

Familial Racial-ethnic Socialization of Multiracial Youth: A Qualitative Examination
and Validation of the Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale

by

Annabelle Lin Atkin

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved July 2020 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Hyung Yoo, Chair
Kelly Jackson
Giac-Thao Tran
Rebecca White

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

August 2020

ABSTRACT

Pew Research Center reported in 2015 that already one-in-seven infants born in the United States are Multiracial (Livingston, 2017). Therefore, the number of Multiracial families is growing, and there is a need to understand how parents are engaging in racial-ethnic socialization, or the transmission of messages to Multiracial children about race, ethnicity, and culture (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Hughes et al., 2006). I conducted a qualitative interview study with 20 Multiracial emerging adults to understand the types of racial-ethnic socialization messages Multiracial youth receive from their parents, and used these themes to inform the development and validation of the first measure of racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial youth, the Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale.

Study 1 identified nine themes of racial-ethnic socialization content: cultural socialization, racial identity socialization, preparation for bias socialization, colorblind socialization, race conscious socialization, cultural diversity appreciation socialization, negative socialization, exposure to diversity socialization, and silent socialization. Study 2 utilized a sample of 902 Multiracial emerging adults to develop and validate the MY-Soc scale. Items were written to assess all of the themes identified in Study 1, with the exception of exposure to diversity socialization, and the survey was designed to collect responses regarding the socialization practices of two of the youths' primary caregivers. The sample was split to run exploratory factor analysis and confirmatory factor analysis, finding support for a 62-item scale measuring all eight themes. The MY-Soc Scale was also supported by validity and reliability tests. The two studies advance the literature by increasing understanding of the racial-ethnic socialization experiences of Multiracial youth of diverse racial backgrounds. The MY-Soc Scale contributes an important tool for

scholars and practitioners to learn which racial-ethnic socialization messages are promotive for Multiracial youth development in different contexts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to:

Dr. Brandon Yoo, my advisor, for mentoring me these last five years and helping me reach this point. You have spent countless hours talking through all of my ideas with me and encouraging me to embrace new challenges in exploring new methods and areas of research. You taught me not only how to do high quality research, but how to make meaning out of what I do as an activist scholar so that I can use my education to raise awareness of inequity in our society and work to address it. I have grown so much in so many ways thanks to your guidance.

Dr. Kelly Jackson, for being a Multiracial scholar I can look up to, who is paving the way for Multiracial scholars in academia both through your leadership and research. I am so thankful for your patience in teaching me how to do qualitative research and supporting me in publishing my first qualitative paper. Sharing our personal experiences growing up as Multiracial kids has been meaningful to me and keeps me motivated to continue this important research for future generations of Multiracial children.

Dr. Alisia Tran, for helping me grow as a quantitative researcher and challenging me to do complicated analyses to understand the nuances of the Asian American experience. Your incredible patience and guidance has helped me from the beginning of my journey, as you've sat on all of my committees and also worked with me to publish a very complex study. I am grateful that you always consider me for research projects and treat me like a member of your lab family.

Dr. Rebecca White, for being the most incredible advocate and supporter of myself and the students in the department. You are the best role model I know for how to be an ally.

I am so fortunate to have learned family theories from your culturally informed approach. I hope to someday ask questions that are as thoughtful and challenging as yours, as I have always admired how you push me and others to think more deeply with your willingness to speak up in any academic setting.

Dr. Rudy Guevarra, for introducing me to the history of Multiracial people in the United States in the only class I ever had the opportunity to take about Multiracials. Thank you for being a leader in the Multiracial scholarly community and for looking out for me these last few years.

Dr. Nilda Flores-Gonzalez, for taking me on as a research assistant and now a postdoc. I am grateful for your support of my professional development and look forward to learning more from you about how to be a leader and activist scholar.

Dr. Kim Updegraff, for being such a supportive and helpful graduate advisor throughout my time here at ASU.

Dr. Michael Edwards, for helping me figure out how to collect and analyze data using the novel method presented in my dissertation.

Dr. Eleanor Seaton and Dr. Adriana Umana-Taylor, for teaching me about race, racial-ethnic identity, and discrimination. You provided the foundation for my scholarship.

Dr. Jose Causadias, for giving me my first research assistantship, teaching me new research methods, and helping me earn my first authorship on a research publication.

All of the professors and staff I've worked with and learned from at ASU, who supported my development as a scholar.

The Graduate Professional Student Association at ASU, which funded my dissertation studies and financially supported my conference travel throughout graduate school.

My brilliant, strong, activist labmates, Abigail, Sarah, and Ronae, for always supporting me, doing amazing research with me, and fighting for social justice both in academia and in broader society. You inspire me and keep me going.

My friends at ASU, Christina, Claire, Michelle, Brittany, Rachel, Stacy, Jayley, Diana, Chanler, Matthew and everyone else, for helping me survive grad school!

My undergraduate research assistants Samantha, Rebecca, Raquel, Olivia, and Alexis, for the hours and effort you put into transcribing and coding interviews for my projects.

My family, Mom, Dad, Arthur, Yolanda, Bea, Jonathan, and Joey, for supporting me and pushing me to achieve my goals and be the best that I can be. Shoutout to Joey for being the first adolescent to test the MY-Soc Scale.

Robert, for being my partner, best friend, and number one supporter from the beginning of this graduate school journey. I feel like I can do anything with you by my side, and I'm thankful that you will be with me no matter where in the country this career takes us.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
STUDY 1	8
Introduction.....	8
Method	14
Results.....	21
Discussion.....	50
STUDY 2	64
Introduction	64
Method	77
Results	81
Discussion	86
GENERAL DISCUSSION	99
REFERENCES	105
APPENDIX	
A TABLE & FIGURES.....	114
B SUPPLEMENTAL TABLE	128
C MY-SOC MEASURE	130
D IRB APPROVAL	137

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Demographic Details of Study 1 Participants ($N = 20$)	115
2. Study 1 Racial-ethnic Socialization Themes	116
3. Study 2 Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale Item Descriptions and Factor Loadings (EFA Subsample, $n = 400$).....	120
4. Study 2 Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale Model Fit Indices	124
5. Study 2 MY-Soc Subscale Means, SDs, and Reliabilities	125
6. Study 2 Correlations (CFA Subsample, $n = 502$)	126
7. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Results for Tests of Incremental Validity of the MY-Soc Scale (CFA Subsample, $n = 502$).....	127

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Study 2 Participant Flow.....	119

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Multiracial children are the largest demographic group in America among individuals under the age of 18 (Saulny, 2011), and yet there is very little research available about their developmental processes. Furthermore, Multiracial youth face unique racial challenges in the United States' monocentric society, but there is a dearth of knowledge regarding how they navigate these challenges (Root, 1996). Literature suggests that *caregivers* (i.e., parents or other individuals raising the children) play an important role in providing messages to their children about race, ethnicity, and culture, a process known as *racial-ethnic socialization* (Hughes et al., 2006). However, the majority of research on racial-ethnic socialization has focused on monoracial families or assumed participants were from monoracial families.

Multiracial families are unique in that members often have different racial-ethnic group memberships and experiences, with youth having multiple group memberships to navigate, complicating the racial-ethnic socialization process. The *process* of racial-ethnic socialization encompasses the various factors that influence how socialization occurs as well as the effects that receiving socialization messages has on various outcomes such as racial-ethnic identity development, racial attitudes, and mental health. However, to understand process, there first needs to be an understanding of the socialization message *content*, or what is being said to you regarding race, ethnicity, and culture. Existing measures of racial-ethnic socialization do not account for youth having multiple racial-ethnic group memberships nor consider the unique racial-ethnic socialization processes that occur in Multiracial families. To stimulate research in this area and provide a tool for researchers to explore the development of Multiracial youth,

the proposed studies aimed to utilize Critical Multiracial Theory (Harris, 2016) to 1) qualitatively investigate the types of racial-ethnic socialization message content Multiracial American youth receive, and 2) develop the first measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial American youth.

Critical Multiracial Theory, or MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), is key in understanding the specific social climate in which the racial-ethnic socialization process occurs for Multiracial American families. To understand the current social climate, the MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) tenet *challenge to ahistoricism* emphasizes the need to understand the history relevant to issues facing Multiracial issues today. Historically, interracial relationships in the United States were not penalized in the early colonial era (Cashin, 2017). In fact, English indentured servants did not view Africans and American Indians as inferior due to their skin color, but as friends and lovers who shared their class-based oppression. United, European and African laborers rebelled against the elite class as early as 1659, with Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 being the most well-known uprising. In response, wealthy and powerful colonists began to establish and reinforce the color line, inventing the concept of whiteness and creating laws that punished interracial relationships to dehumanize the enslaved and separate them from White slave owners (Cashin, 2017). Thus, monocentrism resulted from the need to justify slavery and contributed to the creation of the one-drop rule, which dictated that anyone with African heritage was a slave. This rule served to uphold Whiteness as pure and prevent the progeny of the enslaved raped by slaveowners from attaining freedom.

Since then, the system of racial hierarchy and white supremacy has evolved to what it is today. Interracial marriage remained illegal and stigmatized in states across the

country for centuries, until the *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court case in 1967, just over 50 years ago. Since 1967, attitudes towards interracial marriages have shifted dramatically and rates of interracial marriage have increased from 3% to 17% (Livingston & Brown, 2017). However, anti-miscegenation sentiments still exist among some Americans, even among members of younger generations such as the 21-year-old El Paso murderer, Patrick Crusius, who referred to “shameless race mixers” and opposed “race mixing” in the manifesto he posted before his attack targeting Latinx on August 3rd, 2019 (Davis, 2019). Thus, White individuals continue to see interracial marriage and Multiracial individuals as a threat to white supremacy, given that interracial marriage between racial-ethnic minorities and Whites is viewed as giving racially inferior individuals closer proximity to whiteness.

As a result of this history of white supremacy, the experiences of Multiracial persons are affected by what MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) calls a *monoracial paradigm* that dominates U.S. society. This paradigm structures race into categories that are immutable and fixed in order to uphold the notion of white purity and maintain white supremacy. Within this paradigm, Multiracial realities are not recognized. As individuals transgressing the socially constructed racial categories, Multiracial youth are either forced to fit into one race box or be excluded altogether. This results in experiences of *monoracism*, or discrimination and oppression as a consequence of having heritage in multiple racial categories that violates the monoracial paradigm (Harris, 2016; Johnston & Nadal, 2010). For example, being forced to check one box in response to a race question or being denied membership in a racial group because of one’s multiplicity are common experiences of monoracism faced by Multiracial individuals. Thus, navigating

Multiraciality in a monocentric society presents risks for Multiracial youth, and though racial-ethnic socialization may be able to mitigate these risks, there are barriers that caregivers of Multiracial youth need to overcome to help their children challenge the monoracial paradigm.

MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) also advocates for exploring the *experiential knowledge* of Multiracial individuals, centering their voices in the investigation of their development. This informed methodological decisions to interview and survey Multiracial youth to gain their perspective rather than the perspective of their parents. The qualitative study in particular also addresses another tenet of MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), *challenge to dominant ideology*. Specifically, by centering the narrative of Multiracial youth, their Multiracial experiences are foregrounded in the research.

Thus, MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), is a useful framework for both studies in that it highlights the unique risks faced by Multiracial youth due to their perceived violation of socially constructed racial boundaries, providing background for understanding Multiracial experiences but also informing the methodology of each study and the interpretation of the data. The MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) framework also serves as a lens for conceptualizing race and racism from a Multiracial perspective, critiquing the monoracial paradigm and providing a foundation for theoretical models that propose relationships between factors affecting Multiracial development. These models specifically outline how familial racial-ethnic socialization has the potential to exacerbate or mitigate the risks faced by Multiracial youth, depending on the message content (Atkin et al., 2019). For example, the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) suggests that racial-ethnic

socialization influences developmental competencies of youth including their cognitive, social, and emotional outcomes, and their ability to cope with racism. I also utilize the Ecological Model of Biethnic Identity Formation (Gonzales-Backen, 2013), which illustrates that familial racial-ethnic socialization plays an important role in the racial-ethnic identity development of Multiracial youth. Specifically, family members pass down teachings about race, culture, and ethnicity to children that inform their identity.

To provide researchers with a tool for exploring these theorized relationships with a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens, the present study aimed to identify the content of different types of messages Multiracial youth receive from their families and develop an empirical measure to assess experiences of racial-ethnic socialization among Multiracial youth. Emerging adults between the ages of 18 and 29 (Arnett, 2014) were recruited for both studies. During this developmental stage, youth have the most opportunity for identity exploration as they become more independent from their caregivers. Furthermore, emerging adults have the cognitive capacity to reflect on their past experiences, such as racial-ethnic socialization from parents that shaped their identities (Syed & Azmitia, 2008).

For the qualitative study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 Multiracial emerging adults with diverse racial backgrounds to gain an understanding of their parents' racial-ethnic socialization practices. Drawing on MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), the research questions examined the multidimensional aspects associated with familial racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial youth. The themes derived from the data provide an understanding of the various ways that caregivers socialize Multiracial children within a society dominated by the monoracial paradigm. In the second study,

these themes informed the development of a quantitative measure. Measurement validation was conducted using survey data, with a sample of 400 Multiracial emerging adults for exploratory factor analysis, and another 502 Multiracial emerging adults for confirmatory factor analysis (Kline, 2005; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006).

Given that Multiracial individuals are one of the fastest growing racial groups in the US (Pew, 2015), it is critical that research focused on this understudied group be conducted to fill this gap in knowledge. Before a literature can be built investigating how familial racial-ethnic socialization is related to Multiracial identity development, coping with racial discrimination, psychosocial outcomes, and other important developmental processes, a validated measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization specific to Multiracial families needs to be developed. Guided by a MultiCrit lens (Harris, 2016), interview questions and measure items captured how caregivers of different racial-ethnic backgrounds transmit their knowledge of race, racism, and ethnic heritage to their Multiracial children, so that future research studies can investigate which of these messages help Multiracial youth navigate living in a monocentric society. In summary, the proposed study aimed to utilize MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) to: 1) Identify familial racial-ethnic socialization domains through qualitative interviews, and 2) develop and validate a new measure of Multiracial youth socialization. Together, the findings from the two studies contribute to the development of the first measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization for diverse Multiracial American youth and give insight into how Multiracial families navigate and challenge monoracism.

This project could have a significant impact on the Multiracial population because research evidence demonstrating the effects of receiving specific racial-ethnic

socialization message types could influence more caregivers to engage in this key developmental process. From a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens, it is important for caregivers to learn not only how to engage in racial-ethnic socialization associated with specific monoracial and ethnic/cultural group experiences, but to be aware of how Multiracial youth are marginalized and how to prepare them to challenge monoracism. Knowledge gained from this research could also inspire the development of programs and interventions that educate parents about how to socialize their children and aid therapists in how to counsel Multiracial families. Multiracial youth that receive affirming and race-conscious racial-ethnic socialization from their caregivers may exhibit long term benefits, such as better strategies for coping with discrimination and stronger racial identities, which may in turn improve mental health outcomes.

STUDY 1

A qualitative examination of familial-racial-ethnic socialization experiences among diverse Multiracial emerging adults

They never taught me how to be a mixed person,
How to balance two cultures on one back,
How to walk on one leg,
How to live as half.
They never taught me how to live as ‘or,’
In a world of black or white.
How to exist in the middle space,
Prosper in the cracks.
To be the side of the coin not the heads or tails,
Never being able to stand up;
Always falling on one side or the other,
As a way to appease the mono.
They never taught me how to live with no representation, no role models,
With mixed celebrities being claimed by one of their cultures.
They never taught me how to live without a culture.
They never taught me.
- Elijah MacBean

Though interracial mixing has occurred since European settlers arrived in what is now the United States, it was only 50 years ago that interracial marriages became legal across the US with the *Loving v. Virginia* case (Chang, 2016). Now, the Multiracial¹ population in America is the largest demographic group among individuals under the age of 18 (Saulny, 2011), but there is a dearth of research about the development of this rapidly growing population. Specifically, there is a lack of research that examines how Multiracial families navigate racial issues and prepare their children for living in a

¹ Multiracial people in this study are defined as individuals with biological parents from two or more of the following groups: White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Black, American Indian, Middle Eastern/North African, and Latinx. The first five of these groups are designated as racial groups by the U.S. Census, while Middle Eastern/North African and Latinx were proposed to be considered racial groups for the 2020 Census. I recognize that all seven of these groups encounter uniquely racialized experiences, and therefore define them as racial groups.

society dominated by monocentrism, which assumes every individual is associated with only one racial group and pathologizes and excludes those who do not fit this norm (Jackson & Samuels, 2019). Thus, more research is needed that examines *racial-ethnic socialization*, or the transmission of messages from caregivers to children about the meaning of their racial-ethnic group membership (Hughes et al., 2006).

To contribute to this small but needed body of literature, I utilize Critical Multiracial Theory, or MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), to explore the messages caregivers provide to their Multiracial children. The MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) framework provides a context for understanding the uniquely marginalized status of Multiracial youth as individuals who do not fit into the prescribed racial categories determined by the monoracial paradigm of U.S. society. Applying this to familial racial-ethnic socialization, a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens facilitates the investigation of whether caregivers perpetuate or challenge the monoracial paradigm with their children. Do caregivers socialize their children solely about one or more monoracial groups, keeping these groups distinct and separate, or do they engage in socialization that affirms their child's identity as a Multiracial individual? To gain a better understanding of the various types of messages caregivers are communicating to their Multiracial children, the purpose of the present study is to interview Multiracial emerging adults to ask them about their experiences of racial-ethnic socialization.

The MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) framework also provides the context for understanding race and multiraciality relative to the Ecological Model of Biethnic Identity Formation (Gonzales-Backen, 2013), which theorizes how race-related factors work together to inform development. Specifically, this model posits that familial racial-

ethnic socialization is associated with racial-ethnic identity, which is a potential protective factor when Multiracial individuals face discrimination. In other words, the messages that caregivers give about their child's racial-ethnic heritage and culture might shape how the Multiracial child understands their racial-ethnic identity and prepare them for responding to racial discrimination. However, little is known about how this process of racial-ethnic socialization plays out in Multiracial families (Rollins, 2019). Racial-ethnic socialization in a mixed race family is complicated by the different racial heritages and experiences of caregivers and children. Furthermore, the social climate, which is the most distal ecological factor in the model, plays a role in how the Multiracial child's environment affects their experiences of racial-ethnic socialization and identity development.

As Gonzales-Backen (2013) illustrated in the Ecological Model of Biethnic Identity Formation, caregivers' racial-ethnic backgrounds are a contributing factor in their racial-ethnic socialization. For instance, in majority-minority families, one caregiver is White and lacks personal experience with being a racial-ethnic minority in U.S. society (Rollins, 2019). Another consideration is that when the child is a first generation Multiracial, or Biracial, meaning they have two monoracial biological parents, neither parent can relate to their child's experiences of being Multiracial. However, even if one or both caregivers are Multiracial, the child may have different racial heritages and a differentiated phenotype in addition to growing up during a different era of racial ideology, resulting in being perceived differently by society and consequently having a unique racial experience due to their generational status. In addition, the experiences that Multiracial youth have with caregivers of different racial backgrounds may impact their

identity development through the process of racial encoding, whereby individuals associate experiences with one person to all others who share that person's racial background (Root, 1998). Specifically, Multiracial youth may code bodies resembling the racial group of their caregiver similarly, such that a dysfunctional relationship with a caregiver of one racial background may lead to distancing themselves from the culture and other members of that racial group in an attempt to protect themselves.

Given all of these complexities and the significance of racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial development, it is crucial to qualitatively explore how Multiracial youth with diverse heritages experience racial-ethnic socialization within the family context. Previous qualitative studies examining racial-ethnic socialization in Multiracial families have found that monoracial parents typically do not talk explicitly about race and ethnicity with children, utilizing color-blind messages that deemphasize the significance of race instead (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Jackson, Wolven, & Crudup, 2019; O'Donoghue, 2005; Rauktis, Fusco, Goodkind, & Bradley-King, 2016; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Samuels, 2009, 2010; Snyder, 2012). However, MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) and previous studies highlight that on top of racism and colorism, Multiracial youth experience *monoracism*, or discrimination based on one's Multiracial status (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Multiracial youth reported being exoticized, tokenized, objectified, placed into monoracial boxes, rejected, and forced to pick a monoracial identity to appease monoracial peers (Harris, 2016). Colorblindness and silence around race are racial-ethnic socialization approaches that do not prepare youth to embrace their multiraciality and respond to such discrimination. Thus, there is a need to further investigate what types of messages caregivers are providing and how Multiracial youth perceive these messages.

Though no measures or models currently exist delineating specific types of racial-ethnic socialization messages given to Multiracial youth, a systematic review of the qualitative and quantitative literature with Multiracial American youth suggests that prior research has found evidence of seven domains of racial-ethnic socialization: cultural socialization, identity socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarian socialization, negative socialization, exposure to diversity messages, and no racial-ethnic socialization (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Two of these domains (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias) were popularized due to work by Hughes and colleagues with monoracial Black families (1997, 2001). *Cultural socialization* encompasses messages about cultural traditions and values and exposure to people, characters, foods, literature, and other aspects associated with one's racial-ethnic heritage. *Preparation for bias messages* teach children about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination they may face based on their racial-ethnic appearance and create space for dialogue about experiences of racism within the family. Scholars have also previously examined *egalitarian socialization*, which prioritizes messages about everyone being the same (Hughes et al., 2006; Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018). These could be coupled with messages that race doesn't matter (i.e., a colorblind ideology), or, emphasize respecting cultural differences and valuing diversity (Atkin & Yoo, 2019).

The remaining four types of socialization messages identified by the review have been studied less frequently in the racial-ethnic socialization literature. *Negative socialization* encompasses implicitly or explicitly conveyed prejudicial attitudes towards specific racial-ethnic groups. In addition, *racial identity socialization* involves messages about how the child belongs to and should be proud of their membership in various

racial-ethnic groups, as well as labels they can use to racially identify themselves.

Exposure to diversity through schools and communities was another way that parents influenced their children's racial-ethnic socialization. Lastly, the review noted that some studies found parents were silent on the topic of race or actively avoided or ignored the topic, a domain labeled as *no racial-ethnic socialization* (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). The present study will further explore these domains, refining and expanding understanding of youths' racial-ethnic socialization experiences through a MultiCrit lens.

Though racial-ethnic socialization has previously been studied qualitatively, the current study advances the literature with its diverse representation of Multiracial youth from different racial backgrounds. The review by Atkin and Yoo (2019) found 13 qualitative interview studies were previously conducted examining racial-ethnic socialization with a Multiracial sample. However, eight of these studies focused on just one group's experiences: Black and White Biracial individuals (e.g., Butler-Sweet, 2011; Byrd & Garwick, 2006; Chancler, Web, & Miller, 2017; O'Donoghue, 2005; Rautkis et al., 2016; Samuels, 2009; Samuels, 2010; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017), who only account for 20% of the Multiracial population (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Jackson et al., 2019; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Thus, it is unclear which experiences are unique to the Black and White Biracial population and which are experienced by other Multiracial groups. Furthermore, most of the interviews were with monoracial White mothers of these individuals, and thus did not represent the perspective of Multiracial youth.

MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) advocates for learning from the experiential knowledge of Multiracial individuals to center their voices and challenge dominant ideologies constructed that assert Multiracial individuals do not experience racial discrimination.

Thus, this study is the first qualitative interview study to investigate racial-ethnic socialization from the perspective of diverse Multiracial males and females. Moreover, Multiracial individuals from majority-minority (White and racial-ethnic minority monoracial biological parents), minority-minority (two racial-ethnic minority monoracial biological parents), and second-generation Multiracial (one or two Multiracial biological parents) backgrounds were intentionally recruited to provide a variety of perspectives. This is also the first study of familial racial-ethnic socialization with Multiracial youth to utilize the MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) framework to provide context to the study and its examination of Multiracial experiences.

Method

Participants

Interviews were conducted with twenty Multiracial emerging adult college students (50% female) between the ages of 18 and 23 ($M = 20.55$). All participants were students at a large, public university in the Southwest. See Table 1 for demographic details, including gender, age, and parents' racial-ethnic background. Eight participants were categorized as majority-minority Biracial because they had one White parent and one monoracial minority parent. Six participants were categorized as minority-minority Biracial due to having two monoracial minority parents. The remaining six participants were categorized as 2nd generation Multiracials because one or both of their parents were Multiracial.

Researcher Statement of Positionality

I have a Taiwanese-Chinese immigrant mother and White father and identify as Biracial Asian American. Thus, I have my own personal experiences of being Multiracial

that allowed me to relate to and understand the Multiracial participants. However, as Paragg (2014) notes, the insider/outsider dynamic between a mixed race interviewer and participants is complicated. Though there may be a shared mixed race identity, the assumption that I am an insider is problematic because our different racial backgrounds and/or phenotypic presentation may limit how many shared experiences we have and affect the participant's perception of me as an insider/outsider. Thus, our commonality is what Paragg (2014) describes as a *complex commonality*. For example, when conducting interviews, I sometimes disclosed my own Multiracial identity to participants, which may have influenced how comfortable participants were in disclosing their experiences. With participants who shared my racial background, I was able to make more comments to indicate that I shared similar experiences. However, there were other participants with which my identity never came up, as they did not seem to feel it was important. Alternatively, they may have assumed my racial background based on my name and phenotype. Thus, my positionality as a Biracial Asian American woman may have led some participants to feel that I understood some of their experiences, but due to our complex commonalities, the nature of the researcher-researched relationship likely varied from participant to participant.

To enhance the quality of the research, I was involved in reflexivity in each stage (Berger, 2015). In writing the interview questions, recruiting and interviewing participants, coding and analyzing data, and writing the paper, I constantly asked myself whether I was being inclusive of all mixed race people while also acknowledging their unique differences. I also engaged in reflexivity when writing notes after each interview. Writing about my observations allowed me to identify my values, beliefs, and biases as a

researcher, making me more conscious of my reactions to the participants (Berger, 2015). An undergraduate research assistant was involved in the study as a second coder. She identifies as Filipina and White Multiracial, and thus also came to the data with the perspective of an individual who has experienced growing up as Multiracial. We engaged in reflexivity together by discussing our experiences with the coding process and the phenomenon being explored to understand how our own experiences and understandings of the world influenced the research process (Morrow, 2005).

Procedure

The study was approved by the Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board of the university. Interviews were conducted in March and April of 2018. Participants were recruited for the study through an advertisement posted on the student homepage of the university and emails sent out to Multiracial emerging adults from previous research studies who indicated interest in participating in future research. Eligibility requirements were outlined in the call as any Multiracial college student with biological parents of two or more racial backgrounds over the age of 18. Individuals were considered Multiracial if they had biological parents from two of the following groups: White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Black, American Indian, Middle Eastern/North African, and Latinx. Multiethnic individuals who were monoracial (e.g., Chinese and Thai) were not eligible for the study.

Interested individuals were directed to email me for screening. I asked each individual about their parents' racial backgrounds over email and selected a sample that represents majority-minority groups (e.g., White and Asian, White and Latino, White and Black, White and Native American), minority-minority groups (e.g., Asian and Black,

Black and Latino, Latino and Asian, Native American and Latino), and second-generation Multiracial individuals (e.g., with one or two Multiracial biological parents) with no more than two individuals with the same racial-ethnic background in the sample. An equal balance of males and females were also recruited to ensure that the experiences of both genders were represented, addressing limitations of the majority of Multiracial research which is comprised of disproportionately female samples (Charmaraman, Woo, Quach, & Erkut, 2014). A sample size of 20 was initially chosen based on previous literature suggesting that not much new information is attained by interviewing more than twenty people (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Selected participants were asked semi-structured interview questions in a 1-2 hour interview and compensated with \$30 Amazon gift cards for their participation. I conducted the interviews and digitally recorded them. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim.

The interview protocol was influenced by a review of existing racial-ethnic socialization literature and my own experiences as a member of a Multiracial family. In addition, the interview protocol is influenced by MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) in that interview questions and probes involved details about both monoracial and Multiracial socialization. The MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) tenet *intersections of multiple racial identities* calls for the recognition of intersections of one's racial heritages. For example, when discussing discrimination experiences and how youth discussed these experiences with parents, I asked about discrimination participants encountered based on all of their monoracial group memberships as well as their Multiracial status. Furthermore, MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) also guided the inclusion of questions about uniquely Multiracial experiences such as how they were taught by parents to check boxes in response to the

race question, whether people have made comments about them being Multiracial in front of their parents, and whether parents engage in each other's cultural activities along with their child (e.g., a Latino father celebrating a Chinese holiday with his Chinese wife and Biracial child). The protocol was reviewed by the professor of a qualitative interview course and a professor with experience studying Multiracial individuals. The final version of the protocol was pilot tested with a Multiracial graduate student.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was utilized to identify racial-ethnic socialization themes in the data. This method identifies, analyzes, and reports patterns (themes) that emerge from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data was also analyzed using a constructionist perspective, which theorizes how the sociopolitical context and structures of society drive participants' accounts of their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Analysis involved a combined inductive and deductive approach. The deductive approach was driven by the research question and guided by domains identified in a recent comprehensive review of Multiracial socialization research (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), MultiCrit theory (Harris, 2016), and the socialization domains that have been identified in the broader racial-ethnic socialization literature. However, the inductive component allowed space for the coders to identify new themes of racial-ethnic socialization given that this is a relatively new area of study with the Multiracial population. In other words, because there is no dominant theoretical framework in existence that outlines specific domains of racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial youth, the coding and analysis scheme allowed for the generation of both new domains and domains similar to those discovered in previous research.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), there are six phases of thematic analysis. First is familiarizing oneself with the data. As the interviewer, I was very familiar with the data. The research assistant familiarized herself with the data by reading each interview before coding. The second phase was generating initial codes to answer the research question: what types of racial-ethnic socialization messages do Multiracial youth receive from their parents? This occurred concurrently with the third phase, which involved searching for themes and assigning codes to existing and emerging themes in the codebook as they were created. Codebooks are key for demonstrating reliability between coders, as multiple coders utilizing the same codebook should be able to make the same coding decisions, allowing for replication (Morse, 2015). Given that the seven domains identified by Atkin and Yoo's (2019) review were found to be representative of the existing literature on racial-ethnic socialization with Multiracial individuals while also reflecting several common domains well established within the monoracial literature, these socialization message types were used to develop the initial coding categories for the interview data. However, in order to avoid confusion regarding the colorblind or diversity focused aspects of egalitarian socialization, egalitarian socialization was separated into two separate codes, "diversity appreciation" and "colorblind socialization", with the former category representing messages that value diverse cultures, and colorblind socialization representing messages telling youth to ignore race. In addition, "no racial-ethnic socialization messages" was relabeled "silent socialization," given that not discussing race or avoiding race conversations implicitly sends a message to youth to not bring up the topic and is not a mere absence of racial-ethnic socialization. When codes did not fit into the themes drawn from the review of the literature, new codes

representing the data were generated. Overall, the goal was to identify the various types of message content being transmitted to youth by their caregivers.

The coding and interpretation of the data was guided by MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) in that coders recognized the various ways Multiracial youth are perceived and categorized as both monoracial and Multiracial. In other words, when relevant, codes were separated according to whether they addressed socialization about being a monoracial vs. Multiracial group member (e.g., preparation for bias against one's monoracial group vs. preparation for monoracism). Thus, as racial-ethnic socialization messages were coded, they were organized into broader themes, or types of racial-ethnic socialization messages based on the broader topics around which the codes clustered.

Fourth, these broader themes were reviewed and refined based on a read through of their coded data extracts both within and across transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At the conclusion of coding, the codebook had a total of 15 themes with 48 subcategories. Names and definitions of themes were refined and examined in relation to one another, the overall research question, and the data supporting each theme. Through the process of refinement, the themes were condensed to 9 themes with 7 subcategories.

Trustworthiness

Transcripts were coded by myself and an undergraduate research assistant. Though it is rare that an entire data set is double coded, we both coded all the transcripts in their entirety to enhance rigor and credibility (Morse, 2015). Furthermore, we maintained audit trails by keeping notes regarding the evolution of the codebook in terms of decisions made to organize/name codes and add emerging themes (Morrow, 2005). We used the NVivo 12 Pro computer software to organize the coding and analysis. Using

coding software such as NVivo enhances the rigor of the study by allowing coders to easily organize and retrieve codes across multiple transcripts (Lu & Shulman, 2008). We began by coding a small portion of one transcript together to establish how the coding process should proceed. Next, we finished coding the transcript separately and met to discuss and compare codes and revise the codebook. We continued to code separately and met to discuss and compare codes four times, refining the codebook over the course of this process.

To demonstrate validity and trustworthiness of the coding process, interrater reliability was calculated to ensure that the codebook was clear and guiding us to identify codes similarly (Morse, 2015). Specifically, one coder selected five coded excerpts from the first two transcripts for the initial meeting, and three coded excerpts from each newly coded transcript thereafter ($n = 64$). Each excerpt could have multiple codes. We recorded our codes for the excerpts separately and compared the codes during meetings. Cohen's kappa coefficient, which accounts for chance agreement while comparing similar and discordant ratings, was calculated to determine agreement between coders (MacPhail, Khoza, Abler, & Ranganathan, 2015). Code disagreements were discussed between coders to reconcile discrepancies and confirm validity of theoretical codes. The resulting Kappa value showed excellent agreement, $\kappa = 0.875$, 95% CI, [.816, .934], $p < .001$.

Results

Cultural Socialization

One theme from the study was *cultural socialization*, which involved exposure to the customs and traditions of youths' heritage cultures. Participants reported learning

about and experiencing many different cultural aspects from their parents, including language, food, clothing, traditional dance, media (such as TV and music), and holidays, which helped them feel more connected to their cultures. For example, participating in traditional dance groups was one type of cultural socialization described by female participants. Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) did Japanese dance lessons, while Amara (age 22, Filipina mother, Chamorro father) said her parents put her in hula and Tahitian dancing lessons, and Mia (age 20, White and Mexican mother, Sri Lankan father) was involved in Ballet Folklorico, a group that does “traditional Hispanic dancing with the colorful dresses.” Participants also learned about their culture through stories about their family history and the history of their parent’s origin country, visiting their parent’s country of origin, and participating in cultural events such as local festivals or community parties with family friends from a specific ethnic background.

Overall, food was the most prominent connection Multiracial youth had to their culture, as Mia (age 20, White and Mexican mother, Sri Lankan father) describes, “Oh I love food. Food is probably the closest way I relate to my cultures.” Another notable phenomenon was that food was the most likely cultural aspect to cross over from one parent to the other, in that one parent often learned to cook foods from the other parent’s culture. In particular, moms would learn from their mother-in-law how to cook dishes specific to their husband’s culture. For instance, Megan (age 21, White mother, Liberian father) shared, “My mom makes sure to cook a lot of meals from my dad’s childhood. She has a lot of recipes from his mom, and she makes sure to cook them so that he feels like he’s being represented.” Mariah (age 21) also spoke of how her Japanese mother learned to cook from her African American father’s side of the family, “She’s known for

her collard greens, it's so funny... she learned everything from his mom, and knows how to cook a whole soul food meal." Thus, participants suggested that food was an important way that the family as a whole celebrated the multiple cultures within the family.

Another important type of cultural socialization for participants with one or more immigrant parents or grandparents was language socialization. A number of participants only spoke English despite having one or both parents who spoke another language. In Edward's (age 22, White mother, Mexican father) case, his father intentionally chose not to teach him Spanish, "They didn't raise me speaking Spanish because they wanted me to fit in." However, there were parents who did know their partner's language, having learned it for their jobs or from their partners, making it another aspect of shared family culture for Multiracial families. In Diego's (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) case, "I grew up at home speaking Spanish. My dad learned Spanish from my mom. So at home, we spoke only Spanish." However, Diego noted that as a young child, his father spoke to him in his native tongue of Farsi, and he was disappointed that he stopped doing this as he got older, shifting to Spanish. Meanwhile, other participants reported their parents were supportive of their partner in trying to teach their child a language they did not know. For instance, Ryan's (age 21) White father supported his Taiwanese wife's efforts to teach Ryan Mandarin, "He always made sure that we would never let it go... he knew the value of it, and he never let us get out of [Chinese school]." The monolingual participants generally expressed regret about not being taught their parents' language(s). As Anthony (age 18, Puerto Rican mother, Filipino father) shared, "I feel like my parents dropped the ball on teaching us language." In sum, transmission of cultural knowledge happened through various means, especially through food and language.

Racial Identity Socialization

Racial identity socialization involved messages from parents to Multiracial youth explaining their racial-ethnic background(s) and sometimes also telling them which labels they could or should use to identify with their racial background. In addition, racial identity socialization included messages instilling pride in Multiracial youths' racial-ethnic identities and racialized phenotypes. Some racial identity socialization messages acknowledged the Multiracial nature of youths' identities, while others encouraged identification with only one racial-ethnic group.

Monoracial identity messages. Certain messages from parents emphasized the monoracial aspects of youths' identity. For example, Diego (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) said, "I was often told to identify or label myself as Iranian." Thus, despite having a dual-minority heritage, Diego was not encouraged to identify with his Mexican side. Meanwhile, participants in families with one White parent reported that there was more focus on socializing youth to identify with their minority heritage. For instance, Elizabeth (age 19, White mother, Chinese father) said, "I don't think they really encouraged me to identify any specific way other than Asian," while Nicole (age 18, White and American Indian mother, Black father) said, "They'd lean more to I'm Black than White."

In Reikan's (age 23, American Indian and Spanish mother, White and Filipino father) case, he felt pushed to identify as White. He said of his Biracial White and Filipino father, "My father, because of how strongly he identifies White, has really pushed me to the point... [that] when it comes to formal occasions, I'll just explain that I'm Caucasian." Thus, having Multiracial parents did not necessarily result in more

socialization messages about Multiracial identity. However, when asked how participants would raise their own children, Reikan and other Multiracial youth indicated that they would talk more about Multiracial identity.

In addition to or in place of highlighting youths' racial-ethnic identities, participants expressed that their parents emphasized the importance of calling themselves American. Ryan (age 21, Taiwanese mother, White father) shared that his parents told him, "Here's your American family and here's your Asian family, but you are American, you are a citizen, that's certainly the most important thing." In certain situations, parents also encouraged youth to identify with the racial background that would be most advantageous to them in achieving a goal. For example, Megan's (age 21, White mother, Liberian father) father prepared her for the job market by saying, "You have good grades so they're not gonna deny you because they need Black people... so when you fill out those applications, you have to put African American because they don't actually see you when they're doing the first decisions." Megan also said, "He told me that he thinks that it would hurt me to check the White box." Similarly, Mia's (age 20, White and Mexican mother, Sri Lankan father) parents encouraged her to identify as "Hispanic just when applying to colleges and different opportunities that could be opened up more so with identifying as Hispanic." Thus, youth were taught to focus on only one of their heritages if it would help them in applying to schools or jobs.

When asked how her parents taught her to be proud of being a member of her racial groups, Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) answered:

Definitely by being proud themselves... my dad has always been super gung-ho about being Italian. Any time we go to an Italian restaurant... he'd say, oh that

sounds like a good Italian family. And my mom would do the same thing about us being Japanese, and expose us to a lot of the foods, and the culture.

Bella's parents also showed pride through their civic engagement with organizations associated with their heritage, "My mom is involved with the Japanese Citizens' League, and my dad has always been involved in this Italian club... it was cool to see that you can be something, and then be a member of the community, and be a proponent of that."

Thus, Bella's parents instilled monoracial pride by being proud of her two monoracial heritages.

In addition, parents tried to instill pride in phenotypical characteristics that Multiracial youth were struggling with. Being encouraged to accept their naturally curly hair was brought up by participants with Black ancestry. For example, when Nicole (age 18, White and American Indian mother, Black father) wanted to perm her hair to make it straighter, her parents taught her, "Just love who you are and don't try to keep changing yourself." Hero (age 22, White mother, Black father) also always wanted her hair straight, so her mother would let her straighten it but also told her, "I wish you'd wear your hair curly, you have such pretty curls."

Multiracial identity messages. There were also messages from parents that highlighted their multiple heritages or Multiracial identity. Participants reported that their parents taught them that they were members of all of their groups, though the term "Multiracial" was rarely ever mentioned. "Biracial" was only mentioned by Ryan's (age 21, Taiwanese mother, White father) parents, who said, "You are both things, you are biracial, you are bilingual, so, you know, definitely identify as such." Other parents emphasized having multiple heritages differently, i.e., "You're half Filipino, half Puerto Rican" (Anthony,

age 18, Puerto Rican mother, Filipino father), or, “I’m glad that you understand that you’re not White, you’re not Asian, you’re a combination of things” (Bella, age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father). For many parents, it was important that their children acknowledged all sides of their heritage, like for Henry (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father):

I feel like they never explicitly said, oh you’re Biracial. You’re White and you’re Native American. But it was always like, very little things. Like my mom would be like, you’re Native American but you’re also White. Or my dad would be like, you’re White but you’re also Native American. I think they always were very careful for me to embrace both sides to make sure that I understand both sides of my identity.

Even second-generation Multiracial youth were reminded to acknowledge all of their backgrounds. Malia (age 19, White and Black mother, Mexican father) said that despite others always focusing on her Blackness, though she is “more Mexican than... Black and White” according to her ancestry, her mom “just wanted me to focus on all of them. She really didn’t see a difference between each ethnicity.” Janine (age 21, Mexican and White mother, White father) shared, “I think there are times when I’ve just said I’m White for whatever reason, and they’re like, no, you’re also Hispanic.” Participants also communicated that they did not feel pressured by their parents to identify a particular way, or that their parents would support them no matter how they chose to identify.

Regarding Multiracial identity pride, one Multiracial parent modeled pride in her own Multiracial identity. This inspired her daughter Malia’s (age 19, White and Black mother, Mexican father) Multiracial pride, “She has a lot of shirts that say “I’m

mixed,”... “Embrace your curly hair,”... stuff like that.” Other parents instilled Multiracial pride by emphasizing that the participants were special as a result of their mixed heritage. For example, Diego (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) said, “I would often get kind of like a little lecture or talk about... you know, your mother and I are from very different places, and it makes you very special.”

Multiracial youth also reported that their parents transmitted messages about Multiracial babies and children being cute or pretty. Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) said, “They always told us when we were growing up that half Asian kids were the prettiest.” Similarly, Nicole (age 18, White and American Indian mother, Black father) shared that when looking at her and her siblings’ baby pictures, “My mom’s always like, Biracial babies are so cute [laughter].” Thus, parents praised the unique appearances of their Multiracial children, conveying that youth should be proud of their phenotypes.

It is important to note that youth often received different racial identity socialization messages depending on the situation, and that those messages sometimes changed over time due to family dynamics. In Bernadino’s (age 19, Mexican mother, Vietnamese father) case, his parents told him, “You’re half Vietnamese, half Mexican,” and when a 2nd grade teacher told him to pick one group for a class project, he said they told him to “keep it half and half.” He reflected, “That’s... one of the first times where they told me, push back a bit because you need to stand up for your identity.” However, Bernadino felt that after his parents divorced, each pressured him to identify more with their specific heritage, “Now my mom really, she thinks that I need to put a lot more

focus and emphasis into... my Mexican side.” Thus, it was also possible that each parent would give different or even contradicting identity socialization messages to youth.

Events going on in the larger society also influenced how socialization messages changed over time. For example, Diego’s (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) parents, described earlier as pressuring him to identify solely as Iranian, wanted him to change his name to sound Whiter and less Iranian after the 9/11 terrorist attacks,

Around the same time my parents stopped calling me [Iranian name], they told me to go by [White-sounding name]. And that went on for a while. I didn't like that... I felt like I had to put on a mask for others. I felt like I had to make myself seem so like, just White for people. And it made me feel like there's something wrong with me.

Thus, after being raised to identify as Iranian, suddenly being told to identify himself as more American by changing his name upset Diego, even though he knew his parents were “trying to protect” him.

In sum, participants were told to racially identify in a variety of ways, including focusing on their racial-ethnic minority group identity if they had a White parent, identifying with both or all of their racial-ethnic heritages equally, identifying as specifically Biracial, identifying as White, or identifying as American. Identity socialization messages also could change over time and be related to larger societal events. Furthermore, participants learned to be proud of their racial-ethnic heritages through seeing their parents’ pride in their own heritages and receiving messages from their parents to be proud of their identities. Youth described feeling pride in one or all of their distinct monoracial heritages, as well as pride in their integrated Multiracial identity.

Preparation for Bias Socialization

Preparation for bias socialization involved both making Multiracial youth aware of racial biases that others might have due to their racial-ethnic heritage and teaching them how to respond to or cope with experiences of others racially discriminating against them. These messages could be either proactive, in that parents initiated the conversation, or reactive, in that parents may be responding to an experience of bias that youth shared and explaining why it happened and could happen again. In addition to being proactively discussed by parents or being discussed in response to an incident the child experienced, preparation for bias also occurred through parents sharing the experiences they had with discrimination played. Moreover, youth learned from their parents by witnessing them experience discrimination and seeing how they responded.

Messages that prepared youth for bias in ways that were applicable to discrimination targeted at both their monoracial and Multiracial groups were labeled *General preparation for bias messages*. Messages that addressed stereotypes that might be targeted at specific monoracial groups that the Multiracial youth was a member of were labeled as *Preparation for bias against monoracial groups*. Messages that addressed the monoracism that youth might experience due to their Multiracial heritage were labeled as *Preparation for monoracism*.

General preparation for bias messages. Parents taught youth a number of strategies for responding to and coping with discrimination. One way parents suggested that Multiracial youth handle racial bias was by ignoring people who discriminated against them and letting things go. For example, Megan (age 21, White mother, Liberian father) spoke of her father, “He’d tell me you just have to ignore it and... be the bigger person.”

Amara's (age 22, Filipina mother, Chamorro father) mother also suggested a passive approach, "Her feedback is always like, either, be the bigger person, or pray for them, or God will handle it." Parents also emphasized not letting what other people said bother them, as in Henry's (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father) story, "I feel like the way they told me to cope was, you're gonna have to move past it... don't let it bother you... don't linger on it... you can't let them affect you too much." Similarly, Nicole (age 18, White and American Indian mother, Black father) said, "My dad just told me, never let it get to me. And that people are gonna say stupid things and do stupid things... that's their problem, just brush it off." Overall, these messages encouraged youth not to engage with their aggressors or think too much about the event, but to just move on.

There were also participants who received nuanced or contradictory preparation for bias messages from each of their parents. For example, Diego's (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) said,

On my mom's side, I was often told, just ignore it, don't give them a rise out of it... my mother often taught me to be kind of submissive and not really interact with people that would talk to me like that. And I think my dad took a similar approach, but oftentimes he would tell me, if someone ever says this to you or... pushes you around... don't be afraid to stand up for yourself... he was okay to teach me to be confrontational with someone who's giving me a hard time.

Diego's mother taught him to ignore discrimination, while his father taught him to stand up for himself in some situations. Diego also noted how his mother did not follow her own advice, saying she was "hypocritical" as he would often see her confront others who discriminated against her (see next section). Thus, contradictory messages could be

transmitted by different parents, or by a discrepancy in a parent's words and their own actions. Meanwhile, Henry (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father) said of his mother, "I think she taught me... maybe in some situations it'd be more appropriate to ignore it, but in other situations, maybe say something or correct someone and don't let it slide through. Just point out where the prejudice is." Thus, Multiracial youth were provided with multiple options for dealing with discrimination in different situations.

Preparation for bias against monoracial groups messages. Multiracial youth received explicit preparation for bias messages specific to a monoracial group. In particular, Black multiracial youth shared that their Black parent addressed discrimination they might experience due to their Black heritage. For example, Megan's (age 21, White mother, Black father) father taught her to think carefully about where to live in the future. She said she learned, "...To look up the racial demographics of the states, because some states are more racist than other states." Her father also taught her,

When you go to apply for jobs, it's either gonna play in your favor or it's not... If a White guy gets fired from his job and another White guy goes to apply for that position, they're not gonna say, oh that's another White person, the last White person didn't work out. But when it comes to different races... they associate that with... race... So if a Black person came before you that didn't do a very good job, you may not even get the interview because they assume that you're not going to be good.

Similarly, Mariah's (age 21, Japanese mother, Black father) Black stepdad taught her that she might face discrimination on the job market "because you're African American, and because you're a woman." Mariah noted, "He's kind of just been helping us and teaching

us like, the reality of what we might expect... he's been a big part of really helping me become realistic of discrimination when it comes to African Americans." However, Mariah also mentioned that her biological Black father, "Doesn't really talk about discrimination that much." Yet it was much more likely that Black parents engaged in preparation for bias than White parents, as Nicole (age 18, White and American Indian mother, Black father) noted, "My dad... 'cause I'm Black, he's just like, teaching me to be careful, not to mess around... even though we're lighter skin... we can still be discriminated in certain ways." However, she said that her mother, who is White with some distant American Indian ancestry, "kind of stayed out of those conversations."

Parents also prepared youth for bias by modeling how to respond in discriminatory situations. Specifically, youth discussed learning methods for responding to bias by seeing how their parents reacted to experiencing discrimination associated with stereotypes targeting a specific monoracial group. For example, Diego (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) recalled watching his father struggle after the terrorist attacks on 9/11,

I remember after 9/11, my dad changed his legal name from [Middle Eastern name] to [Americanized name]... because of stigma that came with having a name that sounded Middle Eastern. It was really rough. I just remember my dad dealing with... someone who was... picking on him at work or kind of very apprehensive of working with him.

The lesson from Diego's parents to try and blend in when one's racial group is being attacked was reinforced by them telling him to change his own name to one more

Americanized. However, as previously mentioned, Diego also noted how his mother would stand up for herself when she felt she was being treated unfairly,

Maybe they assumed that they could kind of just overpower my mother because she has an accent... to them, she just seems like someone who's foreign... so I often witness cases where people would just kind of try to step over my mother like that. And... she would just [get] totally defensive... intensely confronting the person.

So despite his mother telling him to be submissive in response to racism, Diego learned how to stand up for himself from watching his mother confront discrimination.

Hearing their parents share their personal experiences with discrimination was also important to Multiracial youth in that it established that it was safe to talk about race and be open about their discrimination encounters with their parents. As Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) described,

[My mother] got a lot of the same things said to her when she was younger, because she grew up in an area where there were no Asian people... So, knowing that I could come to her and say, somebody said this rude thing to me, what can I do about this, or what should I do about it? I never worried that I had to do anything alone, or that my feelings were invalidated.

Youth like Bella were also able to learn from the experiences of their parents,

[My mother] would share stories all the time to encourage us, and say, you know, people are gonna tell you that you can't do stuff, or that you don't belong somewhere because of who you are, and that's total BS. You can do whatever you want... it was super empowering.

Henry (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father) expressed a similar perspective, “I feel like most of the lessons I’ve learned about racism or discrimination are just stories that my mom has told me... ‘cause she lets me know about things that she’s gone through.” Note that both Bella and Henry mentioned that their White fathers did not encounter much discrimination or talk about discrimination. In fact, Henry commented that his mother sharing her discrimination experiences with the family also “serves my dad a purpose.” Given his father is a “very Republican” Trump supporter, he said, “My mom shares those experiences with him... to try to get him to see where his hypocrisies are... be more aware of the fact that... not all brown people... they’re not bad people.” Thus, Henry also learned from seeing his mother respond to his father’s racial biases.

Preparation for monoracism messages. One message that addressed monoracism prepared youth for the possibility that others would not accept them because they are different. For example, Spike (age 21, Chinese mother, Black father) shared, “They just sat me down...told me how I was different and... the significance of accepting who you are and knowing that, just that you’re different, it doesn’t mean that you should feel alienated.” Mia’s (age 20, White and Mexican mother, Sri Lankan father) parents also warned her that others might not accept their family, “Certain family members are more traditional. So they’re just not as exposed to Biracial families... might not be as open-minded... just to be aware of that. That’s why they might not be as accepting.”

Meanwhile, Malia’s (age 19, White and Black mother, Mexican father) mother, who is Biracial, was able to share advice based on her own experience being mixed race,

She... talked to me about how people might push me into a certain category of race. And that would maybe hurt me more, and how people wouldn’t know what I

am... I think that's what showed me, I'm Black, White, Mexican. Don't forget one. When people would just be like, oh you're Black, I'm like, no, there's also White and Mexican, you're forgetting two. So I think that's how she really influenced me... to educate them and tell them what I really am.

Thus, messages preparing youth for monoracism made them aware of how others might not accept them because they are different, and how people might try to put them into a monoracial box.

Parents also indirectly prepared youth for monoracism by explaining how their specific phenotypical characteristics may not be perceived to be associated with their racial-ethnic backgrounds. In other words, these messages conveyed how they may or may not be perceived by others to be a member of their racial groups or related to their own parents due to their phenotypical characteristics. Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) said that when she was age 10 or 11,

I was on the playground, and some girls came over to me, and they were like, hey, do you speak Spanish? I said, no. They're like, oh you just looked like maybe you'd be Hispanic... I went home and told my parents... I don't understand why people don't know what I am! And they're like, well, you know... you look very unique, you're not like everybody else, so they probably just don't know where to place you, because they can't put your features together and understand, oh, Italian, Japanese. That's what you would look like.

Thus, parents making Multiracial youth aware of how others might perceive them was one way of helping them understand how others would misidentify them. Megan (age 21, White mother, Liberian father) said,

When I was growing up, my mom would get a lot of questions about like, where she got me as a client to babysit. Or, when did she adopt me. And so, that was kind of when my parents started making me more aware of my skin tone, and that I was different, and that I was darker than my mom and it was never going to get lighter... so that when I was put in those situations, I could stand up for myself. So like, if we were in the grocery store and someone asked my mom that question, they taught me... [to] say “no, she’s my mom.

Talking about differences in physical characteristics such as skin tone and hair seemed to be important for participants to feel they could own their racial-ethnic group membership when others questioned or challenged them for not looking like a stereotypical member of one of their racial groups. In other words, talking about how Multiracial youths’ appearance might be perceived as different from their actual racial heritage prepared them for the invalidating questions they would likely encounter. In Megan’s case, her parents told her exactly what to say to stand up for herself in situations where people questioned her relationship to her mother.

JFK’s (age 20, Spanish and Mexican mother, Black and American Indian, Columbian father) mother also taught him how to respond to people who incorrectly assumed his racial background based on his appearance,

I told my mom when I was very young that people kept calling me Mexican...I was just like, my dad’s not Mexican... She just said like, you just politely say that you’re not Mexican, and explain to them where you’re dad’s from, where your mom’s from... That probably stuck with me, in the sense that I was like, alright, just explain.

JFK's situation is a bit complicated given his mother had internalized racism about being from Mexico and having a Mexican father herself, choosing instead to focus on her Spanish lineage. However, the message that JFK should stand up for himself by correcting others and acknowledging all of his racial-ethnic backgrounds illustrates preparation for monoracism. Similarly, Hero's (age 22, White mother, Black father) father told her to say, "Who cares what you have to think. I am what I am and I'm proud of what I am" when others questioned her blackness. Thus, participants who experienced others trying to force them into one racial or ethnic category learned how to respond to these acts of monoracism by talking with their parents.

In Junior's (age 19, White mother, Mexican father) case, he saw how his parents responded to monoracism that occurred when he was with them. Specifically, other kids would often question whether he was related to his father and brother because he looked so different from them. Junior said,

My parents would just laugh it off... They'd be like... it is what it is. That's just how it goes... It was just kinda something we just brushed off... But if someone got really bad with it, then my mom would take me away and my dad would talk to [the parents]... he would just be like... that's not cool, there's no need for that.

Thus, Junior took cues from his parents as to when to take discriminatory situations seriously or to just laugh them off. Junior described how he said similar things to his friends as he got older in response to discriminatory comments, "If it was a friend of mine, I'd talk to them later and be like, yo not cool... so yeah, I used to address my friends and I mean it worked out pretty good." Thus, Junior used what he learned from watching his parents in his own interactions later on.

In summary, parents engaged in socialization that prepared youth for bias they might experience due to their monoracial and Multiracial backgrounds. Messages from parents about how to respond to or cope with bias were sometimes applicable in response to any type of racial discrimination youth experienced. Multiracial youth appreciated their parents establishing open communication about race in the family by sharing their experiences of discrimination, which made youth comfortable talking about their own experiences and helped them learn lessons from their parents' encounters with discrimination. Multiracial youth also shared stories of when they witnessed their parents experiencing discrimination and how their parents responded. Such modeling is one way to implicitly socialize youth, as they may learn how to respond to discrimination from watching their parents.

Egalitarian Socialization

Egalitarian socialization broadly encompassed messages about treating people equally. However, there were different connotations of these messages, which warranted three subthemes: colorblind messages, cultural diversity appreciation messages, and race-conscious messages. Colorblind messages suggested that by ignoring racial differences, everyone could be treated equally. Cultural diversity appreciation messages encouraged accepting and respecting other cultures as equal. Race-conscious messages acknowledged racial inequity as a societal issue that required working to overcome prejudices and stereotypes to see everyone as equal.

Colorblind socialization. Messages that suggested that everyone is equal or the same because “race should not and does not matter” (p. 60, Neville et al., 2000) were labeled as colorblind messages. For instance, when asked if his parents told him that he belonged to

any particular racial-ethnic groups, Reikan (age 23, American Indian and Spanish mother, Filipino and White father) said, “No, they’re of the mentality that we’re all American.” Reikan’s parents, both Multiracial themselves, took the approach of saying everyone is the same because they are all American rather than teaching him about his multiple heritages.

Meanwhile, Hero (age 22, White mother, Black father) received socialization messages about race from her White mother that ignored the power dynamics between Blacks and Whites:

My actual... opinions of the whole hypocrisy of the Black community... I don’t feel like they understand they can be racist towards White people, actually comes mostly from my mother. I heard her say that a lot... She thinks media kinda constantly misconstrues it, and she goes, all you hear about is police brutality towards Black people. White people get beat up by police, too.

Thus, Hero was taught that Black people should not complain about racism because White people experience similar racism. Raised mostly by her White mother after her parents’ divorce, Hero said that when her father lectured her to not call Black people “colored,” she thought he was “one of those very entitled Black people” until he agreed with her that “Black people can be racist too.” Moreover, Hero was socialized to believe that everyone would get along well if they just ignored racial differences. Hero shared, “I feel like I am an answer to racism” and “I am a result of people pushing aside racism,” noting that she had her parents support when she expressed these thoughts to them. Hero also said, “Race isn’t something that I look at in anything. Although, for a while... I

didn't date Black guys." Thus, her own statements showed how her colorblind socialization did not prevent her from having prejudices against Black men.

Cultural diversity appreciation socialization. Cultural diversity appreciation messages recognized that there are differences between racial-ethnic groups while encouraging Multiracial youth to learn about and appreciate these differences. The distinction between this and cultural socialization is that it involved teaching youth about other cultures associated with racial-ethnic groups outside of their own heritage. For example, Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) said,

My parents would teach us about [cultures]. And we'd eat different cultural foods, and we'd... visit places of other cultures. And so they tried as much as they could to not... develop any biases towards, or against, any other races. They wanted us to be very accepting of other people of other races.

Moreover, participants felt that because they had a Multiracial family, they were socialized to be more accepting of other people and cultures. As Henry (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father) said, "I feel like we have much more knowledge about other communities and other people and other languages, and are much more open to that than other families." Thus, cultural diversity appreciation socialization focused more on celebrating and respecting different ethnicities and cultures, but did not say much about race.

Cultural diversity appreciation messages were also conveyed by simply having different cultures (outside of the family's own cultures) displayed in the home. For instance, Henry's (age 19, French Guianan mother, White father) father had an interest in collecting artifacts from Amazonian tribes which he displayed in the house, "We have big

frame headdresses from the Amazon there, traditional... hollowed out shells that have designs on them, pottery, stuff like that.” In sum, cultural diversity appreciation messages involved teaching youth about diverse cultures and people.

Race-conscious socialization. Race-conscious messages involved messages that taught youth about racial inequality and prejudice. Unlike preparation for bias socialization, these messages went beyond discussing discrimination and stereotypes that youth might personally experience, describing generally what racial minority groups face and also emphasizing that youth should not be racist or have prejudices towards members of these groups. Thus, race-conscious messages are considered a unique type of egalitarian socialization because they teach youth to treat people equally regardless of race while acknowledging that society does not view and treat all racial groups as equal. For example, Edward (age 22, White mother, Mexican father) said his parents taught him that, “Latinos... face a lot of discrimination... there’s a lot of oppression out there, there’s kinda injustice, and a lot of that is geared towards race... Not only us, but Black people, Native Americans... so just... don’t be mean to people.” Thus, Edward’s parents tried to relate experiences of members of their own racial minority group to that of others to show that they have a similar struggle, and teach him to treat members of those groups nicely. Bernadino (age 19, Mexican mother, Vietnamese father) felt that his parents, “definitely stand up for... Black American issues. Like oh yeah, if he...or she was White it wouldn’t have been like this... they know that Whites probably have more privilege.” So in Bernadino’s case, his parents highlighted how Blacks are treated differently than Whites, alluding to the difference in power.

Malia (age 19, White and Black mother, Mexican father) shared how she learned about stereotypes from conversations with her mom and her mom's African American boyfriend, "They teach me about... how other people see certain things. I feel like they teach me not to be...stereotypical of certain races." For Malia, these conversations with her parents were how she learned to look past stereotypes. Meanwhile Nicole (age 18, White and Native American mother, Black father) said that her father taught her about Black Lives Matter, so that when she gets into conversations with others, she expresses, "Black Lives Matter... is important because, just because you don't experience it doesn't mean thousands of other people aren't experiencing it." Thus, she learned to be empathetic and felt more prepared to respond to people criticizing Black Lives Matter because of what she learned from her father about racial issues.

Race-conscious socialization messages also involved teaching youth about how racial minority groups were treated throughout American history and the resilience of these groups. For instance, Janine (age 21, Mexican and White mother, White father) was told by her Mexican grandmother that "Cesar Chavez... was... the Martin Luther King I guess for Mexican people... by helping stand up for them, and having them have a place in the world." Megan (age 21, White mother, Liberian father) also learned about important historical figures,

[My father] wanted me to learn... about the people that were African American in our past that have fought for justice. My role model growing up was Rosa Parks because I have a bazillion books about Rosa Parks in my house. I had books in my house about African American heroes, and those were the people I was taught about growing up. I was never taught about any bad aspect of it. I was always

taught that we were a strong race that fought against people that didn't think we were allowed to have equal rights, and now we've come so far.

Thus, teaching youth about past activists from their racial groups made youth aware of racial inequality and the importance of activism. Through learning about discrimination, power, privilege, stereotypes, and racial justice issues, Multiracial youth were taught to treat others with respect and see them as equals through a race-conscious lens.

Exposure to Diversity Socialization

Unlike the other themes, exposure to diversity represents mostly nonverbal messages resulting from parents' choices and actions that determined how often their children encountered diverse people and contexts. However, the situations in which parents exposed their children to a diverse environment may or may not have been intentionally for the purpose of teaching their child about diversity. Thus, exposure to diversity does not always accompany cultural appreciation messages or race-conscious messages, as it is possible that being in a diverse environment could elicit prejudicial messages from parents as well. Yet, regardless of whether any explicit message is involved, exposing youth to diverse people and contexts is still an aspect of socialization. For example, parents determined whether their young children spent time with people from diverse backgrounds. Bella described how her parents would arrange for her to play with another Japanese and White Biracial girl from church, "They definitely made an effort to have us all hang out together a lot... It was cool to see how their family interacted compared to how our family interacted." Like several other participants, Bella's parents seemed to encourage her to spend time with other children who shared her racial background when she was young. Parents also exposed their children to diverse

people by sending their children to racially diverse schools. As Malia (age 19, White and Black mother, Mexican father) shared,

[My mother] picked schools with, she'd look at their ethnic percentages... I actually went to... an elementary school that was highly populated with African Americans... I think that's where I got my background of African American. By growing up with a lot of African American kids.

When asked if her mother explicitly talked about her choices with Malia, Malia said, "I kinda had a feeling, because there were so many other schools she could've picked."

Thus, there were Multiracial youth who perceived their parent's choices to be intentional, though it was never explicitly communicated.

Negative Socialization

Negative socialization messages included prejudicial attitudes or negative stereotypes that parents shared with Multiracial youth about racial outgroups or groups that they shared heritage with, labeled as *prejudicial socialization*, as well as messages that invalidated youths' racial realities, labeled as *invalidation messages*.

Prejudicial messages. Youth reported parents expressing their own prejudices for certain groups, which came in the form of stereotypical assumptions or negative statements made about an entire racial or ethnic group. For example, Amara (age 22, Filipina mother, Chamorro father) talked about when she lived in Guam with her parents, and the local news reported on crimes that involved Chamorro individuals, "my mom, she'd be like, oh, your dad's side, they do that, my side doesn't do that." This example illustrates how one parent might perpetuate negative stereotypes about the other parent's racial group in front of their child who also has that heritage. Another way in which

negative socialization manifested was through parents expecting their children to behave in line with a stereotype. For example, Hero (age 22, White mother, Black father) talked about her mother, “She would say... you don’t talk Black... sometimes I wish you had that Black sass... she thinks that if I had that Black sass, that people probably wouldn’t have bullied me so much.” Thus, Hero’s White mother invoked stereotypes of Black female “sass” and told her to act as she perceived a stereotypical Black woman would.

In other cases, parents would reinforce stereotypes or express racist attitudes about racial outgroups relative to the Multiracial child. For example, Bernadino’s (age 19, Mexican mother, Vietnamese father) mother made an anti-Black comment, “One of the big racist things... she’s like, you shouldn’t date Black guys.” Parents’ messages would also sometimes shape youths’ perceptions of other groups, as Diego (age 23, Mexican mother, Iranian father) described,

My mom... told me that Argentinian people are very arrogant... there’s an expression in Mexico where it literally translates to, they think they’re the last Coca-Cola bottle in the desert? ... But I never really understood, how can you just generalize what an entire country’s like? But... later, when I met someone... from Argentina, I hate to say this but I really did understand what she meant. The three Argentinian people that I’ve met are awful.

Other participants noted that their parents’ political views results in prejudicial messages, such as in Elizabeth’s (age 19, White mother, Chinese father) story, “They’re pretty far right Republican... so they have some negative views of immigrants and... stuff that doesn’t follow Christian beliefs and whatnot.” Interestingly, having Republican parents was brought up by several participants in association with prejudicial socialization

messages. It is worth mentioning that the interviews took place in the Spring of 2018, during the Trump era. Henry (age 19), whose White father married his immigrant Native French Guianan mother, said, “My dad’s very Republican... he’ll be more anti-immigration, which is weird ‘cause we all try to point out [my mom’s an immigrant]... yeah it’s weird ‘cause he’ll support things like the border wall or something like Trump and his ideas.” Henry also shared that when his dad is really angry, “my dad might call my mom a little Indian girl that he took out of her village.” Thus, there were parents who expressed messages that were racist towards their own partner in front of their children who share that racial heritage.

Invalidation messages. Another type of negative message that Multiracial youth reported were messages that invalidated their racial experiences or made them feel ashamed of their racial background. For example, Bernadino (age 19, Mexican mother, Vietnamese father) said he felt “personally offended” when his Mexican mother said, “Asians don't really face discrimination.” This message invalidated Bernadino’s experiences of being discriminated against due to his Vietnamese heritage. Bernadino also witnessed his White stepdad invalidating his mother’s perceptions of racism, “She’ll question or ask, did they do this or say this to us because we’re Mexican? ...My White stepdad will almost always be like, no, you’re crazy, it’s not because of that.” Thus, invalidation messages could also manifest in the interpretation of whether a situation occurred due to racial discrimination.

JFK (age 20, Spanish and Mexican mother, Black and American Indian, Columbian father) also learned to feel ashamed of his non-White heritage because of the way his mother, who raised him after his parents’ divorce, reacted to his hair type. In

contrast to his mother's straight, blonde hair, he described his own dark, wavy hair as "weird", "crazy", and "ridiculous", clearly feeling ashamed of it. JFK told this story about his mother:

She never wanted to deal with my hair. She always would just like, have the hair cut really short. Like almost against my wishes a lot of the time, I'd be super upset. And she would just like, cut off my hair... I think it'd be funny if it was just like-- [laughter] Make me not look like my dad... I just never understood. 'Cause all my other friends, they had long hair. But of course they didn't have hair like mine, my hair is pretty weird... I'd just be like, why can't I have it longer? She's just like, yeah no.

He guessed that his mother's frustration with his hair might be related to how it makes him look like his father. However, his hair texture is likely tied to his father's Black heritage, which his mother did not know how to take care of. Moreover, JFK did not indicate in his interview that his mother valued his American Indian and Black, Columbian heritage, as her desire to claim Spanish ancestry and ignore her own Mexican heritage suggested she valued whiteness. In sum, JFK's White-presenting mother cut his hair short against his wishes, resulting in JFK feeling shame about the non-White phenotypical features he inherited from his father.

Silent Socialization

On every topic from talking about cultural practices to discussing identity and discrimination, participants indicated that their parents did not provide any socialization messages. In particular, youth reported their White parents were silent on racial-ethnic socialization. Bella (age 23, Japanese mother, Italian father) shared,

I have a really close relationship with my dad, so we talk about a lot of things. But race has never really been that important of a topic for us. So when I would get mean comments... I could safely say maybe 90 percent of the time, he would just brush it off and change the subject. Because he didn't want to talk about it or didn't know what to say. And I could tell that it made him feel bad, that I was having to listen to people say negative things. And he didn't have to really experience much of that himself.

However, there were also racial-ethnic minority parents who were silent about the topic of race. Bernadino (age 19, Mexican mother, Vietnamese father) said, "They never told me about what race was. I actually didn't even know I was different from White people." Hero (age 22, White mother, Black father) also noted, "My father never really addressed with me about the fact that I was Black. I think he expected that because I'm lighter-toned, and because I was raised by my White mother... that I wouldn't have dealt with anything he would've dealt with at my age." Thus, even parents who recognized the role of race in their own lives did not necessarily engage in proactive racial-ethnic socialization with their Multiracial children.

Though there was an absence of socialization on race in general, there was a particularly widespread lack of discussion about being specifically Multiracial/Biracial. Participants indicated that their parents did not talk to them about discrimination that they might face for being Multiracial, and as previously mentioned, participant's parents rarely used the terms "Multiracial" or "Biracial" with them. When asked how he learned about the term Biracial, Anthony (age 18, Puerto Rican mother, Filipino father) said, "I mean the word itself, I learned just last semester." Diego (age 23, Mexican mother,

Iranian father) expressed how his parents focused more on preparation for bias against monoracial groups due to their lack of experience with monoracism. As described, “I think they know that I dealt with labels or jokes... because I was of a different race that wasn’t White... but there was never anything told to me specifically because I was of two races.” Mariah (age 21, Japanese mother, Black father) also noted the absence of discussions about being mixed race,

I wish they would’ve talked about... just who we are as mixed kids...I guess just doing check-ups, like hey how are you feeling about being mixed, do you notice anything, do you feel anything. If that would’ve been instilled in us since we were young it would’ve been a lot easier for me to be like, I’m so proud of my race, this is why this is happening, this is why people ask these questions. But I had to figure it out on my own.

Thus, discussions about youths’ Multiracial experiences were largely missing from Multiracial families.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to identify racial-ethnic socialization domains based on themes derived from interviews with a diverse sample of Multiracial youth. Nine themes representing the content of racial-ethnic socialization messages emerged from the analysis of the interviews: cultural socialization, racial identity socialization, preparation for bias socialization, colorblind socialization, cultural diversity appreciation socialization, race-conscious socialization, exposure to diversity socialization, negative socialization, and silent socialization. A summary of each theme can be found in Table 2. Parents were not always unified in the messages they provided

to youth, as parents sometimes gave conflicting messages, and White parents were more often described to provide silent socialization messages compared to parents of color.

Cultural socialization consisted of parents exposing their children to customs and traditions of their cultural heritage, including language, food, clothing, traditional dance, media (such as TV and music), and holidays. In general, methods for transmission of cultural knowledge were similar to those seen in monoracial families, such as signing children up for traditional dance lessons, speaking another language at home, cooking traditional foods, talking about the family's history, visiting countries of origin, and being part of gatherings for a specific ethnic group. One aspect unique to Multiracial families was how culture was learned and reinforced by parents' partners who were not members of the ethnic group associated with the culture. This crossover between parents of learning and passing down their partner's culture to children has also been found in previous studies with Multiracial families (e.g., Chancler et al., 2017; Jackson et al., 2019; Lester-Murad, 2005; O'Donoghue, 2005; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017).

Racial identity socialization involved messages from parents informing youth what their racial-ethnic backgrounds were and their options for identifying themselves, as well as encouraging youth to be proud of their racial-ethnic background. Consistent with previous research, there were parents who encouraged youth to identify with just one of their multiple racial-ethnic groups, and other parents that emphasized the multiplicity of youths' identity either by encouraging them to identify with all of their racial-ethnic groups or to identify as "Biracial" (Chancler et al., 2017; Harris et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2019; King, 2013; O'Donoghue, 2005; Rauktis et al., 2016; Samuels, 2010; Snyder, 2012; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017).

A new finding from this study was that, distinct from teaching youth about how to identify themselves generally, parents' racial identity socialization also involved messages about racial categorization, or the racial identities that are available and chosen in a particular context (Rockquemore et al., 2009). Specifically, the suggestion that youth choose the racial group that would be most advantageous to them when filling out certain forms acknowledged that youth might identify themselves differently in some instances than they typically would when describing their identity to others. Such messages are unique to Multiracial youth, given that they have multiple racial groups to choose from in different contexts.

Parents also instilled pride in Multiracial youth about their monoracial and Multiracial identities through various messages and actions, consistent with previous research (e.g., Chancler et al., 2017; Jackson et al., 2019; O'Donoghue, 2005; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Snyder, 2012; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). However, while previous studies have focused on the importance of cultural socialization in promoting pride, this study found that parents also provided messages instilling pride in youths' race-related physical characteristics and by emphasizing that being mixed race is special.

In line with previous studies, there was also evidence that racial identity socialization messages changed across time and context (O'Donoghue, 2005). Findings from the present study contributed details to this by highlighting that sociopolitical events and family dynamics were some specific factors that could possibly play a role in which identity was preferred. Furthermore, having the youths' perspective revealed that parents might give conflicting messages about how to identify, with a potential for this to be

more common for youth with separated parents who may emphasize identifying with their own racial-ethnic group.

Preparation for bias socialization messages addressed how Multiracial youth might experience stereotypes, prejudice, and racial discrimination due to their Multiracial status or monoracial group memberships, and taught them how to respond to and/or cope with such experiences. This socialization often occurred in response to situations that youth encountered and brought up to their parents. Similar to Jackson and colleagues' (2019) findings in their study with Multiracial Mexican adults, preparation for bias socialization was also expressed through racial-ethnic minority parents sharing their own experiences with discrimination and how they handled the situation, or even children witnessing their parents' being discriminated against and reacting firsthand. Again, having the youth perspective informed findings that parents gave conflicting preparation for bias messages, with different messages from each parent as well as contradictions between parents' verbal advice and their behavior as they responded to racial discrimination in front of their children.

While previous studies have discussed preparation for bias with Multiracial youth, most reported messages about discrimination associated with being a member of specific monoracial groups or responding to racism generally (Jackson et al., 2019; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Snyder, 2012; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). However, the present study supports and expands upon Stone and Dolbin-MacNab's (2017) findings regarding preparation for bias addressing issues unique to Biracial youth by describing how parents addressed the discrimination associated with being Multiracial with their children and taught them how to respond to others' monoracism. Specifically, these messages

emphasized that youth should know and accept that they are different, that others might try to restrict them to certain racial categories or assume their racial-ethnic background, that even extended family might not be accepting of their multiraciality, and that others may not recognize their racial-ethnic background or biological relationship to their parents due to their racial essentialism of phenotypes.

Three types of egalitarian socialization emerged from the data: colorblind socialization, cultural diversity appreciation socialization, and race-conscious socialization. The experiences of colorblind socialization described by participants reflected experiences captured in previous studies (e.g., Chancler et al., 2017; Jackson et al., 2019; O' Donoghue, 2005; Rauktis et al., 2016; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Samuels, 2009; Snyder, 2012). While Rollins and Hunter (2013) reported a theme of egalitarian socialization which included both colorblind messages and diversity appreciation messages, this study is the first to identify unique themes of cultural diversity appreciation socialization and race-conscious socialization separate from colorblind socialization. Colorblind messages involved messages suggesting that race does not matter and everyone is the same. Cultural diversity appreciation messages encouraged learning about cultural diversity and appreciating cultural differences outside of their own heritages. Meanwhile, race-conscious messages more specifically addressed racial inequality and prejudice, teaching youth about stereotypes faced by people from different racial groups and telling them not to discriminate against other racial-ethnic minorities.

Distinguishing these three messages that promote equality in different ways is essential given that egalitarian socialization is the least studied type of socialization across racial groups and there have been mixed findings regarding the outcomes

associated with it (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Furthermore, research shows very different outcomes in prejudicial attitudes for White youth associated with receiving colorblind or race-conscious socialization, so it is important to investigate the impact these messages have on Multiracial youth who hold unique social positionalities (Farago et al., 2019). Moreover, in light of the colorblind stereotype of Multiracials suggesting that their existence represents a post-racial society where race no longer matters, it is important to understand how different socialization messages contribute to the internalization of this stereotype which implies that Multiracial youth do not face racism, versus an awareness of how the myth of a post-racial society upholds systemic oppression (Chang, 2016).

A primarily non-verbal theme that emerged was exposure to diversity, which constituted parents' choices and actions that resulted in Multiracial youth encountering diverse people and contexts. While youth were sometimes unsure whether the neighborhoods and schools their parents chose were intentional efforts to expose them to diversity, previous research that interviewed parents suggests that parents do make conscious choices to expose their children to diverse people (Jackson et al., 2017; O'Donoghue, 2005; Rauktis et al., 2016; Samuels, 2009; Snyder, 2012; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017).

Negative socialization messages conveyed prejudicial attitudes, expressed negative stereotypes, or invalidated youths' racial realities. Though previous studies have noted experiences that could be classified as negative socialization (Harris et al., 2013; Samuels, 2009; Snyder, 2012), this is the first study to identify negative socialization as a theme with Multiracial youth. While previous research described Black-White

Multiracial youth being denied their blackness (Snyder, 2012), being told to stay away from Black people (Harris et al., 2013), and hearing their White family members calling their Black parent the “n” word (Samuels, 2009), the present study adds experiences such as being told to act more in line with a stereotype of their monoracial group, hearing their parent say racist comments about their other parent’s racial group or saying something racist directly to their other parent, hearing parents stereotype racial or ethnic outgroups, receiving messages that invalidate youth’s experiences with racial discrimination, and being told messages that made them ashamed of their hair. Thus, this study highlights that intrafamilial racism is a unique aspect of negative socialization that is more likely to be salient in Multiracial youths’ interracial families (Samuels, 2009).

Silent socialization was a theme capturing how parents avoided talking about race. Labeled as “no racial-ethnic socialization” in a previous study (Jackson et al., 2019) and review of the literature (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), this theme was relabeled as “silent socialization” to clarify that an absence of socialization is a message in and of itself teaching youth that race is a taboo topic, that it is not important, or that youth cannot openly discuss racial issues with their parents. The current study supported Jackson and colleagues’ (2019) finding that racial-ethnic minority parents engaged in silent socialization. However, one new finding was that youth perceived that one reason for the lack of racial-ethnic socialization from their parents was because parents’ assumed they would not face discrimination because of their Multiracial status. In addition, findings suggested that parents were particularly silent when it came to discussing their child’s multiraciality, including labels they could identify with and discrimination they might face for being Multiracial.

Overall, interpreting these findings through a MultiCrit lens (Harris, 2016), the results suggest that the monoracial paradigm plays an important role in Multiracial youths' experiences in the world and the socialization they do or do not receive from their parents. Specifically, in terms of how the monoracial paradigm impacted their experiences, Multiracial youth reported numerous examples of how being Multiracial uniquely impacted their life, in terms of questions of how to identify, how to deal with monoracism, and so on, with Multiracial youth noting that they wished their parents had talked to them more about being Multiracial. As MultiCrit highlights, monoracism involved experiences of discrimination based on youths' Multiracial status – situations that socialization messages limited by a monoracial paradigm do not address.

In terms of how the monoracial paradigm influenced parents' socialization, there were parents who only socialized within a monoracial paradigm, talking about each racial group separately with less discussion of Multiracial identity and experiences. In some cases, parents thinking within a monoracial paradigm even restricted youth to identifying with only one monoracial or monoethnic group, or engaged in negative socialization that denied their experiences associated with being members of a monoracial group. However, there were also messages from parents that went beyond a monoracial paradigm and addressed the Multiracial realities experienced by youth. MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) was also used in guiding the methodology of the study in that it centered the voices of Multiracial youth as the receiving agents of the socialization messages, drawing on their experiential knowledge instead of parent reports of the messages they believe they are giving to youth.

This study makes important contributions to the literature as the first to identify domains of racial-ethnic socialization with a sample of Multiracial youth that is diverse in terms of their racial-ethnic backgrounds; majority-minority, minority-minority, and second-generation Multiracial status; and gender representation. The study both supported and expanded upon themes that have been reported in previous studies, which largely focused on Black-White Biracial youth experiences and reports from White mothers. In particular, racial identity socialization, negative socialization, cultural diversity appreciation, and race-conscious socialization were four new themes that emerged from this study that have not been identified as themes in previous research on racial-ethnic socialization with Multiracial youth.

This study also makes significant contributions to the general racial-ethnic socialization literature. First, this study adds the voices and experiences of individuals who have never been represented in the socialization literature. Second, while messages informing how youth of color view themselves and their own racial group (e.g., cultural socialization and preparation for bias) have been frequently discussed in the literature, rarely have negative messages or messages promoting an understanding of systemic racism against and cultural diversity of outgroup members been addressed. While the growing literature on racial socialization of White youth is examining racial messages given to youth about racial-ethnic minority groups (Hagerman 2014; Hagerman 2017; Vittrup, 2018), it is also important for youth of color to receive race-conscious and cultural diversity appreciation messages about outgroup members to promote interracial solidarity and understand how to challenge systemic racism, stereotypes, and implicit biases.

Limitations and Future Research

It is important to note that this paper does not address the process through which racial-ethnic socialization occurs, the impact that socialization messages have on youth, or the ways specific messages are linked to positive or negative outcomes. Rather, the goal of this study was simply to identify the different types of messages Multiracial youth are receiving about race and ethnicity from their parents. Given that youths' opinions about their parents' socialization messages were outside of the scope of this paper, I direct you to the paper by Atkin and Jackson (2020) for a secondary analysis of this data examining Multiracial youths' perceptions of which messages and actions from parents were supportive and helpful in their development. However, much more work needs to be done to understand the racial-ethnic socialization of Multiracial youth. Though one strength of this study is its diverse Multiracial sample and nuanced exploration of parental racial-ethnic socialization messages, the study is limited by its small sample size and is not generalizable. Furthermore, though there are shared experiences among individuals with Multiracial heritage, there are also unique experiences specific to their particular racial-ethnic heritage, gender, and other social identities that future studies should explore through an intersectional lens. In addition, there are numerous contextual, familial, and individual factors that could play a role in how racial-ethnic socialization messages affect Multiracial youth. The same message that may be promotive and adaptive for one Multiracial child may not be for another. Future studies, both qualitative and quantitative, are needed to more deeply understand the process of parental racial-ethnic socialization in Multiracial youths' development.

In response to the racial identity pride socialization messages expressing that Multiracial children are beautiful, I also want to highlight that when society promotes the stereotype that Multiracial people are beautiful, this exotifies mixed race bodies and serves to privilege proximity to whiteness, even among those with dual-minority heritage, as race mixing is assumed to be associated with lighter skin (Newman, 2017). Thus, such messages could implicitly teach children that monoracial people of color are physically less attractive than Multiracial people. However, pride messages emphasizing that being mixed race is beautiful may be important for Multiracial youth who feel insecure that their physical features do not fit monoracial norms given the context of a monocentric society. Future research is needed to address how a holistic approach to racial-ethnic socialization relates to various outcomes, as assessing each type of message separately does not provide a complete picture of what Multiracial children are taking in. For example, messages that being mixed is beautiful alongside race-conscious messages and cultural diversity appreciation messages promoting that everyone is beautiful, emphasizing the beauty of dark skin and curly hair, may have a different impact than the combination of teaching that being mixed is beautiful and prejudicial messages against Black and brown folks from parents. Similarly, exposure to diversity that accompanies negative socialization in the form of prejudicial messages against others could have a very different impact compared to exposure to diversity messages that are given alongside cultural diversity appreciation and race-conscious socialization messages. Furthermore, living in a diverse environment without receiving preparation for bias and racial identity socialization could lead to challenges for Multiracial youth (Samuels, 2010).

Additionally, though interviewing emerging adults allowed for the gathering of detailed information from a more cognitively advanced sample, the recollection of past experiences may capture different information that would be collected from interviews with children or adolescents who are actively experiencing parental racial-ethnic socialization. Furthermore, future studies may focus on how parent characteristics (e.g., race, gender) play a role in how they engage in racial-ethnic socialization, either from the youth or parent perspective. Understanding parents' perspectives of how they think they are engaging in racial-ethnic socialization and comparing it to youths' reports is also another method future research studies can use to advance the literature. Socialization given by other family members besides parents is an area of future study as well. Lastly, longitudinal research would be useful in understanding how the racial-ethnic socialization is related to developmental outcomes over time.

Implications

Interpreting the findings with a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens, the current study suggests that society's centering of the monoracial paradigm resulted in parents providing socialization specific to both monoracial and Multiracial experiences. In other words, because being Multiracial was not "normal" in society, Multiracial youth needed guidance for how to understand their Multiracial identities and deal with the monoracism from others trying to impose monocentric norms on youth. Furthermore, because others indoctrinated in the monoracial paradigm still associated them with monoracial groups, Multiracial youth needed socialization about what they might encounter as members of those monoracial groups. However, findings suggested that there were parents who engaged in colorblind and silent socialization, or who only engaged in socialization

addressing monoracial group experiences. It is likely that most parents did not know how to engage in socialization about certain monoracial and Multiracial experiences, as opposed to actively being opposed to engaging in this socialization. In other words, parents were lacking in *racial socialization competency*, or the skills and confidence to be prepared to engage in racial-ethnic socialization (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). It is possible that parents did not receive much racial-ethnic socialization from their parents, or that they do not have the lived experience of being a member of all of the groups their child is part of (Chang, 2016). These are potential barriers that make racial-ethnic socialization a more challenging task for parents of Multiracial youth.

Furthermore, the evidence of negative socialization also has important implications for Multiracial families. Specifically, negative socialization messages in which a parent conveys a prejudiced attitude towards the Multiracial youths' racial group presents a potential risk to youth. Anderson and Stevenson (2019) theorize that racial-ethnic socialization is a buffer, "a critical factor in how individuals reduce stress associated with discriminatory racial encounters" (p. 67). However, when the parent who is supposed to be giving racial socialization messages to protect youth from discrimination is the one being discriminatory, how do youth learn to cope? Thus, the implications of this study are that practitioners may need to work with parents to help them recognize their own racial biases and deconstruct the monoracial paradigm. Practitioners can also provide resources for understanding the racial experiences of monoracial and Multiracial groups that the child is a member of, as well as tools for how to engage in racial-ethnic socialization with children at different cognitive stages to improve racial socialization competency.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study identified nine types of verbal and nonverbal socialization messages that Multiracial youth receive from parents addressing both their experiences as members of monoracial groups, as Multiracial individuals, and as Americans living in U.S. society. Employing a qualitative approach to understanding what these messages are creates a starting point for future research to build upon to better understand the development of Multiracial youth. As exemplified in this study, using a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) framework to inform these future research studies could be helpful for acknowledging the monocentric society that Multiracial American youth develop in while recognizing their Multiracial realities. This line of research will be essential for educating parents to help them raise Multiracial youth.

STUDY 2

Validation of the Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale

The purpose of the present study is to validate a measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization for the Multiracial² population with a sample of Multiracial youth. Though considered the product of illegal relationships in many states until anti-miscegenation laws were abolished in 1967, *Multiracial youth*, or youth with biological parents from two or more racial groups, are now the fastest growing youth group in the country (Jones & Bullock, 2010; Root, 1996). Despite the fact that Multiracial persons have been born out of interracial relationships since before the founding of the United States (Cashin, 2017), it was only 17 years ago that the U.S. Census recognized Multiracial people by allowing them to check multiple boxes. Consequently, the field is far behind in terms of understanding how Multiracial individuals understand race and their position in a racialized U.S. society. To help fulfill the urgent need for research on the rapidly growing Multiracial population, new survey measures designed and validated with this group are essential. Specifically, the measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization developed in this study will be the first to contribute to knowledge around the role of caregivers in Multiracial youth development. Importantly, a Critical Multiracial Theory, or MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), lens will be utilized to bring attention to how race has real consequences

² Multiracial people in this study are defined as individuals with biological parents from two or more of the following groups: White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Black, American Indian, Middle Eastern/North African, and Latinx. The first five of these groups are designated as racial groups by the U.S. Census, while Middle Eastern/North African and Latinx were proposed to be considered racial groups for the 2020 Census. I recognize that all seven of these groups encounter uniquely racialized experiences, and therefore define them as racial groups.

for Multiracial people in the US due to their uniquely marginalized position (Rondilla, Guevarra, & Spickard, 2017).

As persons who do not fit neatly within a box corresponding to one of the Census's designated racial groupings, a concept labeled by MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) as the *monoracial paradigm*, Multiracial individuals have the unique challenge of navigating a monocentric society that perpetually "others" them. Jackson and Samuels (2019) define *monocentricity* as a system that 1) privileges monoracial identities as the norm, 2) pathologizes multiraciality as exotic and abnormal, 3) upholds whiteness as a racially pure category, 4) perpetuates the one-drop rule (e.g., one drop of Black or non-White blood severs one's claim to whiteness), and 5) essentializes multiraciality as inherently problematic. Thus, the monocentric society of the United States is designed to exclude and stigmatize Multiracial individuals. In such an environment, Multiracial youth may be more likely to experience risk, so how they are socialized to understand race matters. Specifically, research studies find that discrimination is linked to lower levels of psychological adjustment for Multiracial Americans (Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra, & Harrington, 2012), and that Multiracial Americans have higher rates of substance abuse than their monoracial counterparts (Chavez & Sanchez, 2010; Sakai, Wang, & Price, 2010). One opportunity to counter the monocentric socialization from society that may be related to these negative outcomes could be found at home within the family.

Given that caregivers play an important role in socializing youth, scholars have studied the process of *familial racial-ethnic socialization*, which examines the content and frequency of messages transferred from caregivers to youth regarding racial and ethnic group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). However, the vast majority of this work

has been done with monoracial minority youth. Thus, the existing literature narrowly conceptualizes how families socialize youth into one exclusive racial group, leaving a gap in the field's understanding of which racial-ethnic socialization messages are protective for Multiracial youth (Samuels, 2009). Using a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens, the present study aims to attain an understanding of Multiracial socialization experiences beyond a monoracial-only understanding and addressing the complex realities of race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Theorized Correlates of Familial Racial-Ethnic Socialization

The broader racial-ethnic socialization literature suggests that the racial-ethnic socialization youth receive can impact how they interact with racial-ethnic outgroup members, how they cope with discrimination, and how they develop their racial-ethnic identity (Hughes et al., 2006). All of these processes are known to have implications for psychosocial well-being and development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996), yet the field currently lacks research evidence demonstrating how socialization, identity, and discrimination experiences relate to health outcomes in the growing population of Multiracial youth. According to Gonzales-Backen's (2013) Conceptual Ecological Model of Biethnic Identity Formation, both familial racial-ethnic socialization and discrimination are related to racial-ethnic identity. The model's conceptualization of racial-ethnic identity is adopted from Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004), who proposed three components of racial-ethnic identity: exploration, resolution, and affirmation. *Exploration* refers to participation in activities that teach youth about their racial-ethnic background. *Resolution* describes the degree to which youth have resolved

what their racial-ethnic identity means to them. Lastly, *affirmation* is the positive and/or negative affect associated with identity resolution.

Brittian and colleagues (2013) found a positive relationship between family ethnic socialization and ethnic identity exploration and resolution among Latinx-White and Asian-White Multiracial college students. However, both the ethnic socialization and ethnic identity measures used were designed to assess socialization associated with only one racial-ethnic group. Thus, the racial-ethnic group(s) the ethnic socialization and identity responses are associated with are unclear as they were not specified in the questions asked to the participants. Similarly, other studies have examined relationships between socialization and racial-ethnic identity using socialization measures designed for monoracial populations. One study found a positive correlation between egalitarian socialization and biracial identity integration (Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018). Chong and Kuo's (2015) study with Asian-White Biracial participants noted frequency of Asian socialization was highest among those in the Asian-White Integrated identity profile, while White socialization was highest among those in the White dominant identity profile. Thus, while these studies aim to show associations between racial-ethnic socialization and identity outcomes for Multiracial individuals, the research was limited by the lack of appropriate measures designed for capturing unique Multiracial experiences.

Unique Considerations for Racial-Ethnic Socialization in Multiracial Families

Multiracial youth often do not have the same racial group classification as either of their parents, but rather a combination of the two, presenting unique challenges to discussing race within a Multiracial family (Rondilla et al., 2017). Instead of both

caregivers working together to teach their children about being members of the same monoracial group (e.g., two Asian parents talking to their child about being Asian), members of Multiracial families have different racial group memberships. If the caregivers think within a monoracial paradigm, they may not recognize and address the unique needs of their Multiracial child, or even contribute to the challenges the child faces. For example, they may not label their child as Biracial or Multiracial, but instead teach them they are “half” something and “half” something else, unknowingly instilling that their child is not fully a member of either group.

The development of a Multiracial identity may be particularly difficult for monoracial caregivers to facilitate given that they have no experience of being Multiracial themselves (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Rockquemore & Lazloffy, 2005; Root, 2003). In particular, monoracial parents’ awareness of the unique types of discrimination that their Multiracial child faces may be limited, introducing a challenge to providing racial-ethnic socialization messages that help prepare their children to cope with discrimination. For example, White parents may not be able to understand the relevance of race in their Multiracial child’s life due to their lack of experience being a racial minority (Chang, 2016). Consequently, White parents may have difficulty teaching their Multiracial children about race and understanding and supporting their Multiracial child’s struggle with marginalization.

In addition, monoracial caregivers of both privileged and marginalized status may not think to proactively address Multiracial experiences of *monoracism*, or discrimination targeting Multiracial individuals because they do not fit into a singular racial category (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). For example, monoracial caregivers may not be aware that

their child might face exclusion or rejection from one (or all) of their racial groups, or racial authenticity policing (i.e., being pressured to display specific cultural knowledge to prove one's group membership; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Rondilla et al., 2017). Thus, monoracial caregivers might only socialize their child as a monoracial group member because they do not realize the need for or do not know how to engage in Multiracial socialization.

Multiracial caregivers, despite being Multiracial themselves, are not necessarily automatically equipped to socialize their children about Multiraciality. They may have a different racial background from their child and were likely raised during a different time period that affected the development of their own racial-ethnic identity (i.e., when Multiracial individuals had little recognition and visibility). Song (2019) conducted an interview study with Multiracial parents, finding that having their own Multiracial children prompted them to reexamine their own experiences of racial-ethnic socialization as children and reflect on what being Multiracial meant to them. The Multiracial parents reported that their parents did not discuss their racial-ethnic background, and that the vocabulary available today to discuss multiplicity was not available in their "time" (Song, 2019). Furthermore, Song (2019) found that some parents felt their child's minority heritage was too diluted and that they could not pass down their minority culture to them due to their own lack of racial-ethnic socialization growing up. Thus, there is a possibility that some Multiracial parents may be even less likely to engage in racial-ethnic socialization around Multiracial identity than monoracial parents.

Limitations of Measures Used in Previous Multiracial Socialization Studies

In light of the challenges to providing racial-ethnic socialization, more research is needed to determine predictors of caregivers' socialization messages and outcomes associated with the specific types of messages given and the frequency with which they are communicated. According to a recent review of racial-ethnic socialization literature with Multiracial families, there have only been seven quantitative studies that examined the socialization experiences of Multiracial individuals (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Despite their strengths, these studies are limited by their measurement of racial-ethnic socialization. Three studies used only one item (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007; Csizmadia, Rollins, & Kaneakua, 2014; Lesane-Brown, Brown, Tanner-Smith, & Bruce, 2010), and one study used an unvalidated measure created for the study (Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018). The last three studies (Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2013; Chong & Kuo, 2015; Gonzalez, Umaña-Taylor, & Bamaca, 2006) used the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor, 2001; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), which only focuses on ethnic and cultural socialization and was designed for studying monoracial minority families. Thus, when asked about socialization messages participants received, it was unclear which racial groups these messages concerned. For instance, participants were asked to answer the question, "My family teaches me about my ethnic/cultural background." A Biracial Asian and Black individual might struggle with which background the question is referring to. Should they answer in regard to their Asian, Black, or Biracial identity? One study tried to address this issue by asking their Asian and White Biracial sample to respond to the measure twice, once for their Asian background and once for their White background (Chong & Kuo, 2015). This also raises

the question of what it means to learn about one's "White" culture. More importantly, this approach still frames the Multiracial individual's identity as the sum of two monoracial categories and fails to capture socialization messages about being Multiracial.

Another limitation of the measures used in previous research is that they ask about the socialization parents provided collectively, assuming that 1) each participant has two parents, and 2) parents are unified in how they provide socialization messages. However, as Study 1 and the study by Atkin and Jackson (2020) suggest, parents do not always give the same socialization messages. Rather, one parent may contradict the other, or one may engage in racial-ethnic socialization while one engages in silent socialization. In Multiracial families, where parents most likely have different racial backgrounds, the unique racial experiences of each parent and their gender are just two factors that could influence them having different approaches to socialization (Gonzales-Backen, 2013). Furthermore, families today are more diverse in structure than ever, such that youth are not always raised by their biological parents. In light of this, researchers cannot assume that the race of the youth matches the race of their caregivers. Thus, it is important that racial-ethnic socialization measures consider the socialization of each caregiver, which may be unique, and that they allow youth to indicate who their primary caregivers are and the race of their caregivers.

Lastly, the measures that have been used to study Multiracial socialization did not address socialization about racial discrimination or identity. Thus, to my knowledge, there has never been a quantitative investigation of what socialization messages caregivers provide about how Multiracial youth should racially identify or how to respond to discrimination associated with their Multiracial background. The measure

developed for this study attempts to address all of these limitations as described in the next section.

Developing the Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale

The items developed for this measure were based on eight domains identified by a comprehensive review of the familial racial-ethnic socialization literature with Multiracial families (Atkin & Yoo, 2019) and a qualitative study providing support for the relevance of these domains to the racial-ethnic socialization experiences of a diverse sample of Multiracial emerging adults (Study 1). In addition, the MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) theoretical framework guided the item development in efforts to bring attention to the significance of race and having multiple heritages in addition to addressing aspects of singular ethnic and cultural groups that are typically the focus of racial-ethnic socialization measures (Juang, Yoo, & Atkin, 2018). Items will be measured on a six-point Likert type scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, such that participants indicate their agreement that they received the message described. While many socialization scales assess message frequency, this was deemed inappropriate for the present scale given that the impact of the socialization messages assessed may not necessarily be dependent on how often the message was received.

The first domain, *navigating multiple heritages socialization*, will involve socialization transmitting cultural knowledge about customs and foods from all of their racial-ethnic backgrounds, as well as family history from all of their racial-ethnic backgrounds and exposure to others that share their heritage. The second domain, *Multiracial identity socialization*, will be MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) inspired, involving Multiracial pride messages, communication that emphasizes how racial differences,

including having a unique phenotype, are positive, and messages that acknowledge that it is okay to struggle with or change one's racial-ethnic identity.

The third domain will assess *preparation for monoracism socialization*, highlighting how to deal with experiences of monoracism described by MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), such as rejection and exclusion from one's monoracial groups. The fourth domain, will involve *negative socialization* messages that reinforce stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes toward racial-ethnic groups that the youth shares heritage with. Furthermore, in line with MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), negative socialization will include monoracist messages from caregivers such as telling youth that they cannot claim group membership because they do not behave in line with a group's culture.

The fifth domain, *race-conscious socialization*, will address messages promoting awareness of systemic racism through discussing racial inequality and racist laws, engaging in racial justice activities, and highlighting the contributions of people of color to U.S. society. Though there is little evidence from previous research that caregivers socialize their Multiracial children to be racially aware, learning to critically examine race may empower Multiracial youth to challenge racial oppression and advocate for social change, increasing political engagement and promoting well-being (Andolina, Jenkins, Zudin, & Keeter, 2003; French et al., 2019). The importance of racial awareness as a necessary tool for fighting oppression is also highlighted in the original Critical Race Theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011), from which MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) was derived. The sixth domain, *colorblind socialization*, will include messages that deemphasize the importance of race in one's life opportunities and teach children to ignore racial differences. The seventh domain, *diversity appreciation*, will be designed to capture

messages about appreciating different cultures and being accepting of people with different customs. The eighth and final domain will represent *silent socialization* messages, with items asking whether parents try to avoid discussions about race or simply never talk about race.

It is also important to note that instead of using the term “parental” racial-ethnic socialization and discussing the role of parents, I use the broader term “familial” and the term “caregiver” to acknowledge the complexity of families and challenge the normalization of the nuclear family (i.e., two biological parents raising biological children) as the standard (Smith, 1993). “Familial” in this case does not refer to an aggregate of caregivers’ socialization, but the consideration of each caregiver separately for a holistic yet nuanced picture. In a recent qualitative study with 20 Multiracial participants, it turned out that eight participants (40% of the sample) had parents who were divorced or had never been married (Study 1). In addition, a large quantitative data collection with Multiracial college students found that when asked to choose two primary caregivers, participants not only chose biological parents, but some considered stepparents, adoptive parents, a second father, grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles, mother’s ex-boyfriends, a neighbor’s mother, and a social worker to be their primary caregivers, and many indicated being raised by a single parent (Atkin et al., under review). Thus, the MY-Soc Scale uses a unique design to account for the fact that not all Multiracial youth are being socialized by the biological parents they share racial heritage with. Specifically, participants will select two primary caregivers from a list in the beginning of the survey, and the caregivers they chose will be populated as the title of two columns when they respond to the measure items (e.g., biological mother in one

column, stepfather in the other column). This allows participants to indicate how each caregiver socialized them separately. Future studies can use this approach to add as many caregivers as they want to capture the impact of socialization from different family members, including extended family, or to account for youth being raised in multiple households by biological parents and stepparents. This novel survey design makes an important contribution to family research.

Current Study

To overcome the limitations of previously developed racial-ethnic socialization measures, the current study aims to develop the first measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial youth: the Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale. This study advances the literature by using a MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) lens to guide the methodology and item development, ensuring that the measure takes into account the unique experiences associated with being Multiracial. Three steps will be taken to develop the scale. First, items will be generated using MultiCrit (Harris, 2016), findings from a qualitative study of racial-ethnic socialization with Multiracial youth (Study 1), a recent and comprehensive review of the Multiracial socialization literature (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), and items adapted from measures developed for monoracial individuals. Second, items will be evaluated using exploratory factor analysis to determine the factor structure of the measure. Third, confirmatory factor analysis will be employed with a second sample to replicate the factor structure and fit of the MY-Soc scale. Finally, convergent validity, discriminant validity, and incremental validity will be assessed through tests of associations with other variables. Reliability based on the alpha coefficient will also be evaluated.

In line with Gonzales-Backen's (2013) model, I first test the convergent validity hypothesis that racial-ethnic socialization messages that involve discussing race and Multiracial experiences in a positive light and promote diversity (i.e., cultural socialization, identity socialization, racial awareness and diversity appreciation) will be positively associated with racial-ethnic identity as measured by the three components of exploration, resolution, and affirmation. I also hypothesize that socialization that involves ignoring the topic of race (i.e., colorblind and silent socialization) or attributing negative characteristics to racial groups (i.e., negative socialization) will be negatively associated with the racial-ethnic identity components. Given mixed findings in the literature about the effects of preparation for bias (Wang et al., 2019), I do not have an a priori hypothesis regarding the relationship between preparation for monoracism socialization and racial-ethnic identity. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) posits that learning one's group is negatively valued by others, as preparation for bias messages convey, may lead one to either distancing themselves from that group (i.e., having lower levels of racial-ethnic identity) or increasing identification with the group (i.e., having higher levels of racial-ethnic identity). To assess the three aspects of racial-ethnic identity included in the model (i.e., exploration, affirmation, and resolution), I will utilize three subscales from two different measures designed to study the Multiracial population (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Yoo, Jackson, Guevarra, Miller, & Harrington, 2016).

Second, I hypothesize that the MY-Soc scale will demonstrate incremental validity by predicting Multiracial identity above and beyond a racial-ethnic socialization measure designed for use with monoracial families (Hughes & Johnson, 2001) because MY-Soc accounts for unique Multiracial experiences. Third, I will examine the

relationship between the MY-Soc scale and impression management because testing social desirability bias is an important aspect of measurement validation (King & Bruner, 2000). Specifically, the pressure for individuals to present themselves – or in this case, their caregivers – in a favorable light could potentially compromise research findings by biasing survey responses (King & Bruner, 2000). I hypothesize that there will be no significant correlation between the MY-Soc scale and impression management in support of discriminant validity and to demonstrate that the findings are not contaminated by social desirability bias.

Method

Participants

A sample of 902 Multiracial emerging adults between the ages of 18 and 29 (Arnett, 2014) were recruited for this study. The average age of participants was 22.42 ($SD = 3.15$), with 70% of the sample identifying as female, 25% as male, 2.5% as gender non-conforming, .9% as transgender, and 1.6% choosing to specify their own gender identity. Regarding generational status, 5.1% of participants were foreign-born, 8.2% were born in the US but had parents who were foreign-born, 46.9% had one parent born in the US and one parent born in another country, 36.3% had at least one grandparent born in another country, 20.5% had all of their grandparents born in the US, and 1.1% specified more unique situations (e.g., family born on military bases abroad or born in territories that were not part of the US at the time they were born). In terms of social class, 3.5% identified as poor, 12.9% as working class, 17% as lower middle class, 39.5% as middle class, 25.2% as upper middle class, and 1.9% as affluent (with one missing response). In choosing their two primary caregivers, participants reported thirteen

different types of caregivers in addition to biological mothers and fathers. For a breakdown of selected caregivers, please see the supplemental table.

Procedure

This study was approved by the university's institutional review board. The call for participants sought Multiracials with parents of two or more racial backgrounds (White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Black, American Indian, Middle Eastern/North African, and Latinx) who lived in the US for most of their childhood and were between the ages of 18 and 29. Screening questions removed participants who did not meet these eligibility requirements from the survey. The call for participants was sent to 1) listservs for professional organizations serving people of color, 2) Facebook groups for Multiracial persons, 3) Multiracial college student organizations, and 4) Multiracial contacts from previous studies who indicated interest in participating in future studies. Participants were incentivized with the opportunity to win one of eight \$25 Amazon gift cards for their participation in the half-hour long online Qualtrics survey. Only participants who consented to participation in the study were able to proceed to the survey questions.

Measures

Monoracial Racial-ethnic Socialization. A slightly modified 11-item version of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Johnson, 2001) was used to examine the degree to which participants perceived socialization from their family about their racial-ethnic background. Responses were given on a Likert scale of 1-5, with options ranging from "never" to "very often." The scale consists of three subscales. Cultural socialization assesses the history and traditions of one's racial ethnic group(s) with four items, including, "encouraged child to read books about own ethnic groups." Preparation for

bias has four items addressing talks about being treated differently because of racial discrimination (e.g., “talk to child about unfair treatment due to race”). Promotion of mistrust originally had two items, “done or said things to child to keep child from trusting kids of other races” and “done or said things to encourage child to keep distance from people of other races.” I added a third item from Tran and Lee (2010) so that the factor would be identified, “told you to avoid another racial-ethnic group because of its members’ prejudice against your racial-ethnic groups.” The original 10-item version of the scale by Hughes and Johnson (2001) reported alphas of .86 for cultural socialization, .81 for preparation for bias, and .73 for promotion of mistrust. A slightly modified version of the scale was found to have reliabilities ranging from .86-.91 in a study with diverse Multiracial emerging adults (Christophe et al., under review).

Racial-ethnic Identity Exploration. The 5-item Multicultural Engagement subscale from Multiracial Experience Measure (Yoo et al., 2016) will assess racial-ethnic identity exploration. Response options ranged from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). A sample item is, “I participate in cultural practices (e.g., special food, music, and customs) associated with different cultures. In the validation study, the subscale demonstrated a reliability of $\alpha = .78$ with a diverse sample of Multiracial adults (Yoo et al., 2016).

Racial-ethnic Identity Affirmation. The 5-item Multiracial Pride subscale from the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS; Salahuddin & O’Brien, 2011) will be used to examine racial-ethnic identity affirmation. The response format for the scale was a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Example items include, “I love being Multiracial,” and “Being Multiracial makes me feel

special.” The original study reported an alpha of .85 for the subscale with a sample of diverse Multiracial adults (Salahuddin & O’Brien, 2011).

Racial-ethnic Identity Resolution. The 5-item Challenges with Racial Identity subscale from the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS; Salahuddin & O’Brien, 2011) will be utilized to measure racial-ethnic identity resolution. The response scale ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with items such as “I hide parts of myself when interacting with some friends” and “I feel as I do NOT belong to any racial group.” These items will be reverse scored to assess identity resolution. The validation study reported an alpha of .68 with a diverse sample of Multiracial adults (Salahuddin & O’Brien, 2011).

Impression management. The 8-item impression management subscale of the short form of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Hart, Ritchie, Hepper, & Gebauer, 2015) will be used to measure social desirability bias toward pleasing others. The items will be measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items include, “I don’t gossip about other people’s business” and “I never cover up my mistakes.” In the short form validation study, Hart and colleagues (2015) reported alphas ranging from .66 to .74 across four samples collected online consisting of university students in the United Kingdom, and students and non-students from around the world, with most from the United States, and the United Kingdom. Test-retest reliability was reported to be .74.

Data Screening and Preparation

Participants were removed from the survey if they did not answer any of the items from the MY-Soc scale (see Figure 1 for participant flow). Participants’ responses to the

questions about their biological parents' races were also scanned to identify which participants were Multiracial by the definition of having biological parents with two different racial backgrounds. Those who did not have parents of different racial backgrounds were removed. The main dataset was then randomly split into two datasets: 400 for exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and 502 for confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Kline, 2005; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). To prevent dependence of scores on the MY-Soc Scale, only one of the caregiver responses from each participant was utilized in each factor analysis. Due to a majority of biological mothers (755; 83.7%) being selected as the first primary caregiver and biological fathers (622; 69%) being selected as the second primary caregiver, half of each factor analysis sample utilized responses regarding messages from caregiver 1 and caregiver 2 (see supplemental material for breakdown of caregivers in each sample). Whether caregiver 1 or 2 was utilized for each participant was determined through random selection using a filter. Please see Figure 1 for a visualization of the participant flow. Participants' caregiver 1 and caregiver 2 responses for the monoracial racial-ethnic socialization subscales were also matched to the caregiver responses selected for the MY-Soc scale for all analyses (i.e., for the participants whose caregiver 1 responses were used for the MY-Soc scale, their caregiver 1 response for the monoracial racial-ethnic socialization were also used).

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

Using the EFA subsample ($n = 400$), a parallel analysis using 1,000 permuted datasets (O'Connor, 2000), a MAP test, and a scree plot were examined in SPSS version 25 to determine the initial factor structure. The parallel analysis suggested retaining six

factors, while the MAP test suggested retaining eight factors. The scree plot did not provide a clear interpretable cutoff. Thus, given that theoretically the scale was expected to have eight factors, and the MAP test supported this, an eight factor model was tested. EFA analyses were conducted with the 80 MY-Soc items using promax rotation in MPlus version 7.11, as the factors were expected to correlate with one another. Items were evaluated based on a criteria of being $> |.4|$ on one factor and less than $|.3|$ on all other factors (Pett, Lackey, & Sullivan, 2003). Items were dropped one at a time and the EFA analysis was rerun to examine the new loadings each time. This iterative process was repeated until all remaining items met the criteria. Eighteen items were dropped during this process, resulting in a total of 62 items split across eight factors with loadings ranging from $|.43|$ to $|.88|$ (see Table 3 for factor loadings, mean scores, and standard deviations).

The first factor, labeled *Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization*, had seven items addressing whether their caregivers taught them about their multiple cultural backgrounds and exposed them to people from their multiple racial-ethnic groups. The second factor, labeled *Multiracial Identity Socialization*, had ten items addressing how caregivers discussed Multiracial identity or having multiple racial identities, and how to be proud of being Multiracial. The third factor, labeled *Preparation for Monoracism Socialization*, had three items addressing how caregivers prepared youth for being excluded by others due to their Multiracial heritage. The fourth factor, labeled *Negative Socialization*, had twelve items which addressed how caregivers expressed prejudicial attitudes towards racial-ethnic groups that the participant was a member of, as well as messages that made participants feel negatively about their racial-ethnic background. The

fifth factor, labelled *Race-Conscious Socialization*, included seven items addressing lessons from parents about systemic racism and inequality. The sixth factor, labelled *Colorblind Socialization*, had seven items addressing messages from parents disregarding the significance of race. The seventh factor, labelled *Diversity Appreciation Socialization*, involved ten items assessing messages from caregivers that taught youth to learn about and appreciate cultural differences and be accepting of people from different racial-ethnic backgrounds. The eighth factor, labelled *Silent Socialization*, had six items capturing caregivers' reluctance to talk about race.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

Next, CFA was conducted with the subsample of 502 participants to check that the factor structure still held with a unique sample of participants. The following fit indices were used to indicate good fit for the model: A root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) value $< .06$; a standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) value $< .08$; and comparative fit index (CFI) value $> .95$ (with a CFI $\geq .90$ indicating acceptable fit; Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Overall, acceptable fit is achieved if at least two of the three fit indices meet the criteria for acceptable model fit (Merz et al., 2011; Mills et al., 2014). I tested a one factor model, an eight-factor uncorrelated model, and an eight-factor correlated model (see Table 4 for results). Fit of the models was compared using the Akaike information criterion (AIC). The model with the lowest AIC value has the best fit. In this case, the eight-factor correlated model was the superior model. Model fit was determined to be good based on the criteria described above. I also conducted a second CFA switching out the caregiver data (i.e., using

caregiver 2 instead of caregiver 1 and vice versa), which produced nearly identical results (see Table 4).

Descriptives, Reliability, and Validity

Means, standard deviations, and alphas of the subscales are presented in Table 5 for both the EFA and CFA subsamples. Internal reliability was determined by the alpha score of each factor. Alphas across samples and caregivers were within acceptable range ($\alpha = .74 - .94$), supporting the internal reliability of the scale.

The CFA subsample was used to test validity of the scale. Specifically, criterion-related validity was examined using correlations between the MY-Soc factors and racial-ethnic identity scales (i.e., exploration, affirmation, and resolution; see Table 6 for correlations). As expected, navigating multiple heritages socialization, Multiracial identity socialization, race-conscious socialization, and diversity appreciation socialization were all positively correlated with exploration, affirmation, and resolution. The only exception was that race-conscious socialization was not significantly related to resolution. Preparation for monoracism socialization was only significantly positively correlated with exploration. Colorblind socialization was negatively correlated with affirmation. Negative socialization and silent socialization were both negatively correlated with affirmation and resolution.

Next, I examined incremental validity through three hierarchical multiple regressions that tested whether the MY-Soc subscales significantly predicted the racial-ethnic identity subscales over and above the monoracial racial-ethnic socialization subscales (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). The three monoracial racial-ethnic socialization subscales were entered

into Step 1, and the eight MY-Soc subscales were entered into Step 2. A separate model was run to test each of the three outcomes (i.e., racial-ethnic identity exploration, affirmation, and resolution), for a total of three models.

All three hierarchical multiple regression tests were significant, supporting the incremental validity of the MY-Soc subscales (see Table 7 for details). The incremental effect of the MY-Soc subscales was statistically significant when accounting for the monoracial racial-ethnic socialization subscales of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust predicting racial-ethnic identity exploration, $R^2 = .17$; $\Delta R^2 = .16$; $F(8, 404) = 9.56, p < .01$, racial-ethnic identity affirmation, $R^2 = .18$; $\Delta R^2 = .15$; $F(8, 404) = 9.20, p < .01$, and racial-ethnic identity resolution, $R^2 = .22$; $\Delta R^2 = .20$; $F(8, 404) = 12.85, p < .01$. Specifically, navigating multiple heritages socialization, negative socialization, race-conscious socialization, and diversity appreciation socialization accounted for unique variance in racial-ethnic identity exploration, over and above the variance from cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. In addition, navigating multiple heritages socialization, Multiracial identity socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, and colorblind socialization accounted for unique variance in racial-ethnic identity affirmation, over and above the variance from cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Lastly, navigating multiple heritages socialization, Multiracial identity socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, negative socialization, race-conscious socialization, and silent socialization accounted for unique variance over and above the variance from cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust in the relationship with racial-ethnic identity resolution.

Finally, discriminant validity was tested with a correlation between the MY-Soc subscales and a measure of impression management. Five of the eight subscales were not related to impression management, while Multiracial identity socialization, negative socialization, and race-conscious socialization had a weak association with impression management. In summary, evidence of construct validity for the MY-Soc Scale was supported by tests of criterion-related, incremental, and discriminant validity.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to develop and validate the first measure of familial racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial youth, the MY-Soc Scale. EFA and CFA analyses found support for a 62 item measure with eight subscales assessing different types of socialization messages: navigating multiple heritages socialization (7 items), Multiracial identity socialization (10 items), preparation for monoracism socialization (3 items), negative socialization (12 items), race-conscious socialization (7 items), colorblind socialization (7 items), diversity appreciation socialization (10 items), and silent socialization (6 items).

Given that there are existing measures that assess cultural socialization and preparation for bias associated with being members of monoracial groups (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Juang et al., 2016), the navigating multiple heritages socialization and preparation for monoracism socialization scales primarily focus on the unique experiences of being Multiracial to advance the literature. As MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) highlights, Multiracials have unique experiences due to their existence challenging the monoracial paradigm of U.S. society. Thus, this measure aims

to account for how caregivers socialize youth about experiences with monoracism and navigating having multiple heritages in a monocentric society.

The Multiracial identity socialization subscale is the first of its kind to address messages from caregivers that communicate and affirm a Multiracial identity. Identity socialization has not been typically assessed in existing racial-ethnic socialization measures, perhaps because monoracial youth are less likely to have their identities challenged by others compared to Multiracial youth who do not fit within the monoracial paradigm. Moreover, there are a lot more racial-ethnic identity options for Multiracial youth to choose from and their identities tend to be more fluid than those of monoracial youth, resulting in added complexity that necessitates more conversation with caregivers.

Similarly, the negative socialization scale is the first to capture messages that communicate negative ideas (e.g., prejudice, stereotypes) from caregivers about youths' own racial-ethnic groups. To my knowledge, there are no validated racial-ethnic socialization measures that capture this type of message for any racial-ethnic groups. The Multiracial Challenges and Resistance Scale (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011) does include a subscale of "lack of family acceptance," which has some similar items such as "a family member said that I am NOT a real member of a racial group(s) with whom I identify," but these items do not specify whether the family member is in the youth's immediate or extended family. Negative socialization targeting youth's own racial-ethnic groups may be more salient in Multiracial families because it is likely that family members have different racial backgrounds, increasing the possibility for intrafamilial discrimination. For example, a White mother of a Black-White Biracial child might make

prejudicial statements against Black people, and the Black father might make statements that invalidate the youth's Biracial identity.

The concept of negative socialization also has important implications for monoracial families. In either a monoracial or Multiracial family, a Black father could express negative attitudes towards Black people due to internalized racism. Thus, studying the effects of negative socialization in monoracial families is needed given that caregivers can communicate negative messages about their own racial-ethnic groups. Furthermore, the concept of negative socialization can also include messages that express prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes about racial outgroups according to the qualitative study by Atkin and colleagues (in prep). While these messages were not assessed in this measure, future measures for Multiracial or monoracial families could address this. For example, Asian American caregivers might express anti-Black attitudes to their children, and capturing socialization messages such as these is important for understanding racial biases and barriers to interracial solidarity. While scholars studying racial-ethnic socialization in White families have studied these messages, to my knowledge a validated measure has not yet been published.

Race-conscious socialization, which includes messages about systemic racism and racial inequality, is another subscale from the MY-Soc measure that addresses a concept that is also relevant to monoracial families. The critical consciousness literature suggests that understanding the systemic nature of racial inequities is protective for youth, giving them the ability to critically analyze social and political conditions and motivating them to take action to change perceived inequities (Diemer et al., 2017; Zimmerman et al., 1999). Thus, this subscale contributes to the literature items focused on assessing how

caregivers are involved in socializing youth about racial inequality. Some of the socialization scales developed for Black families have items that communicate the power differences between White and Black people and learning about race-related history (e.g., Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Mutisya & Ross, 2005; Stevenson et al., 2002). In addition, one scale for White adoptive parents of transracial Asian adoptees has a “social justice self-efficacy” subscale with one item for teaching their child about the struggle for equality in the US, and one item about the family engaging in social justice activities (Berbery & O’Brien, 2011). However, there are no subscales to my knowledge specifically dedicated to teaching youth about the role of institutions, laws, stereotypes, and light-skin privilege in reinforcing racial inequality in society. Furthermore, the race-conscious socialization subscale is intentionally broad in that it not only focuses on how racism affects the racial groups that the Multiracial youth is a member of, but how systemic racism impacts outgroup members and society as a whole. Therefore, this subscale can be utilized to understand the role caregivers play in socializing youth about systemic racism in society.

The MY-Soc measure also found support for the colorblind socialization subscale, which captures messages that disregard the significance of race. Measures developed for Black families have included items with colorblind messages, such as “race doesn’t matter,” and “with hard work, you can achieve anything, regardless of your race” (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). In addition, Juang and colleagues (2016) created a three item subscale addressing “minimization of race,” which was very similar to colorblind socialization. The Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (Massatti et al., 2004) also has a “negative attitudes on racial awareness and survival skills” subscale, with items such as

“I believe that it matters little what others think about my child’s race as long as I love him or her.” However, the current study presents the first full subscale designed to assess colorblind socialization. There is a significant amount of literature addressing colorblind ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Neville et al., 2013) and the danger it poses to overcoming racial inequality. With this new colorblind socialization subscale, scholars can investigate how hearing colorblind messages from parents impacts Multiracial youth. Furthermore, the items are general enough that they could potentially be used with monoracial youth as well.

Given that egalitarian socialization messages can sometimes be interpreted as either being colorblind or teaching appreciation of diversity (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), the MY-Soc measure has a separate subscale for diversity appreciation messages to distinguish these from colorblind messages. For example, the “promotion of equality” subscale by Juang and colleagues (2016) has items such as “parents treated people of other races/ethnicities all the same way” and “parents told you that race or ethnicity is not important in choosing friends.” Such messages could come with a colorblind connotation of “race doesn’t matter.” Thus, the MY-Soc’s diversity appreciation subscale includes explicit messages teaching appreciation and acceptance of people with different cultural practices and racial-ethnic backgrounds. These are somewhat similar to Juang and colleagues’ (2016) subscale of “cultural pluralism,” which addresses having friends and spending time with people from other racial-ethnic backgrounds, understanding the importance of racial-ethnic diversity, and promoting open-mindedness about other people. The pluralism items from Hughes and Johnson’s (2001) “cultural socialization/pluralism” subscale also encourage learning about other ethnic groups. The

MY-Soc diversity appreciation subscale expands on these previous measures with ten items addressing openness and respect for racial-ethnic differences.

Lastly, the silent socialization subscale assesses youths' perception of their caregivers' avoidance of talking about race. This is the first measure to have a full subscale addressing silent socialization, though previous measures have had items such as "my family taught me very little about racism in America" (Stevenson, 1994), "racial differences are not talked about in our family" (Lee et al., 2006), and "I believe that discussions of racial differences with my child may do more harm than good" (Massatti et al., 2004). With this subscale, rather than inferring a lack of racial-ethnic socialization from low scores on other subscales, researchers can explore how youths' perceptions of caregivers' ignoring the topic of race relates to different outcomes.

Overall, the MY-Soc Scale was supported by tests of reliability and validity. Criterion-related validity was supported by positive correlations between navigating multiple heritages socialization, Multiracial identity socialization, race-conscious socialization, and diversity appreciation socialization with racial-ethnic identity exploration, affirmation, and resolution, with the exception of there being no significant relationship between race-conscious socialization and resolution. Thus, messages instilling knowledge about systemic inequality were not related to how youth understood the meaning of their personal racial-ethnic identity. This could possibly be because the race-conscious socialization items did not specifically address issues unique to Multiracial youth, but rather assessed socialization about systemic racism broadly in society. In exploring what preparation for monoracism would be associated with, correlational analyses suggested a positive relationship with exploration. One possible

explanation for this is that youth who engaged in more exploration, trying to learn about their cultures with other members of their monoracial groups, also experienced more monoracism in the process, which elicited preparation for monoracism messages from caregivers. Longitudinal research will need to be conducted to better understand how these two processes occur in relation to one another over time.

Colorblind, negative, and silent socialization were hypothesized to correlate negatively with the three racial-ethnic identity subscales. This was partially supported, as each socialization subscale correlated negatively with one or two of the racial-ethnic identity subscales. Specifically, colorblind socialization was negatively correlated with affirmation, suggesting that youth whose caregivers taught them to disregard the significance of race were less likely to endorse Multiracial pride messages. This makes sense given that Multiracial identity and pride might be less salient to youth whose parents emphasized that race does not matter in life. In addition, negative socialization and silent socialization were negatively correlated with affirmation and resolution. Thus, youth whose caregivers did not talk about race or who made youth feel badly about their racial-ethnic background were less likely to endorse Multiracial pride messages or feel confident about the meaning of their racial-ethnic identity. However, it seems that colorblind, negative, and silent socialization messages did not significantly relate to exploration. One possible explanation for this is that youth might engage in exploration regardless of whether their caregivers talked explicitly about race or said negative things about their racial-ethnic background, highlighting the agency of Multiracial youth in exploring their own heritage with or without encouragement and support from caregivers.

Incremental validity of the MY-Soc Scale over the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Johnson, 2001) was also supported, indicating that the items of the MY-Soc Scale are more relevant to Multiracial youth in predicting their racial-ethnic identity than items developed for monoracial families. In addition, discriminant validity was mostly supported, as the majority of MY-Soc subscales were not related to impression management, and several were weakly associated, indicating that there was little to no social desirability bias in participants' responses.

The MY-Soc Scale makes important contributions to both the Multiracial literature and the general racial-ethnic socialization literature, as it includes both subscales that specifically address the unique experiences of Multiracial youth as well as subscales that assess constructs important for families of all racial-ethnic backgrounds. In particular, the navigating multiple heritages socialization, Multiracial identity socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, and negative socialization subscales capture messages uniquely specific to Multiracial youths' experiences. The MY-Soc scale also contributes to the broader racial-ethnic socialization literature measures of race-conscious socialization, colorblind socialization, diversity appreciation socialization, and silent socialization, which are relevant to youth of all racial-ethnic backgrounds. However, it would be necessary to validate these subscales with any monoracial populations being studied given the present study only had Multiracial participants.

The development and validation of this measure also utilizes a novel method used by Atkin and colleagues (under review) for collecting data about youths' perceptions of socialization practices separately for each of their primary caregivers, compared to past

youth report measures which asked youth to use one response scale to rate how their parents collectively socialized them. The limitation of the latter approach is that researchers cannot determine which parent gave which messages, and participants cannot indicate if one parent gave a message and the other parent gave a contradicting message or did not give that message. In addition, the data collection method is designed to be inclusive by letting youth indicate the caregivers of their choice and answer the questions with these caregivers in mind, allowing researchers to capture the socialization of Multiracial youth with blended families, LGBTQ parent families, families in which extended family members serve as primary caregivers, and families with single parents.

Limitations and Future Research

Though one strength of the MY-Soc measure is that it captures unique Multiracial experiences of socialization, one of its limitations is that it does not address how much youth are being socialized about the culture, discrimination, and stereotypes specific to each of their monoracial groups. This was intentional because there are already measures that exist to address monoracial experiences. For example, the preparation for monoracism socialization subscale focuses on discrimination targeting their Multiracial status (e.g., not being accepted by monoracial people as a member of their group), but does not ask about whether youth experience stereotypes specific to each of their monoracial groups (e.g., stereotypes associated with being Asian, Black, etc.) or general preparation for bias messages (e.g., people will try to limit you because of your race). In addition, the navigating multiple heritages socialization subscale focuses on whether youth are being socialized about all of their cultures equally, but does not measure the frequency of socialization of specific cultural practices, such as asking if youth were

taught languages specific to their racial-ethnic groups. Given that not all Multiracial youth have caregivers who speak another language or have knowledge of different cultural practices, such items would not have been relevant to all participants and could not be included. This is also a limitation associated with creating a measure intended to be relevant to all Multiracial youth, regardless of their racial-ethnic mix. While the MY-Soc Scale will be useful because it is designed to be broadly applicable to all Multiracials, future studies should develop measures specifically addressing the unique experiences of different Multiracial groups (e.g., Black-White Biracials, Asian-White Biracials, minority-minority Multiracials, multi-generation Multiracials).

I acknowledge that it is also important to understand how Multiracial youth are socialized about each of their monoracial groups in addition to their Multiraciality. One possible way to capture socialization messages specific to certain monoracial groups is to use existing racial-ethnic socialization measures designed for monoracial families. For example, Chong and Kuo (2015) presented the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004) to a sample of Asian-White Biracial participants twice, asking them about cultural socialization they received about their Asian and White cultures separately. Using the format utilized for the MY-Soc Scale, allowing participants to indicate which caregiver gave each message, can also be useful for addressing certain research questions. However, researchers should be thoughtful about whether the items make sense for each racial group, given most measures are designed with a particular racial group in mind and may not easily be applied to other groups. In particular, for Multiracial White youth, answering questions about culture and preparation for bias socialization related to being White may not make sense. Furthermore, using monoracial

measures alone does not capture the Multiracial experience, which is why I developed the MY-Soc Scale. Thus, I recommend using a combination of the MY-Soc Scale and another scale to capture both Multiracial and monoracial socialization messages.

Another strength of this measure is that it is designed to capture the youth's perspective, but one limitation of centering youth report was that I was unable to include items to assess caregivers' intentionality with regard to exposing their children to diversity, which has been found to be a relevant nonverbal socialization message (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Atkin et al., in prep). For example, Massatti and colleagues (2004) developed the Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale for parent-report, including items such as "I want my family to live in an integrated neighborhood with neighbors who reflect the race of my child" and "It is crucial that I place my child in multicultural schools." Future studies may try to adapt the MY-Soc measure for parent-report and add a subscale to address exposure to diversity socialization. In addition, given that the emerging adults in the study had to retrospectively recall their experiences of socialization, future studies should validate the measure with Multiracial adolescents.

In terms of how the MY-Soc Scale can be utilized in future studies, there are numerous ways that the subscales can contribute to understanding of Multiracial development. In addition to structural equation models, another direction for future research is to use latent profile analyses to holistically examine how the specific combination of messages from the eight socialization subscales relate to variables such as mental health; family related variables such as perceptions of familial support (Atkin et al., under review); individual level variables such as Multiracial pride, family acceptance, appreciation of human differences, challenges with racial identity, (Salahuddin &

O'Brien, 2011); shifting expressions, creating third space, multicultural engagement (Yoo et al., 2016); Multiracial discrimination (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Yoo et al., 2016); and identity invalidation (Franco & O'Brien, 2018); and racial ideology variables such as critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2017) and colorblindness (Neville et al., 2000). In studying these relationships, it is important to include demographic and contextual variables given that different types of messages may be adaptive in different contexts for Multiracial youth with different racial backgrounds. Furthermore, future studies could work to validate the race-conscious, colorblind, diversity appreciation, and silent socialization subscales with diverse youth from monoracial backgrounds to see how these messages relate to critical consciousness and colorblindness.

Finally, the validation of this measure using different types of caregivers suggests that the measure works with various caregivers of different roles (e.g., stepparents, grandparents) and genders. Moreover, the survey design in this study allows researchers to capture two or more caregivers, opening the door to numerous possibilities for analysis addressing different research questions. For example, researchers might investigate whether the effects of the discrepancy between caregivers' socialization messages has an impact on youth outcomes. In addition, caregiver characteristics can also be factored in to understanding how variables such as race and gender influence socialization. For instance, do messages from minority parents influence outcomes differently than messages from White parents? Or do youth with parents who are not biological (e.g., stepparents, adoptive parents) and not of the same race have different outcomes than youth raised by caregivers whose race matches their own?

Implications and Conclusion

In summary, the MY-Soc Scale is the first familial racial-ethnic socialization measure for Multiracial youth, validated with a sample of diverse Multiracial emerging adults. The MY-Soc Scale could be used in clinical settings to understand how Multiracial family members communicate about race. Practitioners working with caregivers could use the scale to identify the messages that caregivers could incorporate into their socialization practices. Practitioners working with Multiracial youth could use the scale to identify which messages youth received and provide resources to counter messages that youth perceived to be harmful or supplement messages that youth wished they had heard more from caregivers. Future research conducted with this measure will be key in understanding the significance of different types of messages for youth, informing the development of resources and intervention content to help caregivers provide socialization that contributes to Multiracial youths' positive development.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Collectively, the two studies presented here acknowledge the unique experiences of racial-ethnic socialization in families with Multiracial youth. The first study qualitatively captured the nuances of the messages received by Multiracial youth from their parents, identifying nine themes addressing different types of messages. The second study drew on these themes to develop the first measure of racial-ethnic socialization for Multiracial families, the MY-Soc Scale, which assesses eight different types of socialization messages. Specifically, the item development for each subscale was informed by themes that emerged from the qualitative study. The only theme that was excluded from the measure was exposure to diversity, given that assessing the intent of parents to expose their children to diversity would be difficult to measure with a youth-report survey. In addition, though the qualitative study captured monoracially framed socialization, the MY-Soc Scale focused on Multiracial specific socialization messages given that a number of measures already exist that assess socialization about monoracial groups. Lastly, negative socialization items written for the measure focused on negative messages from caregivers about youths' own racial groups, while the qualitative study found that negative socialization also encompasses prejudicial messages about youths' outgroup members.

MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) provided the framework for understanding the racial-ethnic socialization that youth receive in both studies. Specifically, considering the reality that Multiracial families live in a society with a monoracial paradigm of race, both studies were able to capture the significance of messages that prepare youth for monoracism, affirm their Multiracial identities, and celebrate their multiple cultures. Moreover,

Critical Race Theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012), from which MultiCrit was derived, informed how both studies recognized the significance of socialization messages that challenge ahistoricism by informing youth about race and racism in a historical context, as well as messages that fail to challenge dominant ideology by perpetuating colorblindness.

As I write the final piece of this dissertation on June 9th, 2020, people are protesting in the streets all around the world in the wake of the death of George Floyd, fighting for racial equality and justice for all of the Black lives that have been violently taken from this earth before their time. The increasingly long list of Black people who have been murdered at the hands of police and citizens who feel empowered by the United States' unjust system has made it clearer than ever that the laws and policies that govern our institutions serve to protect the powerful and disregard the lives of our Black citizenry. Our entire society is socialized to believe a narrative that upholds whiteness as superior and blackness as inferior while promoting the myth of meritocracy. Though many have educated themselves to challenge this narrative, others continue to believe that Black lives are less valuable than material goods, and that the problems lie within our most disenfranchised members of society and not the system designed to disadvantage them.

At a time like this, it is important to think about how change happens. Systems do not change themselves – people change systems. In the last two weeks, protestors and activists have demanded institutional change and some demands are being met: the officers involved in George Floyd's were charged, police departments across the country are changing their policies, funding is being cut from police departments, and investigations are being opened into police misconduct. What inspires people to take

action to demand racial justice? Bell (2016) argues that a race-conscious stance is necessary for addressing racial inequities, while a colorblind stance is essentially the “new racism” because it ignores race, leaving structural inequalities in place (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). Bell’s (2016) assertion that the United States needs a race-conscious agenda has important implications for socialization research. Creating a race-conscious society requires race-conscious people, and given that parents are responsible for teaching the next generation of race-conscious youth about race, researchers need tools to assess racial-ethnic socialization that addresses race-conscious, colorblind, and silent socialization messages. A study by Diemer (2012) shows that youth whose parents discuss “community, national, and world events” with them were more committed to social change and more likely to engage in political participation. However, there is much more research to be done in this area, and it is essential that researchers study what types of socialization messages foster critical consciousness and anti-racist beliefs in youth if we want to work towards raising future generations that value racial equity in society. With the race-conscious, colorblind, diversity appreciation, and silent socialization subscales of the MY-Soc Scale, researchers have one tool to start advancing this research with families of diverse racial backgrounds.

Parents of Multiracial youth in particular also play an important role in raising the fastest growing youth population in the US. Parents of Multiracial youth may struggle with navigating how their family does not fit the monoracial paradigm, and resort to perpetuating the myth of a post-racial society and colorblind ideology to avoid acknowledging differences in power and racial experiences within the family (Chang, 2016). Talking about race can be very challenging, but with the MY-Soc Scale,

practitioners can work with Multiracial families to identify what types of messages parents are transmitting, and work to improve parents' feelings of confidence and self-efficacy in delivering different types of messages (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019).

In summary, the first study used qualitative methods to demonstrate how youth interpret racial-ethnic socialization messages from their parents to understand their position in a monocentric society, as well as the positions of others of different racial backgrounds in society, while the second study developed the MY-Soc Scale to assess these experiences. The qualitative study provides an in depth understanding of how 20 diverse Multiracial youth learned about race from their parents, and the MY-Soc Scale informed by these experiences will be essential in advancing knowledge about how these socialization messages affect the development of Multiracial youth, both in terms of their health, self-esteem, and identity, and as politically engaged, anti-racist members of society. In closing, I quote Chang's (2016) book to illustrate the potential power of racial-ethnic socialization messages:

Whether multiracial... children become substantially empowered to achieve more positive and resistant mixed race identities in future decades just depends. They must be able to gain the strength of collective resistant heritage from us, their family, and community networks. They must be stimulated to think critically, taught to see complexity and nuances in all people, raise their consciousness through self-inquiry and parallel dialogue with others. Today few have ever had even brief learning on racism in their educations, from kindergarten all the way through graduate school. Yet multiracial... children must have a comprehensive understanding of racism's history, framing, character, operation, and maintenance

to make sense of society generally and destroy persisting racial oppression. They must be able to reject myths of white superiority and refocus their energies to raise celebrations of who *they* are. They must know white society well and become experts on how to respond to discriminatory actions. We must discuss the work of activist with them, help them to learn anti-racist counterframing... and gain strategies of protest which may be passed across many generations. (p. 217)

REFERENCES

- Anderson, R.E., & Stevenson, H.C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychology, 74*(1), 63-75.
- Andolina, M.V., Jenkins, K., Zukin, C., & Keeter, S. (2003). Habits from home, lessons from school: Influences on youth civic engagement. *Political Science and Politics, 36*(2), 275-280.
- Arnett, J.J., Zukauskienė, R., & Sugimura, K. (2014). The new life stage of emerging adulthood at ages 18-29 years: Implications for mental health. *Lancet Psychiatry, 1*, 569-576.
- Atkin, A.L., & Jackson, K.F. (2020). “Mom, you don’t get it”: A grounded theory examination of Multiracial youths’ perceptions of parent support. *Emerging Adulthood*, Advance online publication.
- Atkin, A.L., & Yoo, H.C. (2019). Familial racial-ethnic socialization of Multiracial American youth: A systematic review of the literature with MultiCrit. *Developmental Review, 53*, 1-28.
- Atkin, A.L., Yoo, H.C., & Yeh, C.J. (2019). What types of racial messages protect Asian American adolescents from discrimination? A latent interaction model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 66*(2), 247-254.
- Berbergy, M., & O’Brien, K. (2011). Predictors of White adoptive parents’ cultural and racial socialization behaviors with their Asian adopted children. *Adoption Quarterly, 14*, 284-304.
- Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don’t: Researcher’s position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research, 15*(2), 219-234.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*, 77–101.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Hayfield, N., & Terry, G. (2019). Thematic analysis. In *Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences*, 843-860.
- Brittian, A.S., Umaña-Taylor, A.J., & Derlan, C.L. (2013). An examination of Biracial college youths’ family ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and adjustment: Do

- self-identification labels and university context matter? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(2), 177-189.
- Brown, T.L., & Krishnakumar, A. (2007). Development and validation of the Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS) in African American families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36, 1072-1085.
- Brown, T.N., Tanner-Smith, E.E., Lesane-Brown, C.L., Ezell, M.E. (2007). Child, parent, and situational correlates of familial ethnic/race socialization. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 69, 14-25.
- Browne, M. W., & Cudeck, R. (1993). Alternative ways of assessing model fit. In K. A. Bollen & J.S. Long (Eds.), *Testing structural equations models* (pp. 136–162). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Butler-Sweet, C. (2011). ‘Race isn’t what defines me’: Exploring identity choices in transracial, biracial, and monoracial families. *Social Identities*, 17(6), 747-769.
- Byrd, M.M., & Garwick, A.W. (2006). Family Identity: Black-White interracial family health experience. *Journal of Family Nursing*, 12(1), 22-37.
- Cashin, S. (2017). *Loving: Interracial intimacy in American and the threat to white supremacy*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Chancler, L.L.M., Webb, F.J., & Miller, C. (2017). Role of the Black grandmother in racial socialization of their biracial grandchildren. *Marriage & Family Review*, 53(5), 444-464.
- Chang, S.H. (2016). *Raising mixed race: Multiracial Asian children in a post-racial world*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Charmaraman, L., Woo, M., Quach, A., & Erkut, S. (2014). How have researchers studied Multiracial populations? A content and methodological review of 20 years of research. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(3), 336-352.
- Chavez, G.F., & Sanchez, D. T. (2010). A clearer picture of Multiracial substance use: Rates and correlates of alcohol and tobacco use in Multiracial adolescents and adults. *Race and Social Problems*, 2, 1-18.
- Chong, V., & Kuo, B.C.H. (2015). Racial identity profiles of Asian-White biracial young adults: Testing a theoretical model with cultural and psychological correlates. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 6(3), 203-212.

- Csizmadia, A., Rollins, A., & Kaneakua, J.P. (2014). Ethnic-racial socialization and its correlates in families of Black-White Biracial children. *Family Relations*, *63*, 259-270.
- Davis, M. (2019). The manifesto posted on 8chan by alleged El Paso shooter minutes before attack. *MEMRI: The Middle East Media Research Institute*. Retrieved from: <https://www.memri.org/reports/manifesto-posted-8chan-alleged-el-paso-shooter-minutes-attack>
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Diemer, M.A. (2012). Fostering marginalized youths' political participation: Longitudinal roles of parental political socialization and youth sociopolitical development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *50*, 246-256.
- Diemer, M.A., Rapa, L.J., Park, C.J., & Perry, J.C. (2017). Development and validation of the Critical Consciousness Scale. *Youth & Society*, *49*(4), 461-483.
- Farago, F., Davidson, K.L., & Byrd, C.M. (2019). Ethnic-racial socialization in early childhood: The implications of color-consciousness and colorblindness for prejudice development. In Fitzgerald, H.E., Johnson, D.J., Qin, D.B., Villarruel, F.A., & Norder, J. (Eds.), *Handbook of Children and Prejudice*, (pp. 131-145). Springer.
- Franco, M., & O'Brien, K.M. (2018). Racial identity invalidation with Multiracial individuals: An instrument development study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *24*(1), 112-125.
- French, B.H., Lewis, J.A., Mosley, D.V., Adames, H.Y., Chavez-Duenas, N.Y., Chen, G.A., & Neville, H.A. (2019). Toward a psychological framework of radical healing in communities of color. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 1-33.
- Garcia Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., Pipes-McAdoo, H., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Vazquez Garcia, H. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*, 1891-1914.
- Gonzales-Backen, M.A. (2013). An application of ecological theory to ethnic identity formation among biethnic adolescents. *Family Relations*, *62*, 92-108.
- Gonzalez, A.G., Umaña-Taylor, A.J., & Bamaca, M.Y. (2006). Familial ethnic socialization among adolescents of Latino and European descent. *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(2), 184-207.

- Green, J., & Thorogood, N. (2004). *Qualitative methods for health research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hagerman, M.A. (2014). White families and race: Colour-blind and colour-conscious approaches to White racial socialization. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(14), 2598-2614.
- Hagerman, M.A. (2017). White racial socialization: Progressive fathers on raising “antiracist” children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 79, 60-74.
- Harris, J.C. (2016). Toward a critical Multiracial theory in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(6), 795-813.
- Hart, C.M., Ritchie, T.D., Hepper, E.G., & Gebauer, J.E. (2015). The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Short Form (BIDR-16). *SAGE Open*, 5(4), 1-9.
- Hill, C.E., Thompson, B.J., & Williams, E.N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25, 517-572.
- Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6, 1–55.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1, 200-214.
- Hughes, D., & Johnson, D.J. (2001). Correlates in children’s experiences of parents’ racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63, 981-995.
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(5), 747-770. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747
- Jackson, K. F. & Samuels, G. M. (2019). *Multiracial Cultural Attunement*. NASW Press.
- Jackson, K.F., Wolven, T., & Crudup, C. (2019). Parental ethnic-racial socialization in Multiracial Mexican families. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 28(2), 165-190.
- Jackson, K.F., Yoo, H.C., Guevarra, R., & Harrington, B.A. (2012). Role of identity integration on the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and psychological adjustment of Multiracial people. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 59(2), 240-250.

- Johnston, M.P., & Nadal, K.L. (2010). Multiracial microaggressions: Exposing monoracism in everyday life and clinical practice. In D.W. Sue (Ed.), *Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 123-144). New York, NY: Wiley & Sons.
- Jones, N. A., & Bullock, J. (2010, September). The two or more races population: 2010 (2010 Census Brief C2010BR-13). Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-13.pdf>
- Juang, L. P., Shen, Y., Kim, S. Y., & Wang, Y. (2016). Development of an Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 22*, 417–431.
- Juang, L.P., Yoo, H.C., & Atkin, A.L. (2017). A critical perspective on an empirical review of Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization. In Y. Choi & H.C. Hahm (Eds.), *Asian American parenting: Family process and intervention* (pp. 11-35). Switzerland: Springer.
- King, M.F., & Bruner, G.C. (2000). Social desirability bias: A neglected aspect of validity testing. *Psychology & Marketing, 17*(2), 79-103.
- Kline, R. B. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford.
- Lee, R.M., Grovetant, H.D., Hellerstedt, W.L., Gunnar, M.R., & The Minnesota International Adoption Project Team (2006). Cultural socialization in families with internationally adopted children. *Journal of Family Psychology, 20*(4), 571-580.
- Lesane-Brown, C.L., Brown, T.N., Caldwell, C.H., & Sellers, R.M. (2005). The Comprehensive Race Socialization Inventory. *Journal of Black Studies, 36*(2), 163-190.
- Lesane-Brown, C.L., Brown, T.N., Tanner-Smith, E.E., & Bruce, M.A. (2010). Negotiating boundaries and bonds: Frequency of young children's socialization to their ethnic/racial heritage. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology, 41*(3), 457-464.
- Livingston, G., & Brown, A. (2017). Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 years after Loving v. Virginia. *The Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/05/18/intermarriage-in-the-u-s-50-years-after-loving-v-virginia/>

- Lu, C., & Shulman, S.W. (2008). Rigor and flexibility in computer-based qualitative research: Introducing the Coding Analysis Toolkit. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 2, 105-117.
- MacPhail, C., Khoza, N., Abler, L., & Ranganathan, M. (2016). Process guidelines for establishing Inter-coder Reliability in qualitative studies. *Qualitative Research*, 16(2), 198-212.
- Massatti, R.R., Vonk, M.E., & Gregoire, T.K. (2004). Reliability and validity of the Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 14(1), 43-50.
- Merz, E. L., Malcarne, V. L., Roesch, S. C., Riley, N., & Sadler, G. R. (2011). A multigroup confirmatory factor analysis of the patient health questionnaire-9 among English- and Spanish-speaking Latinas. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17, 309-316.
- Mills, S. D., Fox, R.S., Malcarne, V. L., Roesch, S. C., Champagne, B. R., & Sadler, G. R. (2014). The psychometric properties of the Generalized Anxiety Disorder-7 Scale in Hispanic Americans with English or Spanish language preference. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20, 463-468.
- Morrow, S. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 250-260.
- Morse, J.M. (2015). Critical analysis of strategies for determining rigor in qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research*, 25(9), 1212-1222.
- Mutisya, P.M., & Ross, L.E. (2005). Afrocentricity and racial socialization among African American college students. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(3), 235-247.
- Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the color-blind racial attitudes scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47, 59-70.
- Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 68, 455-466.
- Newman, A.M. (2017). Desiring the standard light skin: Black Multiracial boys, masculinity, and exotification. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 1-19.

- O'Connor, B. P. (2000). SPSS and SAS programs for determining the number of components using parallel analysis and Velicer's MAP test. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 32, 396–402.
- O'Donoghue, M. (2005). White mothers negotiating race and ethnicity in the mothering of Biracial, Black-White adolescents. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 14(3-4), 125-156.
- Paragg, J. (2014). Studying “mixed race”: Reflections on methodological practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 13, 347-361.
- Pett, M. A., Lackey, N. R., & Sullivan, J. J. (2003). *Making sense of factor analysis: The use of factor analysis for instrument development in health care research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pew Research Center (2015, June 11). Multiracial in America: Proud, diverse and growing in numbers. Retrieved from <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/06/11/Multiracial-in-america>
- Rauktis, M.E., Fusco, R.A., Goodkind, S., & Bradley-King, C. (2016). Motherhood in liminal spaces: White mothers' parenting Black/White children. *Journal of Women and Social Work*, 1-16.
- Rockquemore, K.A., & Laszloffy, T. (2005). *Raising biracial children*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
- Rockquemore, K.A., Brunson, D.L., & Delgado, D.J. (2009). Racing to theory or retheorizing race? Understanding the struggle to build a Multiracial identity theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(1), 13-34.
- Rollins, A., & Hunter, A.G. (2013). Racial socialization of Biracial youth: Maternal messages and approaches to address discrimination. *Family Relations*, 62, 140-153.
- Rollins, A. (2019). Racial socialization: A developmental perspective. In R. Nazarina Roy & A. Rollins (eds.) *Biracial families*, pp. 159-181. Switzerland: Springer.
- Rondilla, J.L., Guevarra, R.P., & Spickard, P. (2017). *Red & yellow, black & brown: Decentering whiteness in mixed race studies*. NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Root, M.P.P. (1996). *The Multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Root, M.P.P. (1998). Experiences and processes affecting racial identity development: Preliminary results from the Biracial Sibling Project. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4*(3), 237-247.
- Root, M.P.P. (2003). Multiracial families and children: Implications for educational research and practice. In J. A. Banks and C. A. McGee Banks (eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (second edition), pp. 110-124. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sakai, J.T., Wang, C., & Price, R.K. (2010). Substance use and dependence among Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, and Asian ethnic groups in the United States: Contrasting multiple-race and single-race prevalence rates from a national survey. *Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse, 9*, 173-185.
- Salahuddin, N. M., & O'Brien, K. M. (2011). Challenges and resilience in the lives of urban, multiracial adults: An instrument development study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*(4), 494.
- Samuels, G.M. (2009). "Being raised by White people:" Navigating racial difference among adopted Multiracial adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 71*, 80-94.
- Samuels, G. M. (2010). Building kinship and community: Relational processes of bicultural identity among adult multiracial adoptees. *Family Process, 49*(1), 26–42.
- Smith, D.E. (1993). The Standard North American Family: SNAF as an ideological code. *Journal of Family Issues, 14*(1), 50-65.
- Snyder, C.R. (2012). Racial socialization in cross-racial families. *Journal of Black Psychology, 38*(2), 228-253.
- Song, M. (2019). Learning from your children: Multiracial parents' identifications and reflections on their own racial socialization. *Emerging Adulthood, 7*(2), 119-127.
- Spickard, P.R. (1992). The illogic of American racial categories. In M.P.P. Root (Ed.), *Racial mixed people in America* (pp. 12-23). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stevenson, H.C. (1994). Validation of the Scale of Racial Socialization for African American Adolescents: Steps toward multidimensionality. *Journal of Black Psychology, 20*(4), 445-468.
- Stevenson, H.C., Cameron, R., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G.Y. (2002). Development of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale: Correlates of race-

- related socialization frequency from the perspective of Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 28(2), 84-106.
- Stone, D.J., & Dolbin-MacNab, M. (2017). Racial socialization practices of White mothers raising Black-White biracial children. *Contemporary Family Theory*, 39, 97-111.
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the Identity Status Model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(4), 1012-1027.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Tran, A. G. T. T., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16, 169– 178.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2001). *Ethnic identity development among Mexican origin Latino adolescents living in the U. S.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, MO.
- Umaña -Taylor, A.J., & Fine, M.A. (2004). Examining ethnic identity among Mexican-origin adolescents living in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 26(1), 36-59.
- Umaña-Taylor, A.J., & Hill, N.E. (2020). Ethnic-racial socialization in the family: A decade's advance on precursors and outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82, 244-271.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gomez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic identity scale using Erikson and social identity perspectives. *An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 4, 9–38.
- Villegas-Gold, R., & Tran, A.G.T.T. (2018). Socialization and well-being in multiracial individuals: A moderated mediation model of racial ambiguity and identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 65(4), 413-422.
- Vittrup, B. (2018). Color blind or color conscious? White American mothers' approaches to racial socialization. *Journal of Family Issues*, 39(3), 668-692.
- Wang, M., Henry, D.A., Smith, L.V., Huguley, J.P., & Guo, J. (2019). Parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and children of color's psychosocial and behavioral

- adjustment: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *American Psychologist*, in press.
- Worthington, R. L., & Whittaker, T. A. (2006). Scale development research: A content analysis and recommendations for best practices. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 34(6), 806-838.
- Yoo, H.C., Jackson, K.F., Guevarra, R.P., & Miller, M.J. (2016). Construction and initial validation of the Multiracial Experiences Measure (MEM). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 63(2), 198-209.
- Zimmerman, M. A., Ramírez-Valles, J., & Maton, K. I. (1999). Resilience among urban African American male adolescents: A study of the protective effects of sociopolitical control on their mental health. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 27, 733-751.

APPENDIX A
TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1.

Demographic Details of Study 1 Participants (N = 20)

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Mother's Racial (Ethnic) Background	Father's Racial (Ethnic) Background
Majority- Minority Biracial	Elizabeth	Female	19	White	Asian (Chinese)
	Bella	Female	23	Asian (Japanese)	White (Italian)
	Ryan	Male	21	Asian (Taiwanese)	White
	Megan	Female	21	White	Black (Liberian)
	Hero	Female	22	*White	Black
	Henry	Male	19	American Indian (French Guiana)	White
	Junior	Male	19	White	Latino (Mexican)
	Edward	Male	22	*White	*Latino (Mexican)
Minority- Minority Biracial	Spike	Male	21	Asian (Chinese)	Black
	Mariah	Female	21	*Asian (Japanese)	Black
	Anthony	Male	18	*Latina (Puerto Rican)	*Asian (Filipino)
	Diego	Male	23	Latina (Mexican)	Middle Eastern (Iranian)
	Bernadino	Male	19	*Latina (Mexican)	Asian (Vietnamese)
	Amara	Female	22	Asian (Filipina)	Pacific Islander (Chamorro)
Second- generation Multiracial	Malia	Female	19	*White and Black	Latino (Mexican)
	JFK	Male	20	*Latina and White (Spanish and Mexican)	Black and American Indian (Columbian)
	Mia	Female	20	White and Latina (Mexican)	Asian (Sri Lankan)
	Reikan	Male	23	American Indian and White Latina (Spanish)	Asian (Filipino) and White
	Janine	Female	21	*Latina (Mexican) and White	White
	Nicole	Female	18	White with distant American Indian ancestry	Black

*Indicates parent that individual had the most exposure to as parents were separated or divorced. If both parents have *, then individual had equal exposure to each parent (i.e., shared custody).

Table 2.

Study 1 Racial-ethnic Socialization Themes

Racial-ethnic Socialization Theme	Summarized qualitative statements (examples)
Cultural socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach child about cultural heritage and traditions • Speak native language to child • Cook foods from all of child’s cultures • Expose child to their cultural communities, family’s countries of origin
Racial identity socialization	
Monoracial identity socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify with only one of your racial-ethnic groups • Be proud of your monoracial-ethnic group(s) • Be proud of phenotypical characteristics attributed to monoracial group(s)
Multiracial identity socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify with all of your racial-ethnic groups or as Biracial/Multiracial • Be proud of mixed background • Be proud of unique phenotypical appearance attributed to being mixed
Preparation for bias socialization	
General preparation for bias	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach strategies for responding to and coping with discrimination • Ignore discrimination, be the bigger person, brush it off • Stand up for yourself when being discriminated against
Preparation for bias against monoracial groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach child about stereotypes or discrimination they may face as members of certain monoracial groups • Share stories of parents’ own experiences with discrimination as monoracial people • Model responses to discrimination targeting parent’s monoracial background
Preparation for monoracism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Others may not accept you because you are different • Not everyone is accepting of Multiracial families and individuals • Others will try to put you into a monoracial box

Colorblind socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• People may question your racial background or your relationship to your family members because of your appearance• Share stories of parent's experiences of discrimination due to being mixed race• We're all American• White people experience racism too• You are the answer to racism• I don't see race
Cultural diversity appreciation socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Teach child about other cultures• Take child to restaurants and grocery stores to learn about different cultures• Be open to cultural differences• Decorate house with art and artifacts from other cultures
Race-conscious socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Teach child about discrimination that racial outgroups face• Teach child about the systemic nature of racism• Be nice to people of different races• Do not be judgmental or stereotype people of other races• White people have more power and privilege than racial-ethnic minorities• Black Lives Matter is an important movement• Teach youth about historical figures who fought for racial equality
Exposure to diversity socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Live in diverse neighborhood• Send child to diverse school• Expose child to diverse people
Negative socialization	
Prejudicial messages	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Parent said something prejudiced to other parent or about other parent's racial or ethnic group• Parent said something prejudiced about a racial or ethnic outgroup• You should act more like [a stereotype of your racial group]• Parent told youth not to date or hang out with people from a specific racial group

Invalidation messages

- Parent said that child's racial group does not face discrimination
- Parent told other parent they were crazy for attributing poor treatment to discrimination
- Parent said something negative about child's phenotypical characteristic associated with their race (e.g., hair)

Silent socialization

- Brush child off when they try to talk about race
 - Change the subject when child tries to talk about race
 - Never talked about race
 - Never talked to child about being Multiracial
-

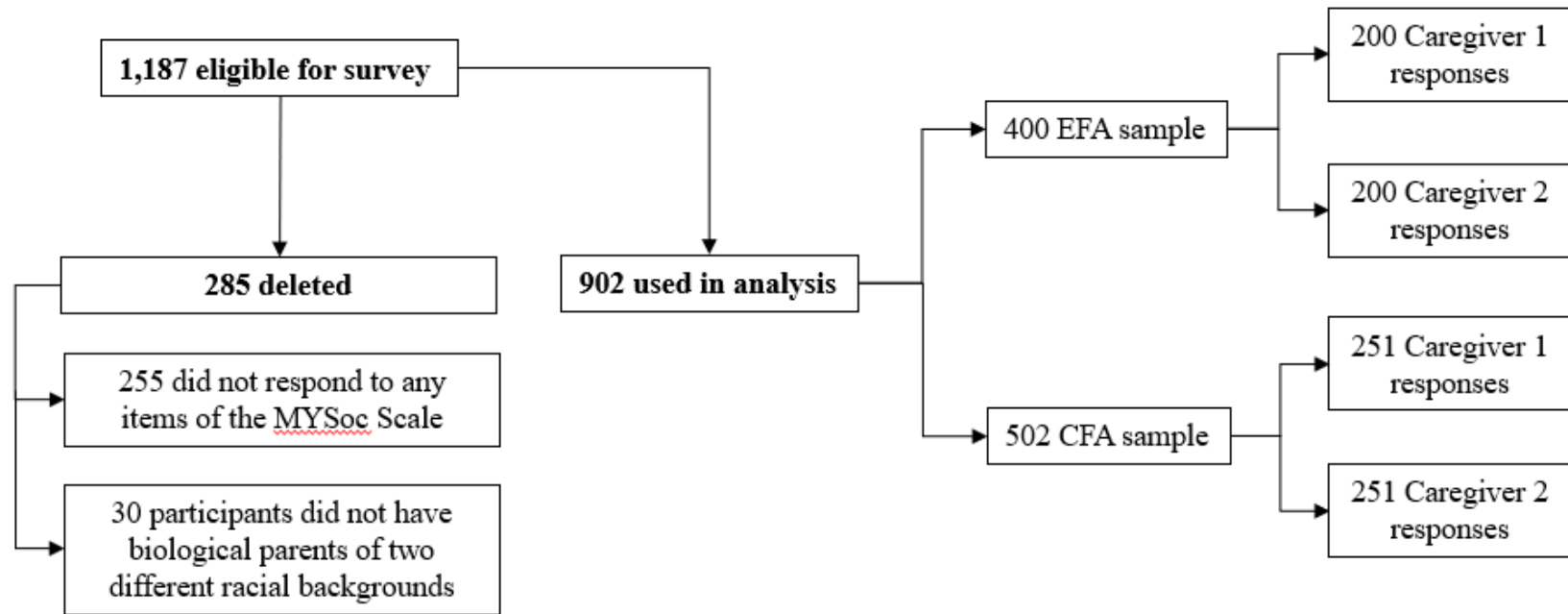


Figure 1. Study 2 Participant Flow.

Table 3

Study 2 Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale Item Descriptions and Factor Loadings (EFA Subsample, n = 400)

Item	Loading	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Factor 1: Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization (7 items)			
1. My (caregiver) taught me customs specific to all of my different cultural backgrounds	0.82	3.60	1.54
2. My (caregiver) taught me about my family histories from all of my racial-ethnic groups	0.48	3.71	1.64
4. My (caregiver) taught me about all of my racial-ethnic backgrounds	0.56	3.70	1.55
5. My (caregiver) exposed me to foods from all of my cultures	0.72	4.55	1.65
6. My (caregiver) had me participate in activities that taught me about my cultures	0.72	3.79	1.65
9. My (caregiver) exposed me to other people in each of my racial-ethnic communities	0.65	4.19	1.59
10. My (caregiver) exposed me to extended family members from all of my racial-ethnic groups	0.53	4.60	1.58
Factor 2: Multiracial Identity Socialization (10 items)			
11. My (caregiver) encouraged me to explore what it means to be Multiracial	0.59	3.17	1.56
12. My (caregiver) told me that I can identify with any of my racial-ethnic groups	0.50	3.67	1.63
73. My (caregiver) never talked to me about me being Multiracial (R)	-0.64	3.04	1.72
15. My (caregiver) explained to me that I am Multiracial	0.82	3.99	1.70
16. My (caregiver) taught me multiple racial identity labels I could use	0.47	2.85	1.61
17. My (caregiver) discussed our racial differences in positive ways	0.49	3.70	1.56
18. My (caregiver) taught me to be proud that I am Multiracial	0.85	4.03	1.67
19. My (caregiver) told me to be proud of the way I look (e.g., skin color, hair color/type)	0.44	4.48	1.57
20. My (caregiver) told me that being Multiracial is special	0.73	3.60	1.71

24. My (caregiver) prepared me for others questioning me about my race	0.48	2.77	1.59
Factor 3: Preparation for Monoracism Socialization (3 items)			
28. My (caregiver) told me that monoracial people may not accept me as a member of their group	-0.74	2.74	1.63
29. My (caregiver) told me that members of my racial groups may treat me differently because I am Multiracial	-0.74	3.18	1.69
30. My (caregiver) told me that others may make me feel like I don't belong to my racial-ethnic groups	-0.64	2.83	1.62
Factor 4: Negative Socialization (12 items)			
13. My (caregiver) did not pressure me to identify in any particular way (R)	0.52	4.60	1.51
80. My (caregiver) laughs or makes jokes about my racial experiences without really addressing them	-0.65	2.52	1.52
31. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel bad for not knowing enough about my culture	-0.57	2.49	1.55
32. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel like I would be more attractive if I looked more like one of my monoracial groups	-0.52	2.15	1.59
33. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel ashamed of being Multiracial	-0.69	2.07	1.52
34. My (caregiver) said negative things (e.g., stereotypes, jokes, racist comments) about my other racial-ethnic group(s)	-0.66	2.98	1.81
35. My (caregiver) expressed prejudicial attitudes toward my other racial-ethnic group(s)	-0.66	2.52	1.61
36. My (caregiver) said I act too much like people from my other racial-ethnic group(s)	-0.64	2.15	1.44
37. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel like I do not belong to my (caregiver's) racial-ethnic group	-0.69	2.63	1.61
38. My (caregiver) said things that implied that my culture from my other racial-ethnic group is bad or inferior	-0.66	2.25	1.54
39. My (caregiver) suggested that I should act more like a stereotype of my racial minority group(s)	-0.60	1.97	1.32

40. My (caregiver) said that I do not "behave" like a member of my (caregiver's) racial-ethnic group	-0.65	2.42	1.56
--	-------	------	------

Factor 5: Race-Conscious Socialization (7 items)

41. My (caregiver) taught me that there used to be laws that banned interracial marriage in the United States	0.44	2.89	1.83
42. My (caregiver) encouraged me to participate in events or organizations working towards racial equality	0.64	2.88	1.59
44. My (caregiver) taught me that people with lighter color skin have more privileges	0.43	3.09	1.65
46. My (caregiver) made me aware of racial stereotypes affecting racial groups other than my own	0.49	3.57	1.61
47. My (caregiver) taught me that racism is reinforced by institutions in our society (e.g., legal system, schools, banks)	0.64	2.96	1.64
48. My (caregiver) taught me about historical figures who fought for racial equality in America	0.68	2.93	1.68
50. My (caregiver) taught me about unfair laws and policies in the United States that target racial-ethnic minorities	0.82	2.78	1.65

Factor 6: Colorblind Socialization (7 items)

53. My (caregiver) says that they don't see race	0.54	2.47	1.61
54. My (caregiver) says there are no racial differences between us	0.50	2.91	1.57
55. My (caregiver) taught me that everyone has an equal opportunity for success regardless of their race	0.51	3.79	1.68
56. My (caregiver) says there are more important things to worry about than race	0.55	3.94	1.60
58. My (caregiver) says that people are too sensitive about race	0.59	3.25	1.66
59. My (caregiver) says that racism is no longer an issue in the United States	0.56	2.02	1.30
60. My (caregiver) says that White people also experience racism	0.52	2.83	1.59

Factor 7: Diversity Appreciation Socialization (10 items)

61. My (caregiver) taught me that everyone's cultural differences make them unique	0.48	4.07	1.64
62. My (caregiver) taught me to appreciate different cultures other than my own	0.68	4.52	1.48
63. My (caregiver) taught me to be respectful of people from different cultures	0.88	4.81	1.39
64. My (caregiver) taught me that cultures with different customs are not inferior	0.63	4.37	1.59
65. My (caregiver) taught me to be accepting of people from all racial-ethnic backgrounds	0.86	4.63	1.53
66. My (caregiver) taught me to be open to cultural differences	0.81	4.60	1.40
67. My (caregiver) taught me to not be judgmental of people from other cultures	0.85	4.49	1.58
68. My (caregiver) taught me that the United States is enriched by its cultural diversity	0.49	4.20	1.49
49. My (caregiver) taught me not to judge or stereotype others based on their racial-ethnic background	0.77	4.31	1.62
70. My (caregiver) encourages me to learn about other cultures other than my own	0.60	4.20	1.56

Factor 8: Silent Socialization (6 items)

71. When I try to discuss race, my (caregiver) changes the subject	-0.61	2.23	1.43
72. My (caregiver) never talks about race	-0.60	2.77	1.51
74. My (caregiver) avoids talking about race	-0.77	2.69	1.52
75. My (caregiver) ignores the topic of race in conversation	-0.76	2.59	1.44
76. My (caregiver) does not know how to talk about race with me	-0.52	3.18	1.74
78. My (caregiver) is uncomfortable talking about race	-0.82	2.68	1.54

Note: Responses given on a 6-point Likert scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

Table 4

Study 2 Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale Model Fit Indices

Sample	Model	χ^2	<i>df</i>	RMSEA [90% CI]	CFI	SRMR	AIC
CFA Subsample 1 (n = 502)	Eight-factor Correlated	4226.92*	1801	0.052 [0.050, 0.054]	0.85	0.077	96417.34
	Eight-factor Uncorrelated	5701.50*	1829	0.065 [0.063, 0.67]	0.75	0.22	97835.92
	One-factor	9911.09*	1829	0.094 [0.092, 0.96]	0.48	0.11	102045.51
CFA Subsample 2 (n = 479)	Eight-factor Correlated	4171.79*	1801	0.052 [0.050, 0.055]	0.84	0.079	91302.21
	Eight-factor Uncorrelated	5534.59*	1829	0.065 [0.063, 0.67]	0.75	0.22	92609.01
	One-factor	9506.17*	1829	0.094 [0.092, 0.95]	0.49	0.11	96580.59

Table 5

Study 2 MY-Soc Subscale Means, SDs, and Reliabilities

Sample	MY-Soc Subscale	Mean	SD	α
EFA Subsample (<i>n</i> = 400)	Navigating multiple heritages socialization	3.96	1.19	.85
	Multiracial identity socialization	3.67	1.14	.88
	Preparation for monoracism socialization	2.99	1.42	.84
	Negative socialization	2.38	1.00	.87
	Race-conscious socialization	3.14	1.24	.84
	Colorblind Socialization	3.04	1.08	.77
	Diversity appreciation socialization	4.47	1.20	.94
	Silent socialization	2.74	1.33	.91
CFA Subsample (<i>n</i> = 502)	Navigating multiple heritages socialization	4.00	1.18	.85
	Multiracial identity socialization	3.62	1.19	.90
	Preparation for monoracism socialization	2.92	1.44	.85
	Negative socialization	2.38	1.06	.90
	Race-conscious socialization	3.03	1.20	.83
	Colorblind Socialization	3.03	1.02	.74
	Diversity appreciation socialization	4.43	1.25	.94
	Silent socialization	2.67	1.22	.89

Note. Responses given on a 6-point Likert scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

Table 6

Study 2 Correlations (CFA Subsample, N = 502)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. NMHS														
2. MIS	.54**													
3. PMS	.32**	.55**												
4. NS	-.17**	-.31**	.11*											
5. RCS	.36**	.60**	.54**	-.13**										
6. CoS	-.08	.01	.01	.26**	-.13**									
7. DAS	.46**	.62**	.34**	-.42**	.61**	-.01								
8. SS	-.37**	-.56**	-.31**	.38**	-.45**	.35**	-.39**							
9. CulS	.28**	.42**	.31**	-.14**	.55**	-.12**	.40**	-.39**						
10. PFB	.21**	.36**	.34**	.07	.48**	-.09	.36**	-.27**	.54**					
11. PoM	-.04	-.11*	-.02	.16**	-.15**	.07	-.15**	.10*	-.01	.24**				
12. REI-E	.37**	.20**	.12*	.08	.10*	.05	.21**	-.04	.10*	.11*	-.02			
13. REI-A	.25**	.33**	.08	-.17**	.17**	-.12*	.23**	-.19**	.07	.05	-.12*	.25**		
14. REI-R	.26**	.26**	-.05	-.30**	.05	-.03	.14**	-.26**	.12*	.09	-.05	.01	.24**	
15. IM	.04	.11*	.09	-.10*	.10*	.05	.09	-.03	.11*	.08	.01	-.09	-.12*	.14**

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. NMHS = Navigating multiple heritages socialization. MIS = Multiracial identity socialization. PMS = Preparation for monoracism socialization. NS = Negative socialization. RCS = Race-conscious socialization. CoS = Colorblind socialization. DAS = Diversity appreciation socialization. SS = Silent socialization. CulS = Cultural socialization. PFB = Preparation for bias. PoM = Promotion of mistrust. REI = Racial-ethnic identity. Exp. = Exploration. Aff. = Affirmation. Res. = Resolution. IM = Impression management.

Table 7

Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Results for Tests of Incremental Validity of the MY-Soc Scale (CFA subsample, n = 502)

Variable	REI Exploration				REI Affirmation				REI Resolution			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>sr</i> ²	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>sr</i> ²	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>sr</i> ²
Monoracial RES subscales												
Cultural soc.	-.01	.05	-.02	.00	-.06	.06	-.06	.00	.06	.07	.05	.00
Preparation for bias	.08	.05	.10	.01	-.02	.06	-.02	.00	.06	.07	.05	.00
Promotion of mistrust	-.06	.04	-.07	.00	-.08	.06	-.07	.00	-.03	.07	-.02	.00
MY-Soc subscales												
Navigating multiple heritages soc.	.23**	.04	.33	.07	.10*	.05	.11	.01	.19**	.06	.18	.02
Multiracial identity soc.	.06	.05	.08	.00	.36**	.07	.41	.06	.19*	.08	.19	.01
Preparation for monoracism soc.	-.01	.03	-.02	.00	-.10*	.04	-.14	.01	-.13*	.05	-.16	.01
Negative soc.	.16**	.05	.19	.02	.01	.06	.01	.00	-.29*	.07	-.24	.03
Race-conscious soc.	-.11*	.05	-.17	.01	-.03	.06	-.03	.00	-.14*	.07	-.14	.01
Colorblind soc.	-.01	.04	-.01	.00	-.15**	.05	-.16	.02	.07	.06	.06	.00
Diversity appreciation soc.	.12**	.05	.18	.01	.05	.06	.06	.00	-.10	.07	-.10	.00
Silent soc.	.05	.04	.09	.00	.04	.05	.06	.00	-.15*	.05	-.17	.02

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. REI = Racial-ethnic identity. RES = Racial-ethnic socialization.

APPENDIX B
SUPPLEMENTAL TABLE

Supplemental Table 1.

Study 2 Report of Participants' Primary Caregivers (N = 902)

	Primary Caregiver 1	Primary Caregiver 2
Biological mother	755 (83.7%)	112 (12.4%)
Biological father	119 (13.2%)	622 (69.0%)
Stepmother	--	7 (0.8%)
Stepfather	--	31 (3.4%)
Adoptive mother	4 (0.4%)	1 (0.1%)
Adoptive father	3 (0.3%)	7 (0.8%)
Grandmother	14 (1.6%)	43 (4.8%)
Grandfather	3 (0.3%)	11 (1.2%)
Other: Aunt	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)
Other: Brother	--	1 (0.1%)
Other: Sister	--	1 (0.1%)
Other: Step-grandpa	--	1 (0.1%)
Other: Both parents equally	2 (0.2%)	1 (0.1%)
Other: Both grandparents	--	2 (0.2%)
Other: Parents and grandparents		2 (0.2%)
Only raised by primary caregiver	--	58 (6.4%)

APPENDIX C

MULTIRACIAL YOUTH SOCIALIZATION (MY-SOC) MEASURE

Notes on setting up the scale:

1. The response scale can be repeated across two or more columns, with the title for each column listing the caregivers selected by participants earlier in the survey. This allows participants to indicate the level of agreement that they received the message described by each caregiver separately.
2. Items should be presented to participants in a randomized order

Disclaimers to include before Multiracial Youth Socialization Scale:

Please read and acknowledge the following:

1. In this study, we use "Multiracial" to refer to people of any mixed race background, including biracial, as long as they have biological parents from two or more of the following groups: White, Asian, Black, Latinx, Pacific Islander, American Indian, or Middle Eastern/North African. The term "monoracial" refers to people from only one of the listed racial groups.

I understand

2. These questions ask about whether your parents explicitly said or did something. Disagreeing with these questions does not mean that your parents did not think these things were important or that they did the opposite of what is described, but simply that you do not recall them intentionally engaging in these conversations or actions.

I understand

3. The following questions ask you to rate how much you agree that your parents/caregivers talked about or did what is described. This can be based on experiences you had growing up and/or your current experience.

Please answer the following questions about the messages you received from each of your primary caregivers by filling in the blank with the person listed at the top of the column. If you listed early on in the survey that you only have one primary caregiver, you may leave the second column blank.

I understand

Multiracial Youth Socialization (MY-Soc) Scale (62 items)

Directions: The following questions ask you to rate how much you agree that your parents/caregivers talked about or did what is described. This can be based on experiences you had growing up and/or your current experience.

Please answer the following questions about the messages you received from each of your primary caregivers by filling in the blank with the person listed at the top of the column. If you listed early on in the survey that you only have one primary caregiver, you may leave the second column blank.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------	----------------	-------	----------------

Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization

1. My (caregiver) taught me customs specific to all of my different cultural backgrounds
2. My (caregiver) taught me about my family histories from all of my racial-ethnic groups
3. My (caregiver) taught me about all of my racial-ethnic heritage(s)
4. My (caregiver) exposed me to foods from all of my cultures
5. My (caregiver) had me participate in activities that taught me about my cultures
6. My (caregiver) exposed me to other people in each of my racial-ethnic communities
7. My (caregiver) exposed me to extended family members from all of my racial-ethnic groups

Multiracial Identity Socialization

1. My (caregiver) encouraged me to explore what it means to be Multiracial
2. My (caregiver) told me that I can racially identify with any of my racial-ethnic groups
3. My (caregiver) never talked to me about me being Multiracial (R)
4. My (caregiver) explained to me that I am Multiracial
5. My (caregiver) taught me multiple racial identity labels I could use
6. My (caregiver) discussed our racial differences in positive ways
7. My (caregiver) taught me to be proud that I am Multiracial
8. My (caregiver) told me to be proud of the way I look (e.g., skin color, hair color/type)
9. My (caregiver) told me that being Multiracial is special
10. My (caregiver) prepared me for others questioning me about my race

Preparation for Monoracism Socialization

1. My (caregiver) told me that monoracial people may not accept me as a member of their group
2. My (caregiver) told me that members of my racial groups may treat me differently because I am Multiracial
3. My (caregiver) told me that others may make me feel like I don't belong to my racial-ethnic groups

Negative Socialization

1. My (caregiver) did not pressure me to identify in any particular way (R)
2. My (caregiver) laughs or makes jokes about my racial experiences without really addressing them
3. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel bad for not knowing enough about my culture
4. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel like I would be more attractive if I looked more like one of my monoracial groups
5. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel ashamed of being Multiracial
6. My (caregiver) said negative things (e.g., stereotypes, jokes, racist comments) about my other racial-ethnic group(s)
7. My (caregiver) expressed prejudicial attitudes toward my other racial-ethnic group(s)
8. My (caregiver) said I act too much like people from my other racial-ethnic group(s)
9. My (caregiver) said things that made me feel like I do not belong to my (caregiver's) racial-ethnic group
10. My (caregiver) said things that implied that my culture from my other racial-ethnic group is bad or inferior
11. My (caregiver) suggested that I should act more like a stereotype of my racial minority group(s)
12. My (caregiver) said that I do not "behave" like a member of my (caregiver's) racial-ethnic group

Race-conscious Socialization

1. My (caregiver) taught me about that there used to be laws that banned interracial marriage in the United States
2. My (caregiver) encouraged me to participate in events or organizations working towards racial equality
3. My (caregiver) taught me that people with lighter color skin have more privileges
4. My (caregiver) made me aware of racial stereotypes affecting racial groups other than my own
5. My (caregiver) taught me that racism is reinforced by institutions in our society (e.g., legal system, schools, banks)
6. My (caregiver) taught me about historical figures who fought for racial equality in America
7. My (caregiver) taught me about unfair laws and policies in the United States that target racial-ethnic minorities

Colorblind Socialization

1. My (caregiver) says that they don't see race
2. My (caregiver) says there are no racial differences between us
3. My (caregiver) taught me that everyone has an equal opportunity for success regardless of their race
4. My (caregiver) says there are more important things to worry about than race
5. My (caregiver) says that people are too sensitive about race
6. My (caregiver) says that racism is no longer an issue in the United States
7. My (caregiver) says that White people also experience racism

Diversity Appreciation Socialization

1. My (caregiver) taught me that everyone's cultural differences make them unique
2. My (caregiver) taught me to appreciate different cultures other than my own
3. My (caregiver) taught me to be respectful of people from different cultures
4. My (caregiver) taught me that cultures with different customs are **not** inferior
5. My (caregiver) taught me to be accepting of people from all racial-ethnic backgrounds
6. My (caregiver) taught me to be open to cultural differences
7. My (caregiver) taught me to **not** be judgmental of people from other cultures
8. My (caregiver) taught me that the United States is enriched by its cultural diversity
9. My (caregiver) taught me **not** to judge or stereotype others based on their racial-ethnic background
10. My (caregiver) encourages me to learn about other cultures other than my own

Silent Socialization

1. When I try to discuss race, my (caregiver) changes the subject
2. My (caregiver) never talks about race
3. My (caregiver) avoids talking about race
4. My (caregiver) ignores the topic of race in conversation
5. My (caregiver) does not know how to talk about race with me
6. My (caregiver) is uncomfortable talking about race

(R) = reverse coded item

APPENDIX D
IRB APPROVAL



APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Hyung Yoo
Social Transformation, School of (SST)
-
yoo@asu.edu

Dear Hyung Yoo:

On 3/14/2018 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Parental racial-ethnic socialization experiences of multiracial college students
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00007939
Category of review:	(6) Voice, video, digital, or image recordings, (7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interview Protocol 3.12.18.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);• Flyer.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;• PRES MCS IRB 3.12.18.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;• Consent Form 3.14.18.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Recruitment Script.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB approved the protocol from 3/14/2018 to 3/13/2019 inclusive. Three weeks before 3/13/2019 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 3/13/2019 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Annabelle Atkin
Hyung Yoo
Annabelle Atkin



EXEMPTION GRANTED

[Hyung Yoo](#)
[CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of \(SST\)](#)

-
yoo@asu.edu

Dear [Hyung Yoo](#):

On 8/5/2019 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Validation of a familial racial-ethnic socialization measure with Multiracial emerging adults
Investigator:	Hyung Yoo
IRB ID:	STUDY00010448
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consent Form 8.2.19.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Recruitment Script 7.26.19.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;• FRES Quant IRB 8.5.19.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;• FRES Codebook 8.2.19.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 8/5/2019.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Annabelle Atkin
Annabelle Atkin