustering of racial groups in separate parts of the city. Chicago has been consistently identified as one of, if not the, most segregated major metropolitan area in the nation. Blacks, and especially Black males, continue to be perceived and treated much differently than those from other minority groups. From 2010 to 2015, 210 of the 262 people shot by the police were Black (Richards et al., 2016). While the findings from this study and the experiences of Black males in Chicago may not be entirely generalizable throughout the country, this dissertation does reflect the uniqueness of Chicago's racial dynamics and the real concerns that parents are having when teaching their children, who would be perceived as Black, about race.

Lastly, only one of the five families who participated in the observations had children over the age of six. Eight of the thirteen families in the overall study included children under the age of six. Most of these children had not started school and had limited interaction with the outside world without their parents. Many of these parents were young, so they also had limited parental experience. Several of these parents talked about not engaging in racial socialization yet since their children were so young, stating that they either felt like their children did not need it

yet or that they would not fully understand it. Some talked about either waiting until their children initiated conversation about race or until their children reached an appropriate age to have these conversations. Talking to parents with older children about this process would help to understand the ways in which this process occurs in different types of families beyond those included in this study. Older children who have had exposure to broader contexts may be more likely to seek out information about their racial background. Additionally, parents that are older than those in my sample might have a significantly different experience of race and stigma around interracial relationships and might take a significantly different approach to racial socialization. In order to generalize the results for larger groups, the sample would need to involve more participants at different levels of education, socioeconomic statuses, age levels, racial backgrounds, and marital statuses.

An additional limitation of this study was that it is not longitudinal. I collected data at a particular point in time about how parents are currently utilizing strategies to racially socialize their children. This data cannot yield information about how these behaviors might change over time. Specifically, because many of the children and parents in this study were young, I cannot identify the way in which the introduction of broader contexts for these younger children shifts parents' socialization strategies. As children age, parents' individual and parental experiences grow. Although this study was conducted over the span of one year, I was not able to view the growth of parents' parenting strategies and skills. I was also not able to see how external factors affect parents' socialization strategies. Racial socialization is a developmental process that occurs over one's lifespan. Research that incorporates longitudinal studies would be helpful in viewing patterns over time and could help identify connections between interactions and events that may have not otherwise been associated with parents' strategies for racially socializing their

children.

The data from this study focused specifically on the strategies parents used to teach their children about race. Racial socialization has been identified as a predictor of child and adult outcomes (Lesane Brown, 2006). Messages about race have been associated with psychological functioning (Fatimilehin, 1999; Fischer and Shaw, 1999; Peters,1985; Richardson, 1981; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, and Bishop, 1997), academic outcomes (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Marshall, 1995; Sanders Thomson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995), and racial identity development (Demo and Hughes, 1990; Fatimilehin, 1999; Marshall, 1995; Phinney, 1996; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995; Thompson, Anderson, and Bakeman, 2000). While racial socialization messages have been found to be associated with a range of outcomes, this study focused on one aspect of the process. As a result, the findings are unable to identify outcomes of parents' socialization strategies. I am unable to determine whether parents' socializations strategies matter in the development of their children and whether these children are able to navigate the challenges of racism. I am also unable to provide information on how these children culturally or racially identify themselves. Although this study's perspective limits its ability to understand the impact of racial socialization messages, its emphasis provides a new understanding of what influences parents' decisions to racially socialize their children and a realistic perspective of how transmission of socialization messages occurs.

Reflections

One of the greatest strengths of this study was the research design's combination of in-depth interviews with naturalistic observations of day-to-day activities of participants. While this method of data collection produced a uniquely rich set of data, reflecting on the process has contributed to me wishing that I had done the following three things differently: 1) recruited

more families without a Black parent, 2) recruited more families with Black mothers; and 3) observed more families.

My overall sample of thirteen families consisted of eleven families who had a Black parent, ten of which had a Black father. Four of the families that participated in observations had Black fathers. Four of the thirteen families also had mothers who were the first generation in their family to be born in the U.S. Although the recruitment process was tough, I regret not spending more time trying to recruit additional multiracial families without a Black parent. Nonetheless, the data collected from my sample helped me learn about the many variations of Blackness. Such variation exists among any racial or ethnic group. I also would have liked to recruit more families with a Black mother to see how their strategies differed or were similar to those of Black fathers, and to have recruited more families with parents whose families have been in the U.S. for multiple generations. These additional recruitments would have benefited both interview and observational data. For example, in the second paper, I focused on the importance of culture for the Taylor family. The mother in this family was raised by parents who were born in Guatemala and Panama. Observing a family in which the parents had been socialized by parents who were born in America may have provided me with data that looked significantly different. Additionally, Black women experience race in American society in different ways than Black men. Interviewing and observing Black mothers of dual-minority multiracial children may have provided me information on alternative routes of message transmission or different insight into why parents transmit the messages they do.

The observational data provided me with insight into how messages were transmitted. With additional time and resources, it would have been ideal to observe more families. A larger observational sample would have given me the opportunity to recruit more families like the ones

previously mentioned. This would have allowed me to learn about the varying significance of race and culture for additional types of families and gain more insight into how message transmission occurs.

When I designed this study, I wanted to distinguish race from culture and only focus on the racial socialization process. I underplayed the significance of culture and viewed racial socialization and cultural socialization as two distinct processes. I observed, however, that while it was easy for me to separate the two conceptually, parents consistently conflated the two in their practices, and on occasion privileged cultural socialization. Having this awareness early on would have prevented me from having to refine my lens during the data collection process. Knowing this now, I would reconceptualize racial and cultural socialization as distinct processes that are conflated and woven together in people's conceptual understanding. For example, Black authenticity is important in the development of one's racial identity (Eversly, 2004). However, the meaning of Blackness as a racial category is mapped onto cultural signs, such as language. When reading someone's race, people do not separate it from cultural processes and are instead using cultural processes to determine one's racial authenticity (Chun, 2011). Specifically, if an individual dresses, behaves, and acts differently than what is expected from within the Black community, their "race card" gets pulled. They are no longer deemed to be part of the race based on acts that are specific to culture. Taking these factors into consideration in the future, I would be open to parents' conflation of race and culture, but collect more data to clarify the differences between the two concepts and ask parents to elaborate on their conceptualizations of them as distinct as well as overlapping.

Future Analyses and Research

Over forty-three interviews and ninety-five hours of observational data were collected in this study. While this dissertation includes just two analyses, these data could contribute to multiple additional analyses, including analyses of 1) the ongoing utilization of monocentric categories for racial socialization and identity development and 2) the significance of parents' experiences with their own racial socialization processes and their levels of connectedness to their racial and cultural identities.

The first analysis that I have thought about is how monocentricity influences the strategies that parents use to racially socialize their children. This analysis is necessary because, despite our growing multiracial population, we continue to live in a society that enforces monocentric ideas of race. Society struggles with the inability to position multiracials within a single monoracial category, and parents also struggle with conceptualizing their children as having more than two identities. As a result, they overlook the need to prepare their children for their third racial identity as multiracial (Rockquemore et al., 2009) . Multiraciality comes with a particular type of discrimination and parents' emphasis on one, or possibly two, of their children's identities leaves these children ill equipped for their unique racialization.

The second analysis that I have discussed at length with my chair is the way in which parents' own childhood socialization experiences and their racial and cultural identity development influence the strategies and logics they employ as they socialize their children about race and culture. This analysis is important because it highlights the generational process of racial socialization and the way in which parents draw on what they themselves were taught as children to socialize their own children or stray away from the messages that they learned as children. Early analysis has also indicated that one's level of connectedness to their racial or cultural background and identity influences the decisions they make around socializing their

children.

Implications

This dissertation has noted several gaps in the literature on racial socialization. Most studies and articles pay little attention to multiracial families, especially those who are dual-minority. The analysis in these two papers of the socialization process as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families provides a first step in addressing these gaps, extending conceptualizations of racial socialization and introducing additional dimensions of the process. Consequently, researchers can begin to conceptualize racial socialization in a way that is inclusive of all multiracial and monoracial individuals. The first paper in this dissertation focuses on the process as being child-driven, but as I will show in my suggestions for future research, there is a component of the process that is parent-driven.

Although this study focused on only thirteen families, the theory developed in this study—Parental Racialization—has identified additional dimensions of the racial socialization process. This theory served to be helpful in identifying the ways in which parents of dual-minority multiracial children understand society's racialization of their children. It can also be used to understand how parents of all backgrounds—monoracial, multiracial, Black, White, Asian, Latino, Native American—come to understand how society views their children and how they assess the needs of their children based on this perception. All children are racialized by a society, and I would argue that all parents go through what I have identified as the Parental Racialization process.

The two papers describing this qualitative study make important contributions to existing research on racial socialization by providing insight into the nuances of the socialization process. Specifically, the first paper highlights how the process differs for children from different

backgrounds who would be perceived and racialized in different ways, and also the way in which gender shifts the strategies parents use for racially socializing their children.

An additional way in which this study highlights the nuances of the socialization process is through the use of observational methods. This method of data collection demonstrates how parents unintentionally and intentionally transmit both verbal and nonverbal messages to their children. The second paper adds to the existing understanding of the racial socialization process by describing the way in which this behavioral process occurs in a family's day-to-day interactions. This study's observational data also identifies environmental contributions to socialization, and explores how what parents say they do matches with what they actually do. For example, the Taylor family talked about the importance of the Spanish language in their home as well as religion. What they did not mention, that the observations allowed me to view, was their nightly ritual of praying in Spanish at the dinner table.

Using observational methods to understand the racial and cultural socialization process as it occurs in dual-minority multiracial families has implications for a range of socialization strategies that are not unique to race and culture. For example, research shows that much of gender socialization consists of environmental cues and the child's physical appearance (Fagot, Rodgers, and Leinbach, 2000). Gender socialization begins before birth, at baby showers and when parents are shopping for their child-to-be's clothes, in ways that are nonverbal and indirect. Incorporating observational methods to examine the way in which these types of messages are transmitted unintentionally, nonverbally, and indirectly could expand this area of research significantly.

In the introduction of this dissertation, I identified many of the assumptions that I held prior to this study. One of these assumptions was that parents who are of minorities have had a

distinct minoritized experience and would naturally know how and be willing to racially socialize their dual-minority multiracial children, who would also be perceived as being a minority. I also assumed that both parents would pass down information about their specific backgrounds in a balanced way. The findings from these two papers have implications for future research and show that one's perception and experience as a minority does not equate to one's ability and willingness to racially or culturally socialize their children. It also draws attention to the fact that although parents in these families have distinct and unique experiences, they may choose not to transmit messages in a balanced way. Instead, families place varying levels of emphasis on certain aspects of their children's identity. Parents determine what and if they can teach their children about their backgrounds. They may decide as a family or as individuals what is most important for their children to learn. This can result in a child learning about one, two, or three aspects of their background, or nothing at all.

Additional factors influence socialization within multiracial families in which both parents are minorities. Individual parents' own distinct experiences with regard to race, and the experience their children will have with regard to race, influence the racial socialization process. Multiracial children not only have two distinct racial minority backgrounds that parents can teach them about, but they also have a third racial background—a multiracial background—with which neither parent can relate. The majority of the parents in this study did not focus on developing their child's multiracial identity. While monoracial minority parents may be more prepared or more aware of the need to racially socialize their children based on each of their backgrounds, there is a third dimension of their child's racial being that needs to be attended to. This study has identified the way in which parents in dual-minority multiracial families approach socializing these children using either a monocentric approach or a general minority socialization

approach. Future research can focus on the ways in which parents of multiracial children are or are not attuned to their children's need to develop their third identity. Future research can seek to understand the multiracial socialization process and the content of these messages and whether this process is different from or similar to strategies used to monoracially socialized children.

Future Research

This study leaves a range of additional questions to be asked. For example: How does child exposure to broader contexts outside of the family affect, or not affect, parents' approaches to socializing their children? How do parents' socialization strategies change as they gain more years of parental experience and as children get older? How do societal factors and events influence the racial socialization and cultural socialization process? How has the current political climate contributed to the way in which racialization is starting to be more significant for other types of minority groups?

One avenue of research I hope to explore further stems directly from the limitations of this study. Many of the parents and children in this study were young. It has been almost two years since I ended my data collection. Many of the children of the parents who I interviewed have since started school and have broader experiences with different contexts outside of their home. Introducing a longitudinal component to my initial study would answer some of the questions about how age, broader contexts, and additional years of experience impact parents' socialization strategies. Researchers interested in examining this process can develop studies that initially incorporate a longitudinal component. This would provide them with ongoing opportunities to examine these questions as well as potentially obtain information about the outcomes of parents' strategies.

In the first paper, I introduced Parental Racialization to discuss the way in which parents

draw on society's racialization of their children to teach their children about race. Parents in dual-minority multiracial families take many different approaches to racial socialization. Future research can utilize the Parental Racialization model to take a deeper look at the socialization process as it occurs within different types of multiracial and monoracial families. They can explore more how Parental Racialization occurs for monoracial families and how siblings might racialized differently, as well as exploring the range of ways in which this process occurs overall for biological and adoptive families.

Another strong influence on racial socialization strategies is parents' relationship to their memories of their own upbringing and their positive or negative feelings about being part of a specific racial and ethnic community or being excluded. Future research can deeply explore the experiences of parents and the way in which they contribute to a parent-driven approach to socialization. Each parent experiences a unique racial and cultural socialization process during childhood. Research that focuses on developing an in-depth understanding of family members' histories can contribute significantly to the research on racial and cultural socialization by identifying additional reasons why parents utilize specific socialization strategies.

Findings from this study suggest that for some families culture is more significant than race. These families prioritize the development of their children's cultural background for several reasons. For some families, culture was central to their development and identity, whereas other families feel that race did not play a significant role in their life and how they identify themselves. They feel that society did not racialize their children in the same way that it racializes children who are perceived as Black. How we are perceived and self-identify is highly influenced by our social interactions and the social climate. Social events have the potential to shift our understanding of race relations within our society. A future study that I am currently

developing explores the ways in which a major social event—the Presidential election of Donald Trump—has started to shift race relations and racialization within the United States. The umbrella of racialization is now expanding more overtly. For example, Latino families across the country are now becoming increasingly concerned about their children's racialization and the President's identification of Latinos as thugs and criminals. This study will focus on families of all racial and cultural backgrounds in order to understand how and if their understanding of race has shifted. I anticipate that the current political climate is having a significant impact on non-Black minority families, whose attention to racialization was previously minimal if their children did not look Black. I am interested in talking to families of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, including Whites, to gain an understanding of whether or not their racial awareness has been increased, and if so, how they are teaching their children about race. Future research can contribute to existing research on racial socialization by examining the impact of social events and how societal factors influence the racial and cultural socialization process.

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Appendix A – Interview Protocol

Parent-Child Questions – Individual Interview

- Who lives in your household?
- How would you compare your own parenting style with that of your parents? Are there ways you've tried to be similar or different from your parents?
- Who do you go to for childrearing advice? What has prompted you to go to this person?
- What are your goals as a parent?
- What are your biggest concerns as a parent?
- Can you describe your child(ren) to me? What kind of child is he or she? What was he/she like as a baby?
- What kind of person do you want X to grow up to be?
- What sorts of qualities would you like for him/her to possess as he/she grows older?
- What qualities of yours would you like him/her to have? What qualities of your partners?
- How much influence do you feel you have in shaping your child's personality?
- How are the different tasks/responsibilities shared/split between you and your partner?
- How is discipline handled in your family? Do both you and your partner share similar discipline techniques? If not, how do they differ?
- How important is race/ethnicity in your household?
- How would you racially/ethnically identify your household/family? Your children?
- How would your partner identify the household/family? Your children?
- How does your family (parents) describe/identify your household? Your children?
- What are your feelings about racial differences and parenting strategies? Have you and your partner had conversations about this?

- How important is it for your child to know about their racial background? How have conversations about their racial background been initiated – did they ask or did something happen that prompted it, or did you bring it up?
- What are your thoughts on your children's perceptions of race at this point in time? How do you anticipate these perceptions shifting as your child(ren) get older?
- Are there any messages or communications that you received growing up that you have shared with, or plan to share with your children?
- How have you, or do you plan to talk to your children about race? How about discrimination? What types of things have initiated or do you anticipate will initiate these conversations?
- What types of conversations do you and your family have about race?

Is there anything else you would like to share with me about your children and your household?