

**Ethnic-racial socialization among Latinx families:  
A systematic review of the literature**

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**Abstract:**

The purpose of the present study was to systematically review the literature on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in Latinx families to examine (1) ERS strategies used by parents and (2) associations between ERS and children's social-behavioral health and academic outcomes. A systemic review of English peer-reviewed articles using PsycINFO, Social Services Review, and PubMed was completed. Inclusion criteria include: ERS strategies, Latinx samples, inclusion of parents with children (0-18) or children (0-18). We identified 68 studies that met the inclusion criteria. We reviewed the studies' methodology and their results on the factors that relate to the use of ERS, direct, mediating, and moderating effects of ERS on children's outcomes, and factors that mediate or moderate the relation of ERS to children's outcomes. Data extraction was completed using predefined data fields. The existing research makes clear that ERS is consequential for Latinx children; it is related to a variety of outcomes including children's ethnic identity development, academic adjustment, and mental and behavioral health. However, the effects are conditional on several parent and child factors and inconsistent across ERS strategies. We discuss gaps in the current body of knowledge and identify pathways for future research.

**Keywords:** Ethnic-Racial Socialization; Latinx Families, Systematic Review, Parenting, Protective factors, Behavioral health

Latinx<sup>1</sup> families and their children make up one of the largest and fastest growing ethnic groups in the U.S. (Noe-Bustamante & Flores, 2019). With the recent restrictive immigration political context, many Latinxs report experiencing discrimination (Lopez, Morin, Taylor, 2010). In states where restrictive immigration policies have been passed, such as Arizona, families report that peers and teachers discriminate against their children in the classroom (Ayón & Philbin, 2017), and people often question their nationality (Ayón, 2016). Given this context, understanding how Latinx families engage their children on issues about race and help them build their capacity to negotiate such environments is critical. Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is a parenting practice that involves both verbal and non-verbal messages on the meaning of race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). Through this process children learn about inter-racial or inter-ethnic interactions and develop coping skills (Berkel et al., 2010). As such, children learn skills to protect themselves from the harmful effects of discrimination and psychologically process discriminatory experiences to avoid resentment (Berkel et al., 2010). Another critical element of the ERS process involves cultural socialization or teaching children about their cultural heritage. Latinx families are described as being invested in passing on a cultural legacy and heritage to their children, though it may be lost over generations (Umaña-Taylor, Alfacor, Bácama, & Guidmond, 2009). Through the ERS process, children can learn about their own culture and how to interact with diverse populations and understand differences among groups. The purpose of the present study was to systematically review the literature on ERS in Latinx families. While there exist reviews of the literature on ERS as a whole (e.g., Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang, Henry, Smith, Huguley, & Guo, 2020), to our knowledge this is the first

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<sup>1</sup> “Latinx” is a gender-neutral and gender non-binary alternative to “Latino/a” for people whose place of birth or heritage is tied to Latin America.

systematic review on ERS in Latinx families. The study was guided by the following research questions: To what extent and in what ways do Latinx parents engage in ERS? What factors relate to parents' engagement in ERS? What are the relations between ERS and Latinx children's social-behavioral health and academics outcomes? We reviewed quantitative and qualitative studies in order to catalog what is known and formulate recommendations for practice and future research.

### **Latinx Families, Discrimination, and Racialized Policy Enforcement**

Latinxs account for approximately 18% (or 60 million) of the population in the U.S. (Noe-Bustamante & Flores, 2019) and 73% (nearly 8.3 million) of the undocumented population in the US (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Thirty-three percent of the Latinx population is foreign born (Noe-Bustamante & Flores, 2019). It is estimated that Latinx children account for one in every four children in the U.S., and approximately 95% of them are U.S.-born citizens (Mather, 2016).

Latinxs have experienced a long history of discrimination in the U.S. (Araújo & Borrell, 2006). Discrimination may occur at an individual level, in daily interactions with community members, and at a structural level. Dark-skinned Latinxs experience more discrimination than light-skinned Latinxs (Arce, Murguía, & Frisbie, 1987; Ramos, Jaccard, & Guilamo-Ramos, 2003). Latinxs experience discrimination based on their use of the Spanish language or accents when they speak English (Amaro, Russo, & Johnson, 1987). Discrimination becomes structural when policies and practices marginalize whole groups (Mullaly, 2002). Examples of structural or institutional discrimination include community or workplace raids by police in predominantly Latinx or Spanish-speaking communities (Perez, 2011). Front-line workers at social service agencies may request identification before processing service requests based on parents' use of

the Spanish language (Ayón & Becerra, 2013). In such cases Latinx children experience discrimination indirectly and are marginalized.

Current anti-immigration rhetoric and policy represents a continuation of historical discrimination against Latinxs. In 2009, when state-level restrictive immigration policies surged, the Pew Research Center surveyed Latinxs ages 16 and older and found that one-third (32%) of the sample reported that they, a family member, or a close friend had experienced discrimination within the past five years due to their race or ethnicity (Lopez, Morin, Taylor, 2010). The current U.S. presidential administration has engaged in a pattern of racist and dehumanizing rhetoric, where Latinx immigrants are labeled criminals, rapists, thugs, animals, and drug traffickers. In 2018, Latinxs reported that their situation has worsened in the past year and they worry that they or someone they know could be deported (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, Krogstad, 2018). This sense of threat is warranted given the racialized enforcement of immigration policies.

Restrictive policies directed toward undocumented immigrants negatively affect Latinxs regardless of their citizenship status because being an immigrant, being unauthorized, and being Latinx are commonly conflated through the racialization of immigration policy enforcement (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). Enforcement of immigration policies in the interior and at the border broadly target the Latinx community. For instance, Latinxs are disproportionately detained or deported, with Mexicans and Central Americans accounting for 91% of removals (Rosenblum & McCabe, 2014). At the border, there has been a dramatic shift in the characteristics of the people who are apprehended: 90% were Mexican in 2008 whereas in 2019, 74% were Guatemalan, Honduran, or Salvadoran, many of whom are refugees seeking asylum in the U.S. (Capps, Meissner, Ruiz Soto, Bolter, & Pierce, 2019). Immigrant families at the U.S.-Mexico border are facing a humanitarian crisis while immigrant families in the interior

contend with constant fear of detainment and deportation (Barajas-Gonzalez, Ayón, & Torres, 2018). Given the political climate context, Latinx families' ability to protect their children is critical, and ethnic-racial socialization is one strategy for such protection.

### **Ethnic-Racial Socialization**

Ethnic-racial socialization is a process through which parents transmit information, values, and perspectives regarding race or ethnicity to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Existing reviews of the literature (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang et al., 2020) identified major ethnic-racial socialization strategies including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. Cultural socialization represents parents' efforts to promote cultural customs, histories, and traditions, either overtly or covertly. Among Latinxs, examples include retaining the Spanish language, eating ethnic foods, and celebrating cultural and religious holidays (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias refers to parents' efforts to enable children to recognize and cope with racial-ethnic discrimination and prejudice and includes providing children with skills to navigate such experiences (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Promotion of mistrust refers to parents' efforts to highlight the risk of discrimination in inter-racial or inter-ethnic interactions (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999) and includes communicating cautionary messages to children about other racial-ethnic groups. Egalitarianism refers to parents' efforts to forego race- or ethnicity-related messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and includes promoting individual skill development for mainstream integration (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents may use colorblind language (Hughes et al., 2006) and encourage values of hard-work, virtue, and self-acceptance (Hughes & DuMont, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). ERS strategies co-occur within the parenting process; for instance, in response to an experience with discrimination parents can build children's ethnic pride while at the same

time advice children on what to do in the future when they encounter discrimination (cultural socialization and preparation for bias; Ayón, 2016).

This prior research, however, largely focused on the African-American community. Initial research on ERS emanated from scholars' efforts to understand racial barriers due to racial stratification and reflects the deeply entrenched construction of Black-White race relations in the US (Hughes et al., 2006). Of 44 ERS studies examined by Hughes et al. (2006), only 7 included Latinx participants, and they assessed only cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Hughes et al., 2006). Priest and colleagues (2014) systematically examined ethnic-racial socialization process for minority and majority children (0-18 years) in a variety of contexts including the family, schools, neighborhood, and community and examined influences and predictors of ERS. Only 9 of 92 studies in their review included Latinxs, and contrary to the present review, their review did not include studies on ERS as a predictor, mediator, or moderator of health, social, and educational outcomes. A systematic review by Lesane-Brown (2006) exclusively focused on Black families. While a recent review by Wang and colleagues (2020) reported that the association of ERS with psychosocial outcomes varied by race/ethnicity, they did not formally report how many of their 102 studies included Latinx participants. Of the 259 studies reviewed by Umaña-Taylor and Hill (2020), 77 included Latinx participants. Only within the last 10 years has ERS research expanded to include analyses of other racial-ethnic groups and resilience in the Latinx community.

Existing evidence suggests that ERS protects against discrimination and poor health (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Stevenson, 1994). Among a sample of African American children, Fisher and Shaw (1999) found that certain ERS strategies acted as protective factors against discrimination. With a focus on the resilience function of ERS, Neblett and

colleagues (2008), investigated African American adolescents' experiences of discrimination and psychological adjustment (depressive symptoms, perceived stress, psychological well-being, and delinquent behavior) and found that High Positive racial socialization buffered the negative effects of discrimination on adolescents' perceived stress and problem behaviors.

An ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) postulates a framework for understanding multiple factors at play when we examine the ERS process among Latinx families. Macrosystem factors such as changes in immigration policy have bred hostile anti-immigrant sentiments and rhetoric which have implications for Latinx families (microsystem) and communities (exosystem). Such policies have severely restricted the mobility and safety of Latinx families, particularly immigrant families (Dreby, 2012, 2015) and reduced the resources available to support parents within these communities (Potochnick, Chen, & Perreira, 2017; Yoshikawa, 2011). Increased exposure to an anti-immigrant climate poses particular challenges for Latinx children in immigrant families as they navigate discriminatory behaviors, such as name calling and threats of deportation (Ayón & Becerra, 2013; Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). ERS has the potential to reduce the social inequity Latinx youth face due structural racism and oppression. As ERS has been found be protective of children's health and well-being, this study aims to catalog what is known about ERS in Latinx families to inform practice with this population and formulate recommendations for future research.

### **Methods**

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines for conducting systematic reviews of the literature informed this study (Liberati et al., 2009). We included in the review only empirical studies on ERS with Latinxs in the sample. To



accurately represent ERS research involving Latinx families, we included studies that only sampled Latinxs and studies that samples included multiple groups including Latinxs. Specifically, we included studies with samples of Latinx children (18 years and less), parents/caregivers, or both. In order to keep this review focused on the experiences of families and children, we only included children and parents with children 0-18. That is, we excluded studies that included adults and their retrospective experiences of ERS. We included studies using qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. In sum, we comprehensively reviewed peer-reviewed, empirical articles that examined ERS among Latinx parents and/or children.

We conducted a three-phase, computerized literature search (see Figure 1). We systematically searched three databases: Social Services Abstracts (1990 - present), PsycInfo (1980 - present), and PubMed (1996 - present). These databases were selected as they include current research focused on social work, human services, life sciences and other related areas and are commonly used in the field of social work. In Phase I, we conducted keyword searches, using the following search terms: *ethnic socialization, racial socialization, family ethnic socialization, cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism, and Latino*. Database searches were limited to full-text, peer-reviewed articles in the English language of studies completed in the U.S. We reviewed abstracts of all search term hits ( $N = 801$ ). We evaluated the abstracts for mention of one of the ERS keywords mentioned above and mention of the inclusion of Latinxs in the sample. Many articles were eliminated because their sample was exclusively African American or another non-Latinx group, college-aged youth, or not based in the U.S. We excluded articles that focused on transracial adoption. Articles focused on multiracial or mixed Latinxs (Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2006) were excluded as ERS research with this population is underdeveloped (Jackson, Wolven, & Crudup, 2019). We

also excluded articles that were systematic reviews. For articles that appeared to meet all inclusion criteria and when it was unclear from the abstract that the eligibility criteria were met, full records were retrieved and reviewed in Phase II.

In Phase II, we reviewed 211 articles and identified 66 that met the inclusion criteria. During this phase, we closely examined each article's methods section to ascertain eligibility. Specifically, we examined the sample descriptions to determine if Latinx children aged 18 years or less or parents of Latinx children aged 18 years or less were included. For quantitative papers we looked at the measurement section to identify whether and how ERS was measured. For qualitative papers we examined the purpose statement or research questions and literature review section to determine if the paper examined ERS. We eliminated the remaining records for *not*: including empirical data ( $n = 10$ ), including Latinxs in the sample ( $n = 78$ ), addressing ERS ( $n = 46$ ), and meeting the child sample age requirement ( $n = 7$ ). Three articles on the development and psychometrics of new ethnic-racial socialization measures (two cultural socialization; one multiple ERS strategies) were excluded (Ayón, 2018; Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Toomey, Jahromi, & Updegraff, 2016; Romero, Cuéllar, & Roberts, 2000). We also excluded papers that focused on school-based ERS interventions. Two additional articles were identified through citations in other records and added to our study sample to make a total of 68 articles. The last search was completed on January 8, 2020. The search was completed by the lead author and two research assistants. The final selection of articles was based on a consensus among the team members.

In Phase III we systematically extracted data from the 68 articles. Two team members extracted data and checked data extraction. We created an extraction file with the following categories: child age, participants (parents and children, children only, parent only), parent characteristics, race/ethnicity of sample (Latinx only or diverse sample), sample size, study

design, ERS strategies, ERS measure used, how ERS variable(s) was used (i.e., outcome, predictor, mediator, moderator). In addition, we focused on the major findings related to ERS in Latinx families in each study or findings related to hypotheses that included ERS.

To assess the risk of bias within the studies, we examined the measures of ERS and differences across them to identify variability in study results. We also explored differences in results by specific ERS strategy. In addition, we evaluated study rigor by examining the design. To address risk of bias across studies, we accounted for selective reporting bias, by extracting data on significant and non-significant findings. We found it difficult to assess publication bias; however, there has been a surge in the number of publications involving ERS in Latinx samples. Hughes et al.'s 2006 systematic review included seven studies with Latinx samples. In the 15 years since that review was published, the number of published studies with Latinx samples has increased almost tenfold, as evidenced by the number of studies included in this review ( $N = 68$ ).

Next, in our analysis we categorized the studies based on the overarching purpose of the study and reviewed the empirical results. Categories included (a) parents' engagement in ERS, (b) predictors ERS, (c) ERS and discrimination, and children's outcomes: (d) ethnic identity development, (e) academic adjustment, (f) mental health and behavioral health, or (g) multiple outcomes. Within the category of children's outcomes, we organized articles based on the children's developmental stage (toddler/preschool, pre-adolescence, adolescence) and findings based on the ERS strategies used. Next, we compared studies to identify major themes. For instance, for ethnic identity development many of the initial studies focused on establishing a relationship with cultural socialization, then studies focused on supporting this relationship longitudinally, examining differences by parent's gender, contributions by other cultural socialization agents (peers), role of external/non-familial factors (such as neighborhood context),

and differences in outcomes by child characteristics. We then synthesized the findings based on the major themes and subthemes we identified. The findings are organized around the major categories: Latinx parents' engagement in ERS, predictors of ERS, ERS and discrimination, and children's outcomes.

**<INCLUDE FIGURE 1 & TABLE 1 AROUND HERE>**

### **Results**

Of the 68 studies included in the review, seven used qualitative methods (4 in-depth interviews; 3 focus groups), 1 used mixed methods, while the remaining studies (28 cross-sectional, 30 longitudinal, 2 daily diaries) used quantitative methods (see Table 1). While all studies had Latinxs in the sample, 25 included multiple ethnic-racial groups and 43 included Latinxs only. Participants' Latinx ethnic origins tended to be Mexican, with fewer studies including Latinxs from South and Central America. Eleven studies included parents only, 24 included children only, and 33 included parent-child dyads. Of the studies with dyads, 12 specifically mentioned mother-child dyads and 6 included mothers, fathers, and children. The age of the target child ranged from 0-18 years, with most studies including adolescents in the sample ( $n = 30$ ). Some studies ( $n = 43$ ) addressed a single ERS strategy while others ( $n = 25$ ) addressed multiple ERS strategies.

#### **ERS Strategies and Measurement**

All but 1 study assessed cultural socialization, while 22 also assessed preparation for bias, 14 also assessed promoting mistrust, 7 also assessed other ERS strategies (see Table 1). The 1 study that did not assesses cultural socialization only assessed racial socialization (Banon, Beharie, Olshtain, Mann et al., 2012). Five measures strictly focused on cultural socialization

(Bernal & Knight, 1993; Calzada, 2017; Derlan et al., 2016; Knight et al., 1993; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Two of these measures were developed specifically for parents with young children (Calzada, 2007; Derlan et al., 2016). Calzada's (2007) measure is focused on the Latinx cultural value of *respeto* and how parents practice this cultural value with their young children. Derlan and colleagues' (2016) Cultural Socialization Behaviors Measure adapted for young children items from an existing measure and added items to capture parents' socialization behaviors. The Ethnic Socialization Scale (Knight et al., 1993) was designed to assess socialization about cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and ethnic group history. The Ethnic Socialization Scale, part of the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire developed by Bernal and Knight (1993), assesses the extent to which parents engage in Mexican cultural socialization of children. The Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM, Umaña-Taylor, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2004) appeared most frequently in the reviewed articles ( $n = 20$ ) and was used exclusively in studies that included Latinxs only. Completed by either children or parents, it assesses the degree to which families socialize children about their ethnicity. One key characteristic differentiates these measures of cultural socialization from each other: a narrow focus on values—the measures by Bernal and Knight (1993) and Calzada (2007) versus a broad focus on values, practices, history, and ethnic pride – the other measures.

[INCLUDE TABLE 2 AROUND HERE]

After the FESM, the most frequently cited measure in the reviewed articles was the Racial Socialization Scale ( $n = 15$ ) by Hughes and Chen (1997). The studies in which it was used typically included multiple ethnic-racial groups. This measure includes three subscales that assess different ERS strategies: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. It was developed for African Americans but has been adapted for diverse samples,

including Latinxs, and it has been used with children and parents.

The Scale of Racial Socialization for African American Adolescents (SORSA-A; Stevenson, 1994) was used by one study. This measure assesses children’s level of racial socialization belief. It was originally developed for African American adolescents and has been modified for diverse samples. For instance, “Getting a good education is still the best way for Black child to survive racism” was modified to “Getting a good education is still the best way for a *child of color* to survive racism” (Banon, Beharie, Olshtain-Mann et al., 2012). The Latinx Immigrant Family Socialization (LIFS) scale was developed for Latinx immigrant families (Ayón, 2018). The measure is based on qualitative interviews with immigrant families (Ayón, 2016) where six ERS strategies were identified. This is the only measure that addresses immigration socialization as an integral part of the ERS process.

Three studies used an ERS measure that was adapted from other measures (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; 2016; Nieri et al., 2019) and validated through confirmatory factor analysis (Grindal & Nieri, 2015). Other studies created measures specifically for their projects include a single-item measure (Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste, 2013), a two-item measure (Pielock, Marks, & Garcia Coll, 2018), or 5 to 21-item measures (Chen, Benner, & Wang, 2019; Quintana, Castañeda-English & Ybarra, 1999; Quintana & Vera, 1999).

### **Parents’ Engagement in ERS**

The extant literature documents what ERS strategies Latinx parents use and describes several factors that affect the patterns of use.

**Cultural socialization.** Cultural socialization was, by far, the most studied ERS strategy. The heavy focus on cultural socialization may be due to the finding of an early study that

Mexican American parents more frequently engaged in cultural socialization, compared to African American and Japanese American parents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Indeed, the review revealed that Latinx parents do engage in cultural socialization. Several qualitative articles also provided details on how parents engage in cultural socialization, and on parent or child factors that are associated with cultural socialization.

Cultural socialization is practiced through several strategies. Parents cultivated ethnic specific values, such as *familismo* (familism) and *respeto* (respect), to build their child's ethnic identity, confidence and pride and make them resilient to discrimination (Anderson, Jackson, Jones, Kennedy, Wells, & Chung, 2015; Ayón, 2016; Mounts, Karre, & Kim, 2013; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Parents also incorporated *consejos* (advice), routines, and examples into their teachings as additional strategies to combat discrimination (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016). Parent testimonies revealed overt and covert (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004) cultural socialization. Overt strategies included deliberate parent teachings to their child about ethnicity. Several authors cited overt cultural socialization practices, such as purchasing books for the children about their country of origin, taking children to cultural events, and traveling to the country of origin (Anderson et al., 2015; Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018; Mounts et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Covert strategies included implicit teachings to children about ethnicity through culturally specific practices, such as family get-togethers, consumption of traditional food, performance of cultural values in everyday practices, and use of the Spanish language (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016; Anderson et al., 2015; Ayón, 2016; Ayón et al., 2018; Carranza, 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Parents shared their culture with their children by engaging in storytelling (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Parents shared stories about their childhood growing up in their country of origin, about

differences in living in the U.S. versus their country of origin, about family member who still live in the country of origin, and the meaning of holidays and traditions (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). In this process parents may use videos, pictures, or the internet to engage their children in the conversation and provide examples (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006).

Two articles revealed sub-group-specific forms of cultural socialization. Carranza (2007), who focused on Salvadorian mother-daughter dyads, discussed political history as an integral part of cultural socialization. She found that due to their Salvadorian origin, mothers heavily stressed pride in their roots, mixed-race and indigenous ancestry, and a history of oppression. Understanding resistance to this historical legacy and associated poverty was critical in Salvadorian mother-daughter cultural socialization. The mothers extensively discussed their role as active agents in the cultural socialization of their daughters. Another study examined differences between Mexican origin and Puerto Rican mothers (Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Mexican mothers stressed family get-togethers, religious foods, exposure to Mexican music, dance and traditional costume as well as Spanish radio and television shows, and instilling the value of a strong work ethic. Puerto Rican mothers stressed getting together with family, dancing, preparing traditional meals, and storytelling as ways to build children's cultural knowledge and pride. The results of these studies highlight the merit of focusing on sub-groups for revealing more nuanced forms of ERS strategies.

Other studies examined differences in cultural socialization by parent demographics and attitudes. A qualitative study by Umaña and Yazedjian (2006) revealed that there were differences and similarities in how parents engage in cultural socialization based on their generational status. For instance, foreign-born mothers reported three unique themes that were



not identified among U.S. born Mexican mothers, including pride in being Latinx, religious foods, and the value of respect. The authors highlighted how cultural socialization may change over time and generations in the U.S. (Umaña and Yazedjian, 2006). Parents' attitudes towards ethnicity informed parents' use of ERS strategies, such that parents who believed ethnicity was important tended to favor the use of cultural socialization and other ERS strategies (Mounts et al., 2013).

Several studies identified parent factors that relate to patterns of cultural socialization in Latinx families, including parent endorsement of cultural values (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahroni, 2016; Knight et al., 1993), and ethnic identity (Hughes, 2003; Knight et al., 1993; Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahroni, 2016). For instance, in a study of Mexican American children between the ages of 6 and 10 years, Knight et al. (1993) found that mothers who were more comfortable with their Mexican culture also engaged in teaching their children about their Mexican culture. Findings on the role of parents' ethnic identity and ERS have been mixed. Dominican and Puerto Rican parents who reported high ethnic identity tended to engage in higher levels of cultural socialization (Hughes, 2003). Similarly, Derlan and colleagues' (2016) study with mother-child dyads found that mothers' *familismo* and ethnic identity exploration were positively associated with cultural socialization. Mothers who more strongly endorsed *familismo* and their ethnic identity were more motivated than other mothers to socialize children about their ethnicity (Derlan et al., 2016). Yet, Kulish and colleagues (2019) did not find support for a relationship between maternal private regard (feelings about their own ethnic group) and cultural socialization. In a longitudinal study, mothers' ethnic centrality at wave 5 was related to their use of cultural socialization at wave 6 (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Jahromi, and Updegraff, 2018). The discrepancies in outcomes of these studies may be due to the

fact that they used different measures to assess parents' ethnic identity.

Parenting processes inform cultural socialization. Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales and Fuligni (2015) found that the outcomes of cultural socialization depended on several family context variables. They found that cultural socialization was strongly associated with children's family obligation values and family assistance behaviors when children felt supported by parents and reported low conflict in parent-child interactions. These results indicate that the transmission of the cultural values and practices is facilitated through positive parent-child relationships. This study highlights the optimal conditions for cultural socialization. Some studies have examined the intersection of traditional parenting practices and cultural socialization. For instance, Calzada found a relationship between cultural socialization of *respeto* and authoritarian parenting for Mexican and Dominican mothers of 4 year-olds. Kim and colleagues (2019) aimed to integrate traditional parenting practices and cultural socialization by conducting a profile analysis where they used parenting measures of hostility, warmth, monitoring, and reason as well as cultural socialization. Eight profiles emerged across children, mothers, fathers, reports on the parenting indicators. The most common profile for both mothers (42%; adolescent-reported 37%) and fathers (69%; adolescent-reported 37%) was integrated-authoritative, where parents were high on cultural socialization towards both *respeto* and independence; high on warmth, monitoring, and inductive reasoning; and low on hostility relative to other profiles. The integrated-authoritative profile had the highest scores for cultural socialization of *respeto*. Parents in this profile tended to have higher levels of education and experience less symptoms of depression.

Children's characteristics can also inform parents cultural socialization practices. Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Jahromi, and Updegraff (2018) examined the link between cultural socialization attitudes and behaviors. They hypothesized that children's ability to regulate their behavior

(effort control) would moderate this link. While they found no support for an interaction effect, they found a relationship between children's ability to regulate their behavior and parents' cultural socialization behaviors (Derlan et al., 2018).

Carranza (2007) conducted the only study in the review to qualitatively examine children's perceptions on cultural socialization. Salvadorian daughters reported that they cultivate their heritage and build their ethnic pride by eating Salvadorian foods, learning to dance to Latinx music, and being familiar with Salvadorian literature. Additionally, they described Speaking Spanish as critical to the maintenance of ties to their family. One participant mentioned how her mother's teachings increased her sense of belonging and solidarity with other Salvadorians.

**ERS strategies other than cultural socialization.** The extant literature shows that Latinx parents also use ERS strategies other than cultural socialization. It provides details about those strategies as used in Latinx families. Promotion of mistrust is used by Latinx parents, but it is less used than cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Grindal & Nieri, 2015a; 2015b).

Several of the qualitative studies revealed details about the use of preparation for bias (Anderson et al., 2015; Ayón, 2016; Mounts, Karre, & Kim, 2013). Although preparation for bias involves parents' conversations with children about discrimination and building coping strategies, little is known about the type of coping strategies used by parents. Anderson and colleagues' (2015) study of multiple racial-ethnic groups addressed this gap. They found that for both Spanish- and English-speaking fathers and mothers, preparation for bias emphasized the protective functions of confidence and self-esteem. They also found that among Latinx parents, Spanish-speaking mothers sought support from school to mediate race-based conflicts. Ayón

(2016) identified two coping strategies used by immigrant Latinx families for preparation for bias: adapt and advocate. Both strategies prepare children for understanding discrimination and prejudice; however, the strategy of adapting or ignoring discriminatory comments supports developing avoidant coping while the strategy of advocating promotes active coping (i.e., reaching out to an adult for support or letting other people know that you do not like what they are saying). Parents also reported getting involved in children's extracurricular activities as a way of preventing exposure to discrimination (Mounts, Karre, & Kim, 2013). Hughes's (2003) cross-sectional study on correlates of race-based messaging found that Dominican mothers were more likely to engage in preparation for bias compared to Puerto Rican Mothers, but their rate of preparation for bias messaging was lower compared to African American mothers.

Emerging research has identified cultural pluralism as an ERS strategy. Hughes and Johnson (2001) defined pluralism as “emphasizing diversity and awareness of other groups” (983). Ayón (2016), Mounts et al. (2013), and Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian (2006) identified the use of pluralism as an ERS strategy among Latinx families. Mounts et al. (2013) was the only one of these three studies to cite pluralism by name. Ayón (2016) referred to pluralism as *value diversity* and Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian (2006) referred to it as *teaching cultural differences*. Thus, there is heterogeneity in the terms that scholars use to identify the pluralism strategy. Parents in these studies described wanting their children to learn about cultural differences and understand the diversity that exists in the U.S., and they encouraged their children to avoid stereotypes or generalizing about other people and to be empathetic of others' experiences (Ayón, 2016; Mounts et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Anderson and colleagues (2015) documented parents' use of the egalitarianism strategy, describing them as “wanting their children to understand the fundamental equality of individuals regardless of race-based

differences” (p.408). They quoted a parent saying that their child knows “there is (*sic*) different cultures. But we’re all equal.” (p. 408).

**Immigration-related socialization strategies.** One study identified socialization strategies specific to immigrant Latinx families – that is, strategies not identified in prior research on other racial/ethnic groups or U.S.-born Latinxs (Ayón, 2016). Specifically, discussions about nativity (teaching children where they and their family members were born and what it means to be a U.S. citizen) and documentation status (teaching children what it is, why it matters, and which family members have which statuses). The “intersection of race-ethnicity and immigration place Latinx immigrant families in a different space where discussion about race-ethnicity and discrimination are embedded within a political environment that is fueled by anti-immigrant sentiment” (Ayón, 2016, 468). These family discussions may have been occurring to some extent for a long time. However, with the recent rise in racialized enforcement of immigration policies and hyper-stigma based on documentation, these discussions may be occurring more frequently now. They may become more salient as children come to learn about the deportability of their parents, other family members, or other members of their communities.

**Co-occurring use of ERS strategies.** Ayón (2016) qualitatively identified that parents engage in multiple ERS practices in response to a child’s experience with race/ethnicity-based issues, discrimination, or issues of injustice. That is, ERS strategies co-occur within the parenting process. In a follow up quantitative study, Ayón, Tran, and Nieri (2019) examined ERS profiles based on the six ERS strategies identified in Ayón (2016, 2018). Results revealed three ERS profiles exhibiting low, moderate, and high frequency of multiple ERS strategies. While all six strategies were used by parents, adapt (a subscale of preparation for bias) and

promote mistrust were used less across the three profiles. Advocate (a subscale of preparation for bias), cultural socialization and value diversity (i.e., cultural pluralism) were commonly used across all three profiles. The High ERS profile represented approximately 50% of the sample and this group of parents highly endorsed immigration socialization (or educating children about nativity and immigration status). Immigration socialization was rated lower by the Low and Moderate ERS profiles. Differences in immigration socialization across the profiles may be related to parents' not feeling prepared to discuss sociopolitical issues with their children, or efforts to protect their children from the immigration policy context (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). The analysis also examined predictors to profile membership. Being a father and residing in the US for more years predicted membership in the Low frequency ERS profile compared to the Moderate frequency profile. Additionally, parents who reported stronger parental ethnic identity and more social support were more likely to be in the High frequency profile compared to the Moderate profile. Finally, children's characteristics also predicted profile membership; having a foreign-born child or an older child (range 7-12 years) predicted membership in the High frequency ERS profile (Ayón, Tran, & Nieri, 2019).

### **ERS and Discrimination**

Because Latinx families and children are exposed to discrimination, several studies described how experiences with discrimination are linked to the ERS process (Ayón, 2016; Carranza, 2007). Following exposure to discrimination through migration traumas and other migration pressures, some parents described being uncertain about how to respond when their child reported experiencing or witnessing discrimination (Ayón, 2016). Despite feelings of uncertainty, parents addressed their child's concerns immediately. Engaging in cultural socialization practices better prepared children to combat discrimination in the host country

(Ayón, 2016, Carranza, 2007). Parents also encouraged their children, when faced with discrimination, to build counter-narratives based on what they know about their culture and family (Ayón, 2016).

Discrimination shapes the use of ERS. Among a sample of multiracial parent-child dyads, Hagelskamp and Hughes (2014) found that workplace intergroup discrimination, but not institutional discrimination, predicted use of cultural socialization. While institutional discrimination, but not intergroup discrimination, predicted use of preparation for bias. Similarly, Hughes (2003) found that discrimination was associated with parents' use of preparation for bias when parents had children ages 10-17, but not when they had children ages 6-9. These findings reveal how different forms of discrimination and child characteristics (i.e., age) influence which ERS strategies parents employ with their children. Mothers' attitudes towards ERS is informed by their experiences with discrimination. Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Jahromi, and Updegraff (2018) longitudinally examined how mothers' attitudes towards cultural socialization informed their cultural socialization behaviors one year later and whether this relationship was moderated by other factors, including discrimination. Findings revealed that parents' attitudes towards cultural socialization tend to remain consistent a year later, as reflected by their cultural socialization behaviors. Furthermore, this relationship was stronger among mothers who reported higher levels of ethnic discrimination; the experience of discrimination served to motivate mothers to engage in cultural socialization.

Studies with adolescent samples also examined the relationship between discrimination and ERS. McKnown & Strambler (2009) found that parental ERS was associated with children's stereotype consciousness. Specifically, parent-reported cultural socialization was negatively associated with the children's ability to infer stereotypes about others and positively associated

with broadly held stereotypes. Parent-reported preparation for bias was associated with children's ability to infer stereotypes about others (McKown & Strambler, 2009). In one study of mothers and their adolescents ( $M = 15.67$  years old), mother's private regard (or ethnic identity) was associated with higher levels of youth-reported preparation for bias which, in turn, was associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination (Kulish, Cavanaugh, Stein, Kiang, Gonzalez, Supple, & Mejia, 2019). The authors argued that mothers with strong ties to their ethnic group have a greater desire to protect their children from harm or teach their children about discrimination. Bozo and colleagues (2018) examined the moderating role of ERS in youth's perceptions of microaggressions among older youth. They found that youth with a darker skin tone reported more microaggressions, and ERS did not moderate this relationship.

### **ERS and Latinx Children's Outcomes**

The vast majority of the studies focused on ERS and children's developmental outcomes examined ethnic-racial identity development. The other studies explored the relationship between ERS and academic adjustment and mental and behavioral health.

**ERS and ethnic-racial identity development.** Substantial evidence links cultural socialization to ethnic-racial identity development among Latinx children. However, few studies in the review examined the link between other ERS strategies and ethnic identity development. A majority of the studies in this area include adolescents in the sample, with fewer studies including preadolescents (Hernandez et al, 2013; Hughes 2003; Knight et al, 2011, Knight, Carlo, Streit, & White, 2017; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight et al., 2013) or younger children (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; McKown, & Strambler, 2009; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Many of the reviewed studies focused



on the role that family members, primarily parents, play in socializing children to their culture and, in turn, informing children's ethnic racial identity. This research, which we review below, identified additional parent, child, and contextual factors that influence ERS and its relation to ethnic-racial identity development.

Early research in this area, based on cross-sectional data, links parents' cultural socialization to children's ethnic identity development (Quintana, Castañeda-English, & Ybarra, 1999; Quintana & Vera 1999, Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). They found that cultural socialization was related to greater ethnic identification among children.

Several longitudinal studies in the review illuminate the complexities in the relationship between cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity development. Douglass & Umaña-Taylor (2015) modeled simultaneous development of ethnic-racial identity exploration and resolution from 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade. They identified three trajectories: increasingly achieved ethnic identity (high and significantly increasing exploration and resolution), consistently diffused ethnic identity (low and stable exploration and resolution), and consistently foreclosed ethnic identity (low exploration and moderate resolution). Cultural socialization strongly related to membership in the increasingly achieved trajectory, indicating that it fosters engagement in ethnic identity exploration and helps children find meaning through exploratory experiences. Douglass and Umaña-Taylor (2016) assessed whether the effects of cultural socialization were consistent throughout adolescence. They found a significant positive association between cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity exploration at all ages; however, the strength of the association increased with age, reaching its peak in late adolescence. In contrast, they found a positive association between cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity resolution in middle

adolescence but not in late adolescence (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2016). Another study examined the effect of cultural socialization on children's private regard and found that parental cultural socialization at wave 1 was positively linked to children's ethnic identity at wave 3 and to less variability in situational private regard and intragroup contact at Wave 2 (Wang, Cham, Aladin, & Yip, 2019). It also found that the co-occurrence between intragroup contact and private regard across situations mediated the link between cultural socialization and children's ethnic identity. Thus, children with greater parental cultural socialization had more stable intragroup contact which led to more stable feelings in these situations and more positive private regard in the long term (Wang, Cham, Aladin & Yip, 2019). These findings illustrate how the relationship between cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity changes over time, how the change varies by dimension of ethnic-racial identity, and how the effect is mediated.

Parents – mothers and fathers – are distinct socialization agents in the ERS process (Hernández et al., 2014). The following five articles collected data from multiple informants including children and both their mothers and fathers to assess the effects of cultural socialization (Hernández et al., 2014; Knight, Berkel, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2011; Knight, Carlo, Streit, & White, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight et al., 2014; White, Knight, Jensen, & Gonzalez, 2017). These studies documented parent gender differences in the relation of cultural socialization to children's ethnic identity development. Knight et al.'s (2011) longitudinal study, involving 750 families, found that mothers', but not fathers', baseline (5<sup>th</sup> grade) cultural socialization was significantly associated with children's ethnic identity development and internalization of Mexican values two years later (7<sup>th</sup> grade). Knight et al.'s (2017) study of 462 families found that both mothers' and fathers' cultural socialization in 5<sup>th</sup> grade was positively associated with their cultural socialization in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. Maternal cultural socialization in 5<sup>th</sup> grade

was positively associated with adolescents' ethnic identity exploration in 10<sup>th</sup> grade. Paternal ethnic socialization in 7<sup>th</sup> was positively associated with adolescents' ethnic identity exploration in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, and in turn, children's ethnic identity exploration was positively associated with self-efficacy in 12<sup>th</sup> grade. In other words, these longitudinal findings indicated that cultural socialization by mothers and fathers both strengthened children's ethnic identity but at different developmental time points. In regards to parenting practices, Hernández et al. (2014) found that the relationship between cultural socialization (5<sup>th</sup> grade) and children's ethnic pride (7<sup>th</sup> grade) was strongest when parents, regardless of gender, engaged in high-warmth parenting practices.

Additionally, Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight and colleagues (2014) longitudinally examined mothers and fathers' unique contributions to adolescents' ethnic identity and variations by the adolescents' school percent of Latinx students. For mothers, they found that nativity positively predicted cultural socialization which, in turn, positively predicted youth ethnic identity achievement. For fathers, they found that cultural socialization was associated with increased ethnic identity achievement but only when youth were in schools with fewer Latinxs (Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight et al., 2014). White and colleagues (2017) found that mothers and fathers influenced different dimensions of youths' ethnic identity development. Mothers' cultural socialization (7<sup>th</sup> grade) predicted increases in youths' ethnic pride (10<sup>th</sup> grade) while fathers' cultural socialization (7<sup>th</sup> grade) was associated with youths' ethnic exploration (10<sup>th</sup> grade). They also found an interaction between the neighborhood co-ethnic concentration and cultural socialization but only for the Mexican-born group and not for the U.S.-born group. Specifically, for Mexican-born youth, living in neighborhoods with low to mean levels of co-ethnic concentration, mothers' cultural socialization predicted an increase in ethnic exploration (White et al., 2017).

Two additional studies examined how neighborhood or community features influence the relationship between cultural socialization and youth ethnic-racial identity. One found that cultural socialization was positively related to ethnic identity affirmation when parents were highly involved and engaged in low levels of harsh parenting and youths perceived low levels of neighborhood risk (Supple et al., 2006). The other study found that having a lower percentage of Mexican-origin peers in school and having few family members who were born in the US were associated with greater cultural socialization of adolescents, and in turn, cultural socialization was positively associated with ethnic identity achievement (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004)

Kim et al. (2017) examined the role of peers (i.e., best friend cultural orientation) as a mediator between cultural socialization and ethnic identity. They found that cultural socialization promoted ethnic identity exploration and resolution over time and these effects were mediated by best friends' Mexican cultural orientation – that is, adolescents were more likely to explore or feel resolved about their ethnic identity when their best friends had a strong orientation towards Mexican culture that validated the adolescents' ethnic identity (Kim et al., 2017). This study highlights the need to examine how other socializing agents, beyond parents, can inform the ERS process.

Youth demographics, attitudes, and perceptions influence cultural socialization practices and their relation to ethnic-racial identity. Several studies found gender differences in the relationship between cultural socialization and ethnic identity development (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010). Hughes et al. (2009) found that the relation of cultural socialization to ethnic-racial identity was stronger for girls relative to boys. Umaña-Taylor and Guimond (2010) found that although cultural socialization predicted ethnic identity for both boys and girls, the intercept was higher for girls and the slope

was greater for boys. These gender differences highlight the variability in the relation of cultural socialization to identity development. Sanchez and colleagues (2017) examined the role of gender role attitudes, specifically *caballerismo* and *machismo* for boys and *marianismo* for girls. While cultural socialization was linked to healthier gender roles (*caballerismo* and *marianismo*), gender role attitudes mediated the relationship between cultural socialization and ethnic identity development for boys but not girls. These results add to our understanding of the translation of cultural socialization into positive ethnic identity through positive gender roles (as reflected in honor, respect, dignity, and familismo in *caballerismo*). Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bamáca, and Guimond (2009) examined the role of youth generation status. Adolescents with higher generation status reported lower levels of cultural socialization and, in turn, lower endorsement of the value of *familismo*. However, generation status did not directly influence youths' ethnic-racial identity; the relationship was mediated by cultural socialization (Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009).

Only five articles on ERS and ethnic identity with a Latinx sample assessed multiple ERS strategies (Christophe, Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2019; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Four of these were cross-sectional studies (Christophe, Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2019; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Three of the five studies revealed statistically significant relations of preparation for bias to ethnic identity development (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Quintana and Vera (1999) were among the first to examine the relation of preparation for bias to ethnic identity development for Latinx youth. This study, which included parents with children in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>

grades found that parents' socialization about ethnic discrimination was positively associated with children's ethnic knowledge. Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, and Foust (2009) found that adolescents who reported more preparation for bias messages also reported more ethnic exploration and negative public regard, or the belief that outgroup members viewed the youth negatively. Rivas-Drake, Hughes, and Way (2009) found that adolescents who reported more preparation for bias messages also reported negative public regard, or the belief that outgroup members viewed the youth negatively. They also found that youth who experienced discrimination by peers were more likely to perceive negative public regard, and this relationship was strongest among youth who received high preparation for bias messaging. The next study examined the relation of bicultural ethnic identity to ERS among mother-child dyads (Christophe, Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2019). The authors profiled the identities of mothers and youths. Results identified four profiles for mothers (High bicultural identity, Moderate Bicultural identity, Enculturated identity, Assimilated identity) and two profiles for youth (Low bicultural identity and High Bicultural identity). Mothers' use of ERS varied by profile. High bicultural mothers and moderate-bicultural mothers engaged in more cultural socialization than assimilated mothers. There were no differences by mothers' profile in the use of preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust. Youth reports of ERS also varied by profile. Low-bicultural youth reported more promotion of mistrust compared to high-bicultural youth. There were no differences by youths' profile in cultural socialization or preparation for bias. This study showed that cultural socialization remains a critical aspect of mothers' parenting, even as mothers integrate into the U.S. and potentially establish a strong identification with American values (Christophe et al, 2019). However, mothers, at least of low bicultural youth, may remain wary of other groups even as they integrate into the U.S. (Christophe et al., 2019).

The final study assessed multiple ERS strategies and was longitudinal. The first study found no relation of either preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust (wave 1) to ethnic identity development (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). The authors argued that promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias can incorporate distrust, suspicion, and oppositional attitudes about other ethnic groups, as opposed to positive attitudes about one's group (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). This study's findings may differ from the other studies' findings due to the short-longitudinal design or features of ethnic identity that were measured in each study.

**ERS and academic adjustment.** Studies on ERS and academic adjustment included children across developmental stages. Most of the studies examined only cultural socialization, with a few studies including multiple ERS strategies in the analysis (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008; Grindal & Nieri, 2015a). Evidence for an association between cultural socialization and academic adjustment is mixed, with some studies having non-significant findings for pre-school children.

Studies of toddlers and preschool children examined only cultural socialization. A longitudinal study of African American and Latinx toddlers showed that those who received more frequent cultural socialization messages displayed greater pre-academic skills and receptiveness to language, and fewer behavioral or externalizing problems (Caughy & Owen, 2015). In models with subsamples by ethnicity, cultural socialization was associated with more pre-academic skills and fewer behavior problems for African American toddlers but greater receptive language among Latinx toddlers (Caughy & Owen, 2015). In a study of 4-year old children, cultural socialization was not associated with academic outcomes or social competence (Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste, 2013). This finding may be due to the measurement of culture

socialization with only a single item. Among 4- and 5-year-old preschoolers (N = 442), cultural socialization was linked to less school readiness for Dominican children but not Mexican children (Calzada, Huang, Anicama, Fernandez, & Brotman, 2012). The authors argued that mothers' focus on obedience and deference rather than on parent-child communication may have limited the children's opportunities to develop pre-academic skills. The authors were not certain why the differences between Dominican and Mexican mothers emerged; however, such findings speak to the need to examine ethnic sub-group differences. In another study, Kim, Calzada, Barajas-Gonzalez et al. (2018) longitudinally examined a cultural model of parenting and early academic achievement. They found no effect of cultural socialization for either Dominican or Mexican mothers.

The studies of pre-adolescents' academic adjustment examined only cultural socialization and were longitudinal. They examined the intersection of ethnic identity and cultural socialization, the mediating role of cultural socialization, and parenting profiles involving cultural socialization. In a study involving 5<sup>th</sup> graders, mothers' ethnic socialization practices related to youths' academic self-efficacy through its positive association with ethnic identity achievement (Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight, Roosa, Berkel, & Nair, 2014). Similarly, Berkel and colleagues (2010) identified cultural socialization as a risk reducer, countering the effects of discrimination on academic self-efficacy and teacher-reported grades.

The next three studies used cluster or profile analysis; they integrated ERS strategies with other factors into profiles and then link them to youth academic outcomes. In a study with immigrant parents with various countries of origin (Portugal, Dominican Republic, Cambodian), Pielock, Marks, & Garia Coll (2018) examined the relation of parents' profile to children's school-related stress. They found three clusters of parents, based on parents' socialization of



their children's ethnic identity and perceptions of children's experiences with discrimination. In one of the clusters, positive and centralized ethnic identity, the single-indicator variable for cultural socialization was the most important and defining variable for inclusion. Parents in this cluster felt like they belonged in their neighborhood and liked their neighborhood ("Positive"), encouraged their child to feel good about their ethnicity, and reported that their children felt fairly strong and good about their ethnicity (thus "Centralized"). The other two clusters had lower endorsement of cultural socialization. The parent profiles were not associated with children's school-related stress.

As mentioned earlier, Kim and colleagues (2018) found 8 profiles based on reports, by mothers, fathers, and youths, of ethnic identity, cultural knowledge socialization, and authoritative versus authoritarian parenting styles. The integrated-authoritative profile had the highest scores for cultural socialization for *respeto*. The profiles predict adolescent outcomes (delinquency, grades, life meaning). Based on the adolescent report, adolescents of fathers and mothers with an integrated-authoritative profile reported lower levels of delinquency, higher grades, and greater sense of life meaning compared to fathers and mothers in other profiles. From mothers' and fathers' reports, adolescents of fathers and mothers with an integrated-authoritative profile reported less delinquency but grades and levels of life meaning that were no different from those of adolescents of fathers and mothers with other profiles. This study highlights the complexity of ERS in that evidence of ERS effects is inconsistent across reporters: youths, mothers, and fathers.

Finally, McGill et al. (2012) identified three parent profiles based on preparation for bias, cultural socialization, involvement in home, and involvement in school: high-involved parents (high scores across all four measures compared to other profiles), low-involved parents (low

scores across all four measures compared to other profiles), and racially- or ethnically-involved (high on preparation for bias, moderate on cultural socialization, low on school and home involvement). They also examined the longitudinal relationship between public regard (other's expectations held for your ethnic group) and academic adjustment, as moderated by the parents' profiles. For youth with racially-ethnically-involved parents, there was a significant negative relationship between public regard and academic adjustment; adolescents in this group who perceived others to view them more negatively had lower academic adjustment. Communicating racially-based messages without being substantially involved with an adolescent may make the adolescent more vulnerable academically. This negative relation strengthened over time. As youth experienced more academic demands and became increasingly aware of racial-ethnic barriers, their lack of parental support placed them at risk for academic decline. Thus, the authors suggested that ERS should be accompanied by parental support.

Some studies examined ERS and academic adjustment among adolescents. Among early adolescents (13-14 years old), cultural socialization was positively related to cognitive engagement; that is, youth who received more messages about their heritage invested more effort in school (Rivas-Drake & Marchand, 2016). Similarly, among 15-year-olds cultural socialization was associated with more proactive coping which, in turn, was associated with greater self-efficacy which, in turn, was associated with higher grade point averages (McDermott, Umaña-Taylor, & Martinez-Fuentes, 2018). Among older adolescents (11<sup>th</sup> graders), cultural socialization was positively associated with academic achievement and motivation (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). Huynh and Fuligni (2008), comparing ethnic-racial groups, found that cultural socialization accounted for 14-35% of the academic differences between adolescents of Mexican and Chinese heritage, compared to their White peers. In a follow-up study, Huynh and Fuligni

(2010) found no evidence that ERS strategies moderated the relationship between discrimination and youths' academic outcomes. Contrary to these findings, McKnown & Strambler (2009) found that cultural socialization was associated with achieved knowledge of broadly held stereotypes; in turn, children who were aware of broadly held stereotypes performed worse on a working memory task under diagnostic versus non-diagnostic conditions. African American and Latinx children who were aware of broadly held stereotypes were less likely to store and manipulate information in their working memory.

Two studies examined whether congruency in family and peer cultural socialization related to adolescents' academic outcomes. The first study found an interaction effect such that family cultural socialization positively related to academic adjustment only when peer socialization was high (Wang & Benner, 2016). In a follow-up study, Chen, Benner, & Wang (2019) found that adolescents with high congruency in family and peer cultural socialization had the highest level of school engagement, compared to adolescents with lower congruency, and this engagement did not vary by level of discrimination. Youth with high family but low peer cultural socialization also reported high levels of school engagement, even when faced with high levels of discrimination. Among adolescents with low family but high peer cultural socialization, adolescents' perception of discrimination was significantly linked to higher levels of school engagement. For youth reporting high family and low peer cultural socialization, an association between discrimination and school engagement was absent. These findings highlight the need for future research to consider the impact of various cultural socialization agents.

In contrast to cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias were associated with negative academic outcomes in the reviewed studies. In a study with a diverse sample, promotion of mistrust predicted lower grade point averages, with no differences by

ethnicity (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). In addition, promotion of mistrust significantly moderated the relationship between ethnic identity and academic performance (Grindal & Nieri, 2015a). Specifically, for adolescents with low levels of promotion of mistrust, the relationship between ethnic identity and academic performance was positive. For adolescents with high levels of promotion of mistrust, the relationship between ethnic identity and academic performance was negative.

**ERS and mental and behavioral health.** There has been a growing interest in mental health and behavioral health in the ERS literature in the last few years. In regards to ERS and mental health, studies have examined the relationship between ERS and coping strategies, cultural profiles and mental health outcomes, congruency between cultural socialization agents (i.e., family and peers), parenting and cultural influences on mental health, and ERS as a moderator of the relation between discrimination and mental health. A majority of the studies assessed only cultural socialization. Four studies focused on preschoolers or toddlers (Calzada et al., 2012; Calzada et al., 2017; and Caughy et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2010). Two studies focused on preadolescents (Berkel et al., 2010; Santiago & Wadsworth, 2011). Ten studies focused on adolescents (Chen, Benner, & Wang, 2019; Derlan et al., 2015; Espinoza, Gonzalez, & Fuligni, 2016; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2017; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Padilla, McHale, Updegraff, & Umaña-Taylor, 2016; Park, Du, Wang, Williams, & Alegría, 2019; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Santiago et al., 2016; Wang & Benner, 2016).

Among the studies of preschoolers and toddlers, Calzada et al. (2012) found that for both Mexican- and Dominican-origin mothers, cultural socialization of *respeto* was cross-sectionally associated with authoritarian parenting which, in turn, was associated with increased level of

internalizing and externalizing symptoms among 4 and 5 year olds. This relationship was slightly stronger for Dominican mothers. Calzada et al. (2017) longitudinally examined mothers' cultural socialization and children's internalizing problems 12 months later. For Mexican-origin mothers, cultural socialization of *respeto* was directly associated with teachers' reports, but not mothers' reports, of children's somatization and indirectly associated with depression through authoritarian parenting. For Dominican-origin mothers, cultural socialization of *respeto* was indirectly associated with teachers' and mothers' reports of children's depression through authoritarian parenting. The authors suggested that cultural socialization of *respeto* may be a risk factor for externalizing and internalizing problems, but that this association may shift over time or developmental stage. In contrast to the prior study, Caughy et al. (2016) found no support for a longitudinal association between cultural socialization of *respeto* and children's externalizing problems. The authors explained the difference between these and earlier results as due to the children's younger age (2.5-3.5 years) in this study. In a longitudinal, intergenerational study (grandmothers, mothers, and 4-year-old children), Williams and colleagues (2010) found support for the intergenerational transmission of cultural socialization. Findings were that grandmothers' cultural socialization of the mother was associated with mothers' cultural socialization of the child, and in turn, positively associated with children's receptive language and interactive play with peers, but not associated with internalizing or externalizing problems. Thus, intergenerational cultural socialization was associated with children's developmental competencies but not mental health.

The remaining studies in this area examined preadolescents or adolescents. An early study by Phinney and Chavira (1995) examined ERS and the coping strategies of 16- to 18-year-old youths who were faced with stereotypes and discrimination. Among a multi-ethnic sample

(African American, Latinx, and Japanese), youth reported the following coping strategies: ignoring the issue (65%), proactively discussing the issue (53.5%), disproving the stereotype (33.3%), self-affirmation (15%), and verbal retort (13.3%). There were no differences across the ethnic groups in their use of coping strategies, but there were differences by parental socialization. Youth with parents who talked with them about discrimination were more likely to use the ignore and verbal retort coping strategies, compared to youth with parents who did not talk about discrimination. Youth with parents who taught that prejudice is a problem were more likely to employ the disproving strategy, compared to youth with parents who did not teach that prejudice is a problem. A study by Santiago et al. (2016) examined the effect of cultural socialization on adolescents' daily coping with stress. In contrast to Phinney and Chivara (1995), Santiago and colleagues (2016) found no direct relationship between cultural socialization and coping strategies (engagement, disengagement, and involuntary stress). However, they found a significant interaction effect: on days with higher levels of stress, youth who reported more cultural socialization endorsed more disengagement and involuntary stress response coping. The authors argued that cultural socialization may not be helpful in highly stressful contexts (i.e., contexts in which the youth have more stressful days). Youth may view stressful situations as linked to their cultural background which would undermine their ethnic identity and healthy functioning (Santiago et al., 2016). These findings collectively indicate differences in youth coping styles by ERS strategy and highlight the role of contextual factors in this relationship.

Three articles examined the association of family dynamics or characteristics and cultural socialization with mental health. In a cross-sectional study on the interactive association of poverty-related stress, family coping and cultural orientation (including cultural socialization)

with preadolescents' mental health, Santiago and Wadsworth (2011) found that cultural socialization was not related to mental health. Derlan et al. (2015) longitudinally examined effects on adolescents' conflict, depression and risky behavior. They found that in families in which parents engaged in more cultural socialization but daughters had high mainstream cultural involvement (i.e., there was a cultural mismatch), there was greater mother-child conflict and, in turn, more depressive symptoms and risky behaviors among the adolescents, compared to families in which parents engaged in less cultural socialization but daughters had high mainstream cultural involvement. Padilla, McHale, Updegraff, and Umaña-Taylor (2016) longitudinally examined cultural socialization, parent-child warmth and conflict, and adolescents' depressive symptoms and risky behaviors. They found that relative to youth with less cultural socialization, youth with more cultural socialization who reported receiving less paternal warmth than their siblings reported more depressive symptoms and risky behavior, and youth with more cultural socialization who reported more paternal conflict relative to their siblings reported more depressive symptoms. No interaction effects involving cultural socialization were present for mothers. Since fathers' involvement as a caregiver tends to be less common, their differential treatment of child versus another may be more salient for the child (Padilla et al., 2016). The study authors suggested that families with high cultural socialization may sensitize children to differential treatment, making them more reactive to its effects; adolescents with high cultural socialization and with siblings who are treated differently may be most affected by fathers' differential treatment, as the adolescents may see themselves as devalued (Padilla et al., 2016).

Gonzales-Backen et al. (2017), using latent profile analysis, identified cultural profiles, two of which involved high degrees of cultural socialization (strong-positive and strong-

negative), and their effects on adolescent girls' depression and self-esteem. Results indicated effects only on self-esteem. The strong-positive profile was associated with higher self-esteem compared to the other profiles – that is, youth who scored high on positive cultural socialization reported higher levels of self-esteem (Gonzalez-Backen et al., 2017).

Two studies examined the effects of cultural socialization by family and peers on adolescent mental health. Wang and Benner (2016) found that when family and peer cultural socialization were congruently high, youth experienced lower socioemotional distress, as measured by depression and loneliness. In a follow-up study, Chen, Benner, and Wang (2019) found that discrimination was positively associated with depressive symptoms when youth reported high cultural socialization by family and when youth reported high cultural socialization by peers. The authors argued that the benefits of cultural socialization were limited to low-risk conditions – that is, when discrimination is low.

Four additional studies examined the mediating and moderating roles of ethnic-racial socialization in the relationship between discrimination and mental health (Berkel et al., 2010; Espinoza, Gonzalez, & Fuligni, 2016; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Park, Du, Wang, Williams, & Alegría, 2019). The results were mixed. Berkel et al. (2010) found that cultural socialization mediated the relationship between discrimination and preadolescents' mental health; it reduced the negative effect on mental health (as measured by internalizing and externalizing symptoms). While Huynh and Fuligni (2010) found that ERS, as measured by cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promoting mistrust, did not moderate the relationship between discrimination and adolescents' mental health (i.e., depressive symptoms). Espinoza et al. (2016) found a direct relationship between cultural socialization, but not preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust, and decreased internalizing and externalizing symptoms and increased



self-esteem among adolescents. They also found that when parents' experience with discrimination was high, youth with more cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias experienced lower self-esteem but no difference in internalizing and externalizing problems. The effect on self-esteem may reflect adolescents' views of their ethnic group as being devalued. The next study longitudinally examined differences in this relationship by parent (mothers vs. fathers) using three ERS strategies (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust). Only promotion of mistrust moderated the effect of discrimination and for adolescents' anxiety but not depression (Park et al., 2019). Fathers' promotion of mistrust statistically significantly exacerbated (strengthened) the association between youths' experiences of discrimination and depression. Mothers' promotion of mistrust attenuated the association between youths' experiences of discrimination and depression, but this effect only approached statistical significance ( $p = .056$ ). Thus, when fathers promoted mistrust, it tended to trigger depressive symptoms (Park et al 2019).

Relative to mental health, behavioral health received less attention in the research on ERS. Only four studies examined behavioral health. One of them examined pre-adolescents and found no relationship between ERS and substance use (Banon, Beharie, Olshtain-Mann et al., 2012). The other three studies examined adolescents. Two of the adolescent studies included multiple ERS strategies, while the third one included only cultural socialization. A longitudinal study examined the effect of ERS on youth substance use and found that cultural socialization was associated with less substance use, while promotion of mistrust was associated with greater substance use (Grindal & Nieri, 2015b). The relationship was mediated by peer substance use social learning. Specifically, among Latinx youth, cultural socialization was protective against future substance use by inhibiting the associations with substance using peers, and promotion of

mistrust was identified as a risk factor promoting ties to substance using peers. Nieri, Ayón, Yoo and Webb (2019) longitudinally examined ERS as a moderator of the effect of adolescents' perceived discrimination on substance use. They found no evidence of moderation; however, they found evidence of direct effects of ERS. Cultural socialization was associated with less substance use, and preparation for bias was associated with more substance use. The final study was cross-sectional and examined the relationship between cultural socialization, positive and negative alcohol expectations, and substance use (Zapolski & Clifton, 2019). The authors found support for an indirect effect of cultural socialization on substance use through negative alcohol expectations – that is, more cultural socialization was associated with negative alcohol expectations which, in turn, was associated with reduced risk of alcohol use (Zapolski & Clifton, 2019).

### **Discussion**

We conducted a systematic review of the literature on the ethnic-racial socialization of children in Latinx families. We examined what is known about the extent and nature of ERS, its measurement, the factors that relate to ERS, the relation between ERS and discrimination, and the relation between ERS and children's outcomes, including ethnic-racial identity development, academic adjustment, and mental and behavioral health. This review moves beyond prior reviews of ERS literature (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang et al., 2020) by focusing on Latinx families in the United States, examining both general ERS strategies and Latinx-specific ERS strategies, examining both precursors and outcomes of ERS, including both quantitative and qualitative studies, reviewing studies published since 1980, and highlighting the needs for research on ERS in the current anti-Latinx and anti-immigration climate.

## Findings of Existing Research

With regard to the extent and nature of ERS, consistent with prior reviews of ERS literature (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), previously identified ERS strategies (cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias, and egalitarianism) are in use in Latinx families, and most research has focused on cultural socialization. Recent research has identified additional socialization strategies (pluralism, immigration socialization). Some of the new strategies may be specific to Latinx families and, thus, not identified in the prior research on African Americans, or they may be new, emerging in response to the surge in anti-immigrant sentiment and policy in recent years. The existing research shows that Latinx parents do engage in ERS with their children. Limited research also documents socialization of Latinx children by other agents, including peers, and differences in socialization patterns between Latinxs and other racial-ethnic groups.

With regard to measurement of ERS, a small set of measures are in use, but research findings vary in ways that may be attributable, at least in some cases, to scholars' choice of measure. A few measures are geared toward younger children (e.g., CSLC) whereas most others are geared to older children; however, this diversity allows for research across the development spectrum. Some measures (e.g., Racial Socialization Measure) are more consistently used with multi-ethnic samples whereas others (e.g., FESM) are more consistently used with Latinx-only samples. The measures rely on reports by one person, despite calls by scholars to rely on multiple reporters (Wang et al., 2020; Yasui, 2015). The quantitative measures, in particular, capture neither the behavioral or affective domains of the socialization process nor the implicit and subtle transmission of socialization messages, two areas identified as important in Yasui's (2015) review of quantitative measures of ERS. The recent identification of new strategies

suggests that there is a need for either additional measures, such as Ayón 2018, or for modifications to be made to existing measures to capture the strategies that may be in use in Latinx families.

With regard to the factors that affect the extent of ERS and the choice of ERS strategies, the research, especially the qualitative research, makes very clear how different forms of parents' and children's discrimination experiences influence how parents socialize their children including which ERS strategies they employ. The existing evidence also points to other parent characteristics (gender, cultural values, ethnic identity, nativity, and length of time in the US) as factors that may influence whether and how children are socialized. In addition to parent factors, children's age, generation status, school racial-ethnic composition, and other family members' nativity appear to be relevant factors. Finally, the research suggests that positive parent-child relationships may provide optimal conditions for ERS of Latinx children.

The existing research makes clear that ERS is consequential for Latinx children. It shows that ERS can buffer the impact of discrimination (Ayón, 2016, Carranza, 2007). It also shows that ERS is related to ethnic identity development (Quintana, Castañeda-English, & Ybarra, 1999; Quintana & Vera 1999, Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Douglass and Umaña-Taylor, 2015; 2016; Wang, Cham, Aladin, & Yip, 2019; Knight, Berkel, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2011; Knight, Carlo, Streit, & White, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight et al., 2014; White, Knight, Jensen, & Gonzalez, 2017; Christophe, Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2019; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Quintana & Vera, 1999), academic adjustment (Caughy & Owen, 2015; Calzada, Huang, Anicama, Fernandez, & Brotman, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight, Roosa, Berkel, & Nair, 2014; Berkel et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2018;

McGill et al., 2012; Rivas-Drake & Marchand, 2016; McDermott, Umaña-Taylor, & Martinez-Fuentes, 2018; Huynh and Fuligni, 2008), mental health (Derlan et al., 2015; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Santiago et al., 2016; Padilla, McHale, Updegraff, & Umaña-Taylor, 2016; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2017; Wang & Benner, 2016; Chen, Benner, & Wang, 2019; Espinoza, Gonzalez, & Fuligni, 2016; Park, Du, Wang, Williams, & Alegría, 2019), and behavioral health (Grindal & Nieri, 2015b; Nieri, Ayón, Yoo and Webb, 2019; Zapolski & Clifton, 2019).

A majority of the studies have included adolescents with fewer studies including preadolescents and younger children in the samples. The effects of ERS are not consistent across socialization strategies. The evidence most strongly indicates that cultural socialization can be beneficial, and recent research suggests that some newly analyzed strategies may have positive effects. At the same time, there is some evidence that preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust may be harmful in the case of at least some outcomes, though the evidence is limited such that we cannot yet definitively recommend that these strategies be avoided. Furthermore, the research indicates that ERS effects are conditional on a number of factors. As such, the effects may be positive, negative, or null as well as stronger or weaker, depending on the conditions and outcomes examined.

With regard to the factors that moderate the relation of ERS to children's outcomes, existing research has identified parent factors (e.g., gender, generation, support for the child, parent-child conflict, harsh parenting, parental warmth, involvement with child, and experience of discrimination), child factors (e.g., gender, experience of discrimination, ethnic subgroup, race-ethnicity, age, and ethnic identity), and neighborhood factors (e.g., perceived neighborhood risk and ethnic composition) that moderate ERS effects. In addition, existing research has identified child factors (ethnic identity), school factors (racial-ethnic composition), and peer

factors (cultural orientation and behavioral norms) that mediate ERS effects. This research shows that the relations of ERS to child outcomes are complex and cannot be categorically characterized as influential or beneficial.

### **Practice implications**

These results imply that practitioners working with Latinx families should inquire about the extent, nature, and impact of ERS with parents and children. They can share with families what is known to date about how ERS may be employed and under what conditions help children develop and achieve better outcomes. Practitioners can guide families in their use of ERS with the goal of promoting optimal child outcomes. For instance, as cultural socialization has been linked to positive outcomes, practitioners can educate families on the benefit of talking with their children about their cultural values, traditions, and building their ethnic pride. Parents can be prompted to engage in different activities (such as viewing pictures, cooking together, storytelling) that build the parent-child relationship as well as strengthen the child through cultural socialization. By engaging in cultural socialization, teaching children about their culture, building family ties, and building strong ethnic pride, parents are preparing children to have the knowledge that will help them build counter narratives when faced with discrimination. For instance, if a child is told that Mexicans are good for nothing, a child will be able to reflect on what they know about their family/community and know that it is an inaccurate statement. Instead the child will be able to think about their parents, grandparents, or community members and know that these individuals are hardworking people (example from Ayón, 2016).

Practitioners could use one of the measures developed specifically for Latinx families (Calsada, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, 2001; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004), Latinx immigrant families (Ayón, 2018), or adapted for Latinx families (Hughes & Chen, 1997) to assess ERS strategies in

practice. The measures by Calazada (2017) and Umaña-Taylor (2001) will provide an assessment of cultural socialization while Ayón (2018) and Hughes and Chen (1997) assess multiple strategies. Based on results, practitioners can guide parents and youth towards specific strategies and further enhance the strategies they already exhibit. Measures that include multiple strategies will provide a more comprehensive view of the ERS process used by Latinx families. Comprehensive assessments are favored as evidence suggest parents use multiple ERS strategies concurrently (Ayón, 2016, 2018).

Mobilizing as an intervention in families ERS, which focuses on understandings and perceptions of groups rather than individuals, may also help to keep practitioners and family members cognizant of the structural forces, such as systemic racism, that operate to influence Latinx families' lives (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012) and reduce the individualistic pathologizing of families that commonly occurs with families seeking social services (Long, Tice & Morrison, 2006). Additionally, practitioners can facilitate dialogues with the Latinx community on racialized enforcement of immigration policies and best ways to approach these topics with youth. Social advocacy efforts are needed to educate policy makers on the deleterious effects of the restrictive immigration policy on children and families. As described earlier, parents are addressing these issues with their children; however, the responsibility of protecting children from the “unintended consequences” (e.g., discrimination) of immigration policy is not the sole responsibility of parents or the Latinx community.

### **Limitations**

The findings presented here should be considered in light of the review's limitations. We excluded two studies that focused on the ERS process among biracial or multi-racial Latinxs. As research in this area is in early stages of development we did not want to make claims based on

limited research. Thus, the findings of this review should be interpreted with some caution, as the study may not reflect the experiences of multiracial Latinx youth. We restricted the search to children 0-18; thus, the review does not include an exhaustive review of ERS among Latinxs as we excluded adults. We also did not include book chapters or unpublished studies; thus, we do not account for publication bias associated with peer-reviewed journals' acceptance criteria or systematic racism that exists in the academy.

### **Directions for Future Research**

We identified a number of gaps in the existing research, and they provide clear directions for future research. Overall, there is a need for greater contextualization of ERS. The extant literature suggests that ERS does not occur in a vacuum; it occurs in response to current and historical events that affect – in particular, threaten – the lives of Latinx families. Furthermore, existing research indicates that the extent, nature, and effects of ERS also depends on a variety of contextual factors. For example, who engages in the socialization (e.g., which parent) shapes which strategies are used and their impact on the children. Family context also matters, such as the extent of parent-child closeness and the relative relations between the child and siblings. Neighborhood and community context also appear to matter, though the research is still sparse in this area. Contextual factors may operate by shaping the severity of the problems which ERS strategies are designed to mitigate. They may also operate by shaping how children interpret and internalize socializing messages, thus determining their impact. For example, does what their parents say appear to match what the children see in their neighborhoods? And how do these messages correspond or conflict with messages from other socialization agents? Prior reviews have similarly called for greater attention to how the broader family climate and neighborhood characteristics relate to parenting decisions and socialization (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang



et al., 2020) and how people other than parents socialize children (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

We encourage scholars of ERS to conceptually and empirically contextualize ERS. Garcia Coll and colleagues (1996) encourage the use of an ecological perspective when examining ethnic minority children and families. This perspective is appropriate for the study of ERS in Latinx families, given the specific discrimination and oppression they face. The ecodevelopmental framework integrates the interplay between risk and protective factors (Szapocznik & Coatsworth, 1999; Coatsworth, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2002). Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory, it holds that human development is influenced by four nested systems – the micro, exo, meso, and macro systems. The framework posits that changes in the structure, integration, and functioning of children's social ecology will influence their development over time.

Consistent with an ecological perspective, future research should examine socialization agents other than parents. Most research on ERS has examined parents, but little is known about the extent and nature of socialization by other agents, the characteristics of other agents that might predict their socialization of Latinx children, and the effects of their socialization on Latinx children. Future research should examine socializing agents other than parents, such as teachers, school officials, and peers; and the additive effects of multiple ERS agents. These agents, particularly in light of the current anti-immigrant climate, may convey messages to children that compete with parents' messages.

A majority of studies examine cultural socialization as an ERS strategy. However, relatively little research has been conducted on other strategies. Some studies that have examined other strategies report conflicting and often detrimental effects on children's outcomes. Other research has identified emergent strategies that respond directly to the broader sociopolitical

context in which families live. Thus, more research is needed to better understand the use and effects of other socialization strategies. Once a stronger evidence base on these other strategies is established, scholars can take a stand on whether certain strategies should definitively be avoided because they have undesirable effects. In particular, longitudinal studies are needed to find if detrimental effects of some strategies change over time. For instance, while promoting mistrust may initially be associated with a negative outcome, will its effect change over time? Longitudinal work can also explore changes in the use of specific ERS strategies and their effects across developmental stages (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

Future research should also move beyond strategies associated with the experiences of race and ethnicity to include strategies associated with immigrant experiences. Other research has shown how immigrant status is racialized and anti-immigrant sentiment negatively affects even native-born people (Dreby, 2012). And the qualitative research on ERS, described in this paper, has identified additional ERS strategies related to immigration. Thus, there is a need to investigate what immigration-related strategies may be in use in the socialization of Latinx children, whether they are immigrant or native born. Given the racialized enforcement of immigration policies in the interior and at the border, such research is necessary and should account for differences by country of origin. In addition to studying more ERS strategies, future research could compare existing measures within a single study to better understand how results differ across measures and samples (multi-group versus single group). This work would address the question of whether it is better to employ group-specific measures or non-specific measures. Finally, as recommended by Umaña-Taylor and Hill (2020), meta-analyses may also help to understand the relative effects of specific ERS strategies. In addition to these methodological recommendations, future research should expand beyond measurement of behavioral strategies

and attend to other ERS process variables (e.g., affective), as recommended by Yasui (2015).

Although existing research indicates that both parent and child factors relate to whether and how children are socialized, these factors are not typically examined together. In terms of parent factors, most of the studies examined maternal factors. We do not know whether the same paternal factors influence ERS. Few studies include both parents in two-parent families; yet, the research suggests that ERS effects may vary by parent. Therefore, future research on two-parent families should include both parents in the sample and examine differences by parent in the factors that relate to ERS. This research could also compare socialization by same-gender parent dyads and different-gender parent dyads, as LGBTQ families are apparently absent in the literature. Consistent with the recommendation of Wang and colleagues to apply an intersectional lens to ERS research (2020), such work could also investigate the intersection of ERS with other socialization, such as socialization regarding sexuality and sexual orientation, in the same way the scholars have begun to investigate immigration-related socialization. Quantitative scholars should follow the qualitative scholars' lead and explore the role of parents' and children's experiences of discrimination in shaping the extent and nature of ERS. Furthermore, regardless of method, scholars need to examine ERS as a bidirectional process and explore ERS feedback loops in families. For example, how do children, once socialized, influence subsequent ERS? How well do children internalize parents' ERS efforts? With few exceptions, most studies have included adolescents in their samples. Thus, future studies should include younger children to assess the benefits in engaging in the ERS process at earlier stages of children's development.

Most of the research on ERS effects has assessed ethnic identity development as an outcome. Fewer studies have examined ERS effects on other outcomes, such as academic and

mental and behavioral health. Additionally, most of the studies examine the effects of single ERS strategies on outcomes, with only a few, more recent studies considering the effects of profiles (or sets) of ERS strategies. Consistent with the recommendation of Umaña-Taylor and Hill (2020), additional research is needed to assess the simultaneous use of multiple ERS strategies. Future research on ERS effects must ask not merely how is ERS beneficial but rather for what outcomes, for whom, and under what circumstances is ERS beneficial. In particular, it would be important to disaggregate Latinx children by ethnic-racial identity (Latinx only, bi-ethnic-racial, multi-ethnic-racial), generation, acculturation, and/or national origin to identify any significant sub-group differences. Similarly, research should compare effects for Latinx children as compared to other racial-ethnic groups of children. Future research should examine the effects of the lesser studied strategies and the conditions under which the effects are manifest. As ERS strategies are unlikely to occur independently, future studies should consider how multiple ERS strategies are integrated and their association to outcomes. ERS offers a promising area for intervention for Latinx immigrant families, but first we need to better understand which ERS strategies translate to benefits for children and under what conditions.

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Figure 1. Study selection flow diagram

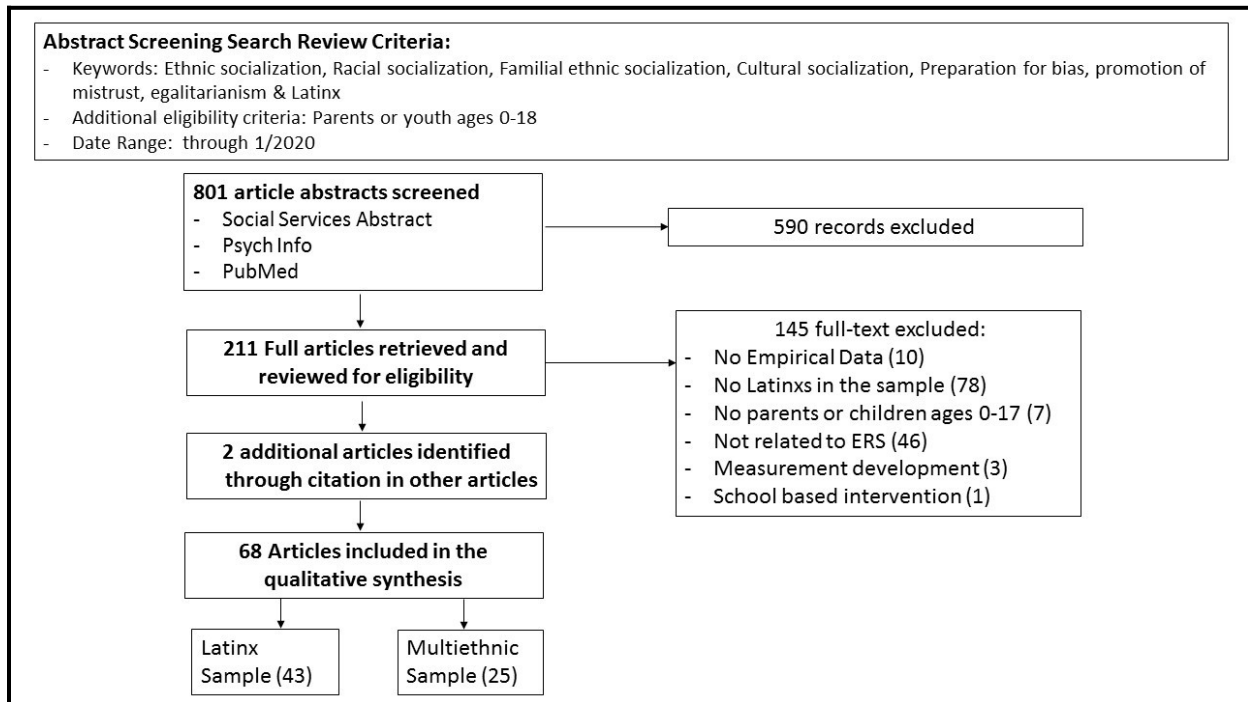


Table 1. Methodological characteristics and sample demographics of ERS studies

Study	Race/Ethnicity	Sample size	Participants	ERS Strategy				ERS Measure	Design
				Cultural Socialization	Preparation for Bias	Promoting Mistrust	Other		
Aldoney, & Cabrera (2016)	Central American, Mexican, and South American	30	Parents with Ch, ages 2-5	X				N/A	Qualitative Focus groups
Anderson, Jackson, Jones, et al. (2015)	African American, Latinx, and Korean	114	Parents with Ch, ages 0-4	X	X		X	N/A	Qualitative Focus groups
Ayón (2016)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	54	Parents with Ch, ages 7-12	X	X	X	X	N/A	Qualitative Interviews
Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano (2018)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	54	Parents with Ch, ages 7-12	X				N/A	Qualitative Interviews
Ayón, Tran, & Nieri (2019)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	300	Parents with Ch, ages 7-12	X	X	X	X	LIFS	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Banon, Beharie, Olshtain-Mann et al. (2012)	African American, Latinx, Mixed	204	Parents & Ch, M <sub>age</sub> = 12.8				X	SORSA-A	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste (2013)	African American, Latinx, European American	501	Parents with Ch, aged 4 years	X				Project specific single item	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Berkel, Knight, Zeiders, et al. (2010)	Mexican American	750	Parents & Ch, M <sub>age</sub> = 10.42 (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale <sup>1</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Bozo et al. (2018)	Latinx and Asian American	293	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 17.13	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Calzada, Barajas-Gonzalez, Huang & Brotman (2017)	Mexican and Dominican	661	Mothers & Ch, ages 4-5	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Calzada, Huang, Anicama, Fernandez, & Brotman (2012)	Mexican and Dominican	442	Mothers & Ch, Ages 4-5	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Carranza (2007)	Salvadorian	32	Mothers & daughters, ages 8-20	X	X			N/A	Qualitative Focus groups
Caughy, & Owen (2015)	African American, Latinx	399	Parents with Ch, age 2.5 (T1)	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Caughy, Peredo, Owen, & Mills (2016)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	209	Mothers with Ch, ages 2.5-3.5	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Chen, Benner, & Wang (2019)	African American, Latinx, Biracial	245	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 14.38	X				Project specific 6 items	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Christophe, Stein, Kiang,	Latinx, primarily		Mothers & Ch,	X				Racial Socialization	Quantitative,

et al. (2019)	Mexican	172	M <sub>age</sub> = 12.9		X	X		Scale	Cross-sectional
Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Tommey, Updegraff, & Jahromi (2015)	Mexican-origin	204	Mothers & daughters, M <sub>age</sub> = 16.81	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Jahromi & Updegraff (2016)	Mexican-origin	181	Mothers with Ch, 4 years old	X				CSBM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahromi (2016)	Mexican-origin	193	Mothers & daughters, M <sub>age</sub> = 16.78 (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Douglass, & Umaña-Taylor (2015)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	323	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 15.31 (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Douglass, & Umaña-Taylor (2016)	Latinx, primarily of Mexican origin	323	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 15.31 (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Else-Quest & Morse (2015)	African American, Asian American, Latinx/a, & White	370	Parents & Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 16.2 (T1)	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Espinoza, Gonzales, & Fuligni (2016)	Mexican-origin	344	Parents & Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 15.02(T1)	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Gonzales-Backen, Bámaca-Colbert, Noah, & Rivera (2017)	Mexican-origin	338	Adolescent girls, M <sub>age</sub> = 12.27 & 15.21	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Grindal & Nieri (2015)	Latinx-origin	193	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 14.04	X	X	X		Adapted Items	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Grindal & Nieri (2016)	African American Asian/Pacific Islander, Latinx, White	269	Adolescents, M <sub>age</sub> = 14	X	X	X		Adapted items	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Hagelskamp & Hughes (2014)	African American, Chinese, Latinx	100	Mother & Ch, ages 11-13	X	X			Racial Socialization Scale*	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Hernández, Conger, Robins, Bacher, & Widaman (2014)	Mexican-origin	674	Mothers, Fathers, & Ch M <sub>age</sub> = 10.4 (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale* <sup>1,2</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Hughes (2003)	African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican	273	Parents with Ch, ages 6-17	X	X			Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way & Foust (2009)	Black, Chinese, Latinx	170	Mothers & Ch sixth graders	X	X			Racial Socialization Scale*	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Huynh & Fuligni (2008)	Chinese, European, and Mexican	524	Adolescents, 11 <sup>th</sup> graders	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
	Asian, Latin			X					Quantitative,



Huynh & Fuligni (2010)	American, and European	601	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 17.81$		X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Cross-sectional
Kim, Bámaca-Colbert, Jian, & Gonzales-Backen (2017)	Mexican-origin	175	Adolescent girls, $M_{age} = 13.75$ (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Kim, Calzada, Barajas-Gonzalez et al. (2018)	Mexican-origin	750	Mother & Ch, $M_{age} = 4.39$	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Kim, Chen, Hou, Zeiders, & Calzada (2018)	Mexican-origin	604	Mothers, Fathers, Ch, $M_{age} = 12.41$	X				CSLC	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Knight, Berkel, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2011)	Mexican-origin	750	Mothers, Fathers, Ch, $M_{age} = 10.3$ (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale <sup>2</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo (1993)	Mexican-origin	45	Mothers & Ch, ages 6-10	X				Teaching about Ethnic Pride and Discrimination <sup>2</sup>	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Knight, Carlo, Streit, & White (2017)	Mexican-origin	462	Mothers, Fathers, Ch, $M_{age} = 10.4$ (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale <sup>2</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Kulish, Cavanaugh, Stein, et al. (2019)	Latinx, primarily of Mexican-origin	175	Mothers & adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.67$	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
McGill, Hughes, Alicea, & Way (2012)	Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican	345	Ch ages 11-12 (T1)	X	X			Racial Socialization Scale*	Quantitative, Longitudinal
McKown, & Strambler (2009)	Asian, Black, Latinx, White	124	Parent & Ch, ages 5-11	X	X	X	X	Racial Socialization Questionnaire	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
McDermott, Umaña-Taylor, & Martinez-Fuentes (2018)	Latinx, primarily of Mexican-origin	321	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.31$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Mounts, Karre, & Kim (2013)	African American, Asian, Latinx, White, Multi-racial	78	Parents & Ch, $M_{age} = 12.75$	X			X	N/A	Qualitative Interviews
Nieri, Ayón, Yoo, & Web (2019)	Latinx and other	259	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15$	X	X	X		Adapted measure	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Park, Du, Wang et al. (2019)	Mexican-origin	251	Mothers, Fathers, Adolescents, $M_{age} = 14.1$	X	X	X		Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Padilla, McHale, Updegraff & Umaña-Taylor (2016)	Mexican-origin	246	Parents & Ch, 7 <sup>th</sup> grade (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
	African American,		Parents &	X					Mixed-

Phinney & Chavira (1995)	Japanese American, Mexican American	60	adolescents, $M_{age} = 16.5$		X		X	N/A	methods
Pielock, Marks, & Garcia Coll (2018)	Portugueses, Dominican, Cambodian	294	Parents & Ch, 7-12 years old	X	X			Project specific 2 items	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Quintana, Castañeda-English & Ybarra (1999)	Mexican origin	43	Parents & adolescents $M_{age} = 16.47$	X				Project specific 21 items	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Quintana & Vera (1999)	Mexican origin	47	Parents & Ch, $M_{age} = 7.96$	X				Project specific 5 items	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way (2009)	Black, African American, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Chinese, White	308	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 11.5$	X	X			Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Rivas-Drake, & Marchand (2016)	Latinx, primarily Mexican	150	Parent & Adolescent, ages 13-14	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Sanchez, Whittaker, Hamilton, & Arango (2017)	Mexican-origin	438	Adolescents, $M = 12.58$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Santiago, Torres, Brewer, Fuller, & Lennon (2016)	Latinx, Mixed-Latinx and African American	58	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 13.31$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Daily diaries
Santiago & Wadsworth (2011)	Mexican, Guatemalan, Other Latins	90	Parents & Adolescents, $M_{age} = 12.58$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands (2006)	Mexican, Salvadoran, Guatemalan	187	Adolescents $M_{age} = 14.61$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, & Fuligni (2015)	Mexican - origin	428	Parents & Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15$	X				Racial Socialization Scale*	Quantitative, Daily diaries
Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, (2009)	Latinx, primarily of Mexican origin	323	Adolescents $M_{age} = 15.21$ (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin (2006)	Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Salvadorian	639	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.52$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Umaña-Taylor & Fine (2004)	Mexican origin	513	Adolescents $M_{age} = 15.77$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional

Umaña-Taylor & Guimond (2010)	Latinx, primarily of Mexican-origin	323	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.31$ (T1)	X				FESM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, Knight, et al. (2014)	Mexican-origin	749	Mothers, Fathers, & Ch, $M_{age} = 10.3$ (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale <sup>2</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Umaña-Taylor, & Yazedjian (2006)	Puerto Rican and Mexican	75	Mothers with children ages 10-20	X			X	N/A	Qualitative Focus Groups
Wang & Benner (2016)	African American, Latinx	236	Adolescents, 8 <sup>th</sup> grade	X				FESM*	Quantitative, Cross-sectional
Wang, Cham, Aladin, & Yip (2019)	African-American, Asian-American, Latinx	214	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.24$ (T1)	X				Racial Socialization Scale	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Williams, Bravo, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2010)	Mexican Origin	204	Grandmothers, mothers, child, 4 years old	X				FESM & CSBM	Quantitative, Longitudinal
White, Knight, Jensen, & Gonzales (2018)	Mexican origin	733	Mothers, Fathers, & Adolescents, $M_{age} = 12.79$ (T1)	X				Ethnic Socialization Scale <sup>2</sup>	Quantitative, Longitudinal
Zapolski & Clifton (2019)	Mexican, Puerto Rican, African American	113	Adolescents, $M_{age} = 15.27$	X				FESM	Quantitative, Cross-sectional

Note: LIFS = Latinx Immigrant Family Socialization; CSLC = Cultural Socialization of Latino Children; CSBM = Cultural Socialization Behaviors Measure; FESM = Family Ethnic Socialization Measure; SRSA-A = Scale of Racial Socialization for African American Adolescents; \* Indicates adapted version of the original scale. <sup>1</sup> Bernal and Knight (1993); <sup>2</sup> Knight et al (1993)

Table 2. Commonly used ERS measures with Latinx families

Authors	Measure	Subscales/Sample Items	N
Ayón (2018)	Latinx Immigrant Family Socialization (LIFS)	Preparation for bias (two subscales – adapt and advocate) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell child that he/she will be treated unfairly</li> <li>• Tell child to seek help when he/she is discriminated.</li> </ul> Cultural Socialization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talk with child about his/her roots and heritage.</li> </ul> Value Diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talk with child about the differences in cultures.</li> </ul> Promote mistrust <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advice child to not trust people from other racial or ethnic groups.</li> </ul> Immigration Socialization (educate about immigration and nativity) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talk with child about differences in rights based on immigration status.</li> </ul>	1
Bernal & Knight (1993)	Ethnic Racial Socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell child that the color of a person's skin does not mean that person is better or worse than anyone else</li> <li>• Take child to Mexican celebrations like <i>Quinceañeras</i>, Mexican weddings, or baptisms.</li> </ul>	2
Briscoe-Smith (2005)	Racial Socialization Questionnaire	Cultural Socialization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I teach my child to respect his or her own culture</li> </ul> Preparation for bias <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I try to prepare my child for an unjust world</li> </ul> Promotion of mistrust <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I tell my child society will have low expectations for him or her</li> </ul> Colorblind childrearing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I want my child to be colorblind to race.</li> </ul>	1
Calzada (2017)	Cultural Socialization of Latino Children (CSLC)	Respect ( <i>Respeto</i> ) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I tell my child to defer to adult wishes.</li> </ul>	6
Derlan et al. (2016)	Cultural Socialization Behaviors Measure (CSBM)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I involve my child in celebrations, holidays, or religious events that are specific to our ethnic/cultural group.</li> <li>• I tell my child about famous people from our ethnic/cultural background who have done good things and have represented our culture well.</li> <li>• I buy toys for my child that represent our ethnic/cultural background</li> </ul>	2
Hughes & Chen (1997)	Racial Socialization Scale	Cultural Socialization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Celebrated cultural holidays of his/her ethnic group.</li> </ul> Preparation for Bias <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talked to your child about discrimination or prejudice against his/her ethnicity.</li> </ul> Promotion of mistrust <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Done or said things to keep your child from trusting students from other ethnic groups.</li> </ul>	15
Knight et al. (1993)	Ethnic Socialization Scale	How often do you: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• tell your child to be proud of his/her Mexican background.</li> <li>• tell your child that he/she always has an obligation to help members of the family.</li> <li>• tell your child about the discrimination she/he may face because of her/his Mexican background.</li> </ul>	6
	Scale of Racial Socialization for African American Adolescents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schools ought to be required to teach all children about <i>people of color</i>.</li> <li>• Getting a good education is still the best way for a <i>child of color</i> to survive racism.</li> </ul>	

Stevenson (1994)	(SORSA-A-20)		1
Umaña-Taylor (2001); Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004)	FESM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My family teaches me about our family's ethnic/cultural background.</li> <li>• My family celebrates holidays that are specific to my ethnic/cultural background</li> <li>• My family teaches me about the history of my ethnic/cultural background.</li> </ul>	20