Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and the Construction of Children of Color's

Ethnic-Racial Identity: A Research Synthesis and Meta-Analysis

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Abstract

Parental ethnic-racial socialization practices help shape the development of a strong ethnic-racial identity in children of color, which in turn contributes positively to mental health, social, and academic outcomes. Although there is a wide body of literature on the relationship between these meta-constructs, this research has not been systematically examined to either (a) determine the degree to which associations between parental ethnic-racial socialization approaches and ethnic-racial identity dimensions hold actual practical significance for parents of color or (b) estimate how these associations vary as a function of theorized mitigating factors. In response, this meta-analytic study investigated the strength of the association between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and the construction of ethnic-racial identity, as well as factors that moderated the strength and direction of this association. Findings revealed that across 68 studies, there was a significant and substantive relationship between the global constructs of ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity. Most individual practices of ethnic-racial socialization were positively associated with global ethnic-racial identity, and the strongest relationship was with pride and heritage socialization. Parental ethnic-racial socialization was also positively associated with all ethnic-racial identity dimensions tested except for public regard, with which it was negatively associated. Developmental findings showed that while ethnic-racial socialization positively predicted identity at every level of schooling, the strongest relationship was at the high-school level. Finally, the association between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity was positive for African Americans, Latinxs, and Asian Americans alike, but the strongest relationship was among Latinxs. Implications for parenting practices and future research are discussed.

Keywords: Ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity, parental socialization, identity development, meta-analysis

Public Significance of Statements: This first of its kind meta-analysis reveals a moderate effect of parental ethnic-racial socialization on the ethnic-racial identity of children of color. These effects vary by types of parental socialization practices, dimensions of ethnic-racial identity, children's age of schooling, and ethnic-racial groups.

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Parents and children of color in the United States encounter racialized social contexts that pose well-documented threats to their academic adjustment and psychological well-being (Caughy, O'Campo, & Muntaner, 2004; Wang & Huguley, 2012; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Child development within racially subordinating contexts has been associated with inhibited beliefs around ability, efficacy, aspirations, and self-esteem (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wang & Degol, 2016). At the same time, many parents of color are also intuitively compelled to transmit their native ethnocentric cultural norms, beliefs, and traditions to their children for the sake of their own inherent value. In either case, parents of color's transmission of cultural messages and messages related to experiences as racial/ethnic minorities in America are adaptive socialization practices with the aims of promoting their children's positive development (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Some of these specific efforts involve proactive strategies designed to pass on cultural strengths, at times with the explicit intention of enhancing resilience in the face of subordinated ecological circumstances (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Perry, 2003; Stevenson, 1994; Ward, 2007). At other times, these techniques include reactive approaches designed to insulate youth from acutely hazardous discriminatory forces in schools, neighborhoods, and other social institutions (Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Furstenberg, 2001).

A major component to these contextually tailored efforts is *parental ethnic-racial socialization*, or the ways in which parents communicate information and beliefs about ethnicity and race to their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Typically, these practices emphasize prosocial expectations, cultural beliefs and traditions, and racial resilience as

components of ethnic-racial group identity or membership (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Spencer, 1999). Researchers have corroborated that for youth of color, the desired ethnic-racial identity targets are in fact positively associated with psychological well-being (Kiang, Yip, Gonzalez-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Phinney, 1991) and academic outcomes (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006).

Ample research has been conducted on various discrete aspects of the relations between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity; yet, inconsistencies in the conceptualization and measurement of these meta-constructs have, to date, prevented the development of a more comprehensive understanding of the nuances of this relationship across the literature. Although studies testing associations between global conceptions of ethnic-racial socialization and identity have generally demonstrated positive correlations (Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995), there is also consensus that both ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity are multidimensional constructs, and as such, they require more precise approaches to effect estimations (Hughes et al., 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009a; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Subsequently, studies examining relationships between specific types of parental ethnic-racial socialization and delineated dimensions of ethnic-racial identity have produced more inconsistent findings, including both positive and negative associations.

Moreover, it remains difficult to estimate the degree to which any associations between ethnic-racial socialization approaches and ethnic-racial identity constructs hold actual practical significance for families of color because studies of the relationship between them have not been systematically reviewed through a meta-analysis. Comprehensive and systematic meta-analyses of these relationships are readily possible, and when conducted, these studies could identify optimal pathways for parents' efforts toward ethnic-racial identity development. Accordingly,

this meta-analysis aims to synthesize the overall strength of the link between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity outcomes across the extant literature, while simultaneously examining how principal theorized moderators influence these effects.

Conceptualizations and Dimensions of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

Parental ethnic-racial socialization can be understood as the way in which parents communicate information, beliefs, and values about ethnicity and race to their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Historically, researchers have investigated this socializing practice under the terminologies of "racial socialization" and "ethnic socialization." *Racial socialization* has appeared primarily in literature addressing African American populations, and it typically refers to the mechanisms by which parents promote their children's sense of racial self-esteem and belonging, as well as how they prepare children to understand racial barriers in the United States (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Stevenson, 1994). The term *ethnic socialization* has surfaced more frequently in literature addressing Latinx populations, although it denotes similar concepts around how parents instill a sense of cultural retention and identity achievement in their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Knight, Bernal, Cota et al., 1993; Knight, Bernal, Garza et al., 1993). While distinctions can be drawn between these concepts, substantial overlap exists in how these terms have been used among scholars, leading a large number of contemporary researchers to utilize the combined term *ethnic-racial socialization* in efforts to capture the collective body of closely related phenomena (French, Coleman, & DiLorenzo, 2013; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Yasui, 2015).[i] Accordingly, we use the term "ethnic-racial socialization" as inclusive of both racial- and ethnic-socialization practices that have appeared in the broader parenting literature on families of color in the United States.

Extensive work has conceptualized parental ethnic-racial socialization as a collection of multiple practices, with researchers sorting ethnic-racial socialization approaches into themes based on the content of the messages and activities (Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). In the most extensive literature review on the topic to date, Hughes and colleagues (2006) organized the substantive content of parental ethnic-racial socialization along four general practices, which in the context of more current literature can be understood as (a) *pride and heritage socialization*, (b) *bias socialization*, (c) *promotion of mistrust*, and (d) *egalitarianism*.

Pride and heritage socialization. Pride and heritage socialization refers to a collection of parenting approaches that proactively promote cultural pride and knowledge through teaching children about their indigenous cultural customs, history, heritage, and belonging (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994).[ii] Examples of pride and heritage socialization include celebrating cultural holidays, taking cultural museum trips, conversing about the historical accomplishments of same-race members, watching and discussing racially focused films, and cooking culturally traditional foods. Pride and heritage socialization is the most commonly studied approach of parental ethnic-racial socialization, and it has been positively associated with adaptive outcomes for students of color in academics, social life, and mental health (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Wang & Huguley, 2012).

Bias socialization. Bias socialization is the second most commonly studied ethnic-racial socialization practice. It encompasses cultural messages that have been forged in reaction to a broader racially subordinating ecological context, and that accordingly teach children to anticipate, process, and/or cope with discrimination events (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994). Studies of the effectiveness of bias socialization on promoting identity, academic, and

mental health outcomes among youth have produced mixed findings (Cooper & McLlyod, 2011; Lesane-Brown, 2006), and recent scholarship has sought to identify potential moderators of bias socialization effects, including parent-child relational quality, in-tandem use with pride and heritage socialization approaches, and the age of the receiving youth (Cooper & McLlyod, 2011; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Wang & Huguley, 2012). Most bias socialization operationalizations can also be cross-cut by two additional distinctions that are acknowledged but not well studied in the literature: (a) whether a parent is simply raising awareness of bias and discrimination versus providing actual coping skills and (b) whether the bias socialization practices are being employed in response to discriminatory experiences versus in preparation for future encounters (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Promotion of mistrust. The promotion of mistrust concerns the degree to which parents endorse the need for wariness of members of other ethnic or racial groups (Biafora et al., 1993; Hughes et al., 2006). Mistrust approaches include advocating for caution or even avoidance of other groups in social settings (e.g., dating, friendships) as well as in institutional engagements (e.g., utilizing same-race physicians). Studies of the promotion of mistrust are much less common than those of pride and heritage socialization practices (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). This scarcity is a function of the fact that most parents of color tend *not* to engage in the promotion of mistrust, and when it is used, it tends to be among parents who report more frequent discrimination experiences themselves (Hughes & Chen, 1997). In the few studies that do exist, the promotion of mistrust has been negatively associated with desired developmental outcomes, such as academic self-esteem and prosocial behaviors (Biafora et al., 1993; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

Egalitarianism. Egalitarianism refers to parental emphases on mainstream cultural values or affective norms, which in some cases include cultural assimilation to the mainstream at the expense of one's home culture expressions (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hamm, 2001; Hamm & Coleman, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Egalitarian strategies emphasize values and habits for success, downplay the role of race in society, encourage the adoption of mainstream cultural norms (e.g., using standard English at all times, dominant styles of dress), promote color-blind beliefs, and/or omit racial discussions altogether (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural mainstreaming approaches are often employed with the purpose of ensuring success in mainstream society or coping with actual or potential racism and discrimination (Hamm & Coleman, 2001; Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Studies assessing the effects of egalitarian ethnic-racial socialization are also relatively scarce (Yasui, 2015), but existing inquiries have found that ethnic-racial socialization approaches that deemphasize ethnic-racial identity are suboptimal for youth of color. Such approaches have demonstrated negative associations with psychoeducational outcomes (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002) and diminished effects on academic performance, as relative to the use of pride and bias socialization strategies (Bowman & Howard, 1985).

In sum, parental ethnic-racial socialization represents a multi-faceted suite of approaches commonly employed in families of color in response to racialized social and institutional contexts. Globally, the construct is associated with an array of positive developmental outcomes (e.g., academic performance, mental health, and social behaviors), although the average effect size and actual practical significance of these associations across studies is still unknown. Examinations of individual ethnic-racial socialization approaches and their effects have produced wide-ranging results, including both positive and negative impacts on desired outcomes such as

identity and self-esteem. Among the most common practices, only pride and heritage socialization has consistently been associated with prosocial outcomes. Evidence for the effects of bias socialization lacks consensus across the literature, while studies addressing egalitarianism and the promotion of mistrust are scarce. Given the range of findings across studies, there is a strong need for meta-analytic estimates to solidify the fields' understanding of the associations between ethnic-racial socialization practices and identity outcomes.

Conceptualizations and Dimensions of Ethnic-Racial Identity

As with ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic identity and racial identity are closely related concepts that overlap frequently in the literature. The processes of ethnic and racial identity development have been described as those whereby people draw increased and stable connections between their ethnic-racial group membership and self-conceptions (Chatman, Eccles, & Malanchuk, 2005; Phinney, 1996). Because ethnic and racial identity are both associated with similar experiences that inform one's claims regarding group membership as well as beliefs and attitudes about that group membership (Schwartz et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), we use the term *ethnic-racial identity* as an integrative label for this global construct.

Among youth of color, a strong ethnic-racial identity positively predicts several prosocial developmental outcomes, including senses of well-being and self-esteem (Kiang et al., 2006; Phinney, 1991; Smith & Silva, 2011) and academic motivation and achievement (Chavous et al., 2008; Hughes et al., 2009). As with ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity has also been demonstrated to have multiple facets. Rivas-Drake et al.'s (2014) comprehensive review of the effects of ethnic-racial identity on developmental outcomes consolidated the extant

conceptualizations into five main dimensions that can be understood as (a) *exploration*, (b) *resolution*, (c) *centrality*, (d) *positive affect*, and (e) *public regard*.

Exploration. The exploration dimension of ethnic-racial identity refers to the extent to which an individual is in the process of exploring what their group membership means to them (Phinney, 1989). Building on existing racial- and ego-identity developmental theory (Cross, 1978; Marcia, 1980), Phinney (1988, 1989) identified four main ethnic-racial identity development stages, the third of which is the exploration stage. Phinney noted that while parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices may initially contribute to an unchallenged set of ethnic-racial identity beliefs (i.e., a foreclosed identity), exploration can be triggered by "encounter" experiences which may either (a) raise a challenge to previously unquestioned ethnic-racial identity meaning that children had gleaned from parents or (b) signal the significance of race and ethnicity to a previously unaware youth (Cross, 1978; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1988). Once this exploration stage is triggered, youth begin to engage in active searching regarding their ethnic-racial identity meaning without commitment to any single interpretation (Phinney, 1988, 1989). This searching phase can involve a variety of activities, including media consumption related to the history and cultural norms of their group, as well as seeking membership in same-race collectives that increase exposure to and experiences with group norms and beliefs. Because children in this exploration phase are actively seeking new ethnic-racial stimuli in their learning and environment, it is plausible that they are more receptive to ethnic-racial socialization relative to children in other phases with fewer self-exploration interests.

Resolution. Resolution is proximal to the exploration status in the ethnic-racial identity development literature. Resolution refers to the post-exploration condition where one has searched for possible identity meanings and consciously settled on a meaning-making system

(Cross, 1978; Marcia, 1966; Phinney, 1989). While resolved identities are considered stable, they may fluctuate as the individual encounters new relevant information and experiences (Phinney, 1989). Additionally, the meanings held within resolved ethnic-racial identities can vary among individuals in the same group (e.g., personal beliefs on the importance of race, separatist versus integrationist values; see Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Resolved ethnic-racial identities tend to be positively associated with a range of healthy psychological outcomes, including self-esteem, learning engagement, and mental health (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006).

Centrality. The centrality dimension of ethnic-racial identity addresses the importance of one's group membership to one's self-concept, particularly as relative to other identity dimensions (e.g., gender, religion, nationality; Sellers et al., 1997). Similar to resolution, centrality can be high or low independent of the specific meaning one makes of an ethnic-racial identity, as one can hold their ethnic-racial identity to be more or less important regardless of the specific beliefs associated with it (Carter, 2005; Sellers et al., 1997). Overall, higher centrality has been tied to positive outcomes for youth of color, including higher peer acceptance and greater resilience in the face of discrimination (Chavous et al., 2008; Rock et al., 2011).

Positive affect. The positive affect dimension of ethnic-racial identity incorporates two concepts: (a) *belongingness*, or the degree to which an individual feels membership in and connectedness to their ethnic-racial identity group and (b) *private regard*, or an individual's evaluation of their ethnic-racial group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Belongingness and private regard are positively correlated with each other and are often measured together (Phinney, 1990; Sellers et al., 1997), which is sensible given that people feel better about group membership when they hold that group in high esteem. Positive affect has been associated with adaptive

psychosocial and educational outcomes, including better self-esteem, academic engagement, and mental health (Hughes et al., 2009; Mandara, Richards, Gaylord-Harden, & Ragsdale, 2009).

Public regard. The public regard dimension of ethnic-racial identity includes beliefs about how those of other ethnic-racial groups in the broader society perceive one's own group (Sellers et al., 1997). Positive public regard has been associated with favorable mental health outcomes—for example, fewer somatic symptoms—whereas lower public regard has been shown to correlate with higher levels of perceived discrimination, an outcome that is in turn associated with greater stress levels (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009a, 2009b). However, lower public regard may also hold some benefits, as it has been shown to offset the effects of discrimination and social stratification experiences on other psychological functioning (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009b; Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers et al., 2006).

In sum, ethnic-racial identity is a multi-dimensional construct with five prominent dimensions. Both global ethnic-racial identity and its subdimensions have been positively associated with mental health and educational outcomes. As such, stronger ethnic-racial identities have been considered adaptive traits for children of color; yet, because researchers have given limited comparative attention to which ethnic-racial socialization practices relate most strongly to identity outcomes, how to best cultivate strong ethnic-racial identity traits remains an open question.

The Relation between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Identity development is broadly influenced by parents' socializing tactics (e.g., messaging, behavioral reinforcements, relational approaches, modeling), which collectively transmit a set of values, behaviors, and expectations to children in order to help them become functioning members of society (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Liable, Thompson, & Froimson, 2015;

Smetana, Robinson, & Rote, 2015). The precise identity targets of these socialization processes are subject to cultural and ecological variation, with particular sensitivity given to the socio-historical context in which families operate (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). For many families of color in the United States, unique socio-historical ecologies often present distinct developmental challenges that disproportionately subject their group to inhibitive social and material environments (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1999). These environmental threats are psychologically consequential for children of color: Child development in such racialized contexts is associated with diminished group membership-related beliefs around ability, efficacy, and self-worth (Simpkins, Fredericks, & Eccles, 2015; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wang & Degol, 2014; Wang & Degol, 2016). As such, parents of color often have the burden of preparing their children to navigate these racialized material and psychological contexts in addition to supporting traditional identity-related socialization goals (e.g., social, intellectual, and character-related ways of being; Spencer, 1999).

In response, many parents of color explicitly work toward cultivating strength-based ethnic-racial identities in children—that is, identities that tie prosocial expectations, values, and behaviors to group membership—with the aim of fostering resilience in the face of interpersonal bias and racially stratified opportunity structures (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). These ethnic-racial socialization strategies are widely prominent: Estimates have indicated that 60% of all families of color report using ethnic-racial socialization, while appraisals among African American families are as high as 90% (Hughes et al., 2006).

Links between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity have garnered much attention from researchers (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French, Coleman, & DiLorenzo, 2013).

While it is likely that there is a complex reciprocity in the association between parents' ethnic-racial socialization approaches and children's ethnic-racial identity over time (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), most studies to date have considered the relationship simply in terms of the direct effects of parents' socialization approaches on youths' identity outcomes. Findings across several dynamics of ethnic-racial socialization and identity associations have been inconsistent in ways that are likely attributable to underexplored moderators, including (a) the multifaceted natures of both parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity, (b) the developmental level of child recipients of ethnic-racial socialization, and (c) the degree to which socialization effects may vary across ethnic-racial groups.

Types of parental ethnic-racial socialization. Studies examining how distinct types of parental ethnic-racial socialization relate to ethnic-racial identity tend to examine how specific practices relate to a global ethnic-racial identity construct. What is striking across these cases is that while studies of global ethnic-racial socialization effects on identity tend to yield positive associations (Stevenson, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994), estimations of relationships between individual ethnic-racial socialization practices and a global ethnic-racial identity have been inconsistent in magnitude and direction (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French, Coleman, & DiLorenzo, 2013; Gartner, Kiang, & Supple, 2014; Hughes et al., 2006). For example, in one of the few multidimensional studies of ethnic-racial socialization effects on identity, Murray and Mandara (2003) found that bias socialization and promotion of mistrust had negative links with adolescent African Americans' ethnic-racial identity, while pride and heritage socialization related positively to these identities. Further, Rivas-Drake et al. (2009a) found that pride and heritage socialization positively predicted both identity centrality and positive affect in a multi-ethnic sample; however, bias socialization did not predict either identity centrality or positive

affect. Rather, bias socialization was negatively associated with public regard. These studies provide compelling evidence that ethnic-racial socialization effects may vary by the type of ethnic-racial socialization used; yet, very few studies in the field have estimated the relative effects of multiple socialization dimensions.

      Dimensions of ethnic-racial identity. Similar to studies of ethnic-racial socialization dimensions, studies that examine how specific aspects of ethnic-racial identity are related to ethnic-racial socialization also tend to test the associations between these dimensions and a more global ethnic-racial socialization construct. In this regard, global measures of parental ethnic-racial socialization have been positively associated with various ethnic-racial identity subdimensions, including having a resolved ethnic-racial identity status, higher levels of centrality, and a stronger positive affect (Fatimilehin, 1999; Knight et al., 1993; Murray & Mandara, 2003; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). As with previously discussed research, these studies have also tended to examine associations with particular subdimensions of identity in isolation without comparative estimations across identity subtypes. Therefore, it is currently impossible to estimate which dimensions of ethnic-racial identity are most acutely receptive to parental ethnic-racial socialization approaches. Although there is a large body of research examining mostly individual dimension effects in the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity, studies of the relative dimension effects for both constructs are scarce and sorely needed.

      Developmental level of children. Extant research has demonstrated that parents adapt their ethnic-racial socialization practices in response to their child's developmental competencies and life experiences. For example, studies suggest that bias socialization techniques may be used more frequently with older, rather than younger youth (Fatimilehin, 1999; McHale et al., 2006)

and that parents are more likely to use multiple types of ethnic-racial socialization practices with older children (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Meanwhile, identity researchers have also validated the developmental nature of ethnic-racial identity, most notably including the generally sequential occurrences of exploration and resolution identity statuses in later adolescence (Cross, 1978; Marcia, 1966; Phinney, 1989). It is clear then from existing studies that both parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity look different depending on the age of the youth in question.

What is less clear, however, is the degree to which these developmental trends in both constructs moderate the relationship between them. It is likely, for example, that because older adolescents are more actively exploring their ethnic-racial identity meaning, they may be more responsive to ethnic-racial socialization practices from parents than youth who either have not yet developed any racial awareness or who are blindly committed to their parents' ethnic-racial identity meaning without critical consideration. Indeed, there are some suggestive patterns across the literature that tout socialization effects as more pronounced among older samples. For instance, Marshall (1995) found that global ethnic-racial socialization practices were negatively correlated with the child's global ethnic-racial identity among elementary school students. However, Hughes et al. (2009) found a mixed result among a slightly older 4th through 6th grade sample: Pride and heritage socialization was positively related to feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group, whereas bias messages were negatively related to ethnic identity affirmation. In contrast, Riina and McHale's (2012) study of older and younger adolescent sibling dyads found that older adolescents' experiences with pride and heritage socialization and bias socialization were both significantly and positively related to ethnic identity, while for younger adolescents, bias socialization was not at all related to identity outcomes. Collectively, these examples are

reflective of the general pattern observed in relevant studies: Ethnic-racial identity statuses among older youth seem to be more positively receptive to ethnic-racial socialization practices than are the statuses among younger respondents. To date, these developmental variations in effects have rarely been systematically examined across the literature.

Ethnic-racial group differences. Differences between ethnic-racial groups also likely contribute to inconsistent findings on the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. The processes and themes of parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices may vary greatly from one ethnic-racial group to another due to differences in socio-historical contexts and generational immigration histories (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French, Coleman, & DiLorenzo, 2013). Indeed, several studies have found variation in the approaches of ethnic-racial socialization employed across groups, with African Americans often reporting more bias socialization or pride and heritage socialization than others (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1999; French et al., 2013; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009a).

With different ethnic-racial groups emphasizing different types of ethnic-racial socialization, we might expect that globally measured ethnic-racial socialization practices may demonstrate substantial group differences in associations with identity. However, few studies have directly assessed potential group-level variation in the effects of ethnic-racial socialization on ethnic-racial identity, globally or otherwise. In one exception, French and colleagues (2013) found that among students at a university in southern California, pride and heritage socialization practices were a stronger predictor of ethnic-racial identity for Asian Americans and Latinx's than for African Americans. Aside from this study, no other inquiries have directly compared the effects of ethnic-racial socialization on identity across multiple ethnic-racial groups, leaving the estimation of such differences largely undetermined in the extant literature.

A Need for a Meta-Analytic Review and Synthesis

Despite the longstanding call for a systematic synthesis, there are currently too few studies that comprehensively examine the relational dynamics between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity among youth of color (Demo & Hughes, 1990). To date, only three directly relevant comprehensive reviews exist: two literature reviews on the conceptualization and impact of parental ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006) and one review on measurement of parental ethnic-racial socialization (Yasui, 2015). To our knowledge, no research has systematically synthesized the literature and estimated the summative magnitude of the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity using a meta-analytic approach, although such an analysis is readily possible. Given that nuanced examinations involving specific dimensions of both constructs have yielded inconsistent and wide-ranging findings, an examination that is attentive to not only relative effect sizes, but also to key moderators of effects would help clarify the mechanisms by which parental ethnic-racial socialization relates to desired ethnic-racial identity outcomes.

In this meta-analysis, we will address five broad questions: (a) Globally, what is the overall strength of the link between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity across studies in the field?; (b) Which types of parental ethnic-racial socialization approaches have the strongest positive links with ethnic-racial identity?; (c) Which dimensions of ethnic-racial identity are most strongly associated with parental ethnic-racial socialization practices?; (d) Does the strength of the association vary by development statuses?; and (e) Does the strength of the association vary by ethnic or racial group?

In response to these questions, we hypothesized that (a) parental ethnic-racial socialization will have a positive overall association with ethnic-racial identity. Given the current literature regarding the potential moderators, we also predicted that the strongest links between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity will be for (b) pride and heritage socialization, the most consistent predictor in the literature, (c) the exploration dimension of ethnic-racial identity, where youth may be most receptive to ethnic-racial stimuli, (d) during later adolescence, due to the salience of identity development at that time, and (e) among African American youth, due to their group's long and pervasive history with racism in America.

Methods

Literature Search Procedures

We used an assortment of search strategies to retrieve both published and unpublished work examining the influence of parental ethnic-racial socialization practices. Computer searches of the following electronic reference databases were conducted: PsycINFO, SocINDEX, Education Resources Information Clearinghouse (ERIC), JSTOR, and ProQuest Dissertation and Theses. For each database, a series of search terms was used that applied the appropriate truncation and Boolean techniques to achieve an inclusive yet focused search: ("racial socialization" OR "ethnic socialization" OR "cultural socialization" OR "preparation for bias" OR "promotion of mistrust" OR "egalitarianism") AND (parent* OR mother* OR father* OR patern* OR matern*). In addition, Social Sciences Citation Index was searched for documents citing the Hughes et al. (2006) and Lesane-Brown (2006) narrative review articles on parental ethnic-racial socialization. These searches located a total of 1,966 potentially relevant documents through the end of 2016 for initial review.

To supplement searches of electronic databases, the reference sections of relevant documents were examined for cited works that also might be applicable to the topic, resulting in 27 additional documents of potential relevance. Moreover, a direct contact strategy was used to request items from individuals who might have access to literature not included in the reference and citation databases. Researchers who had three or more articles on the topic in our search results were contacted via electronic mail regarding any relevant documents that were not publicly available. This action resulted in an additional four documents, bringing the total number of documents screened for this study to 1,997. The authors subsequently screened each record by examining the title and abstract. If the authors judged the abstract to be eligible for inclusion based on the criteria below, or if eligibility was unclear based on the abstract alone, the full document was obtained for further examination. Abstract review screening narrowed the sample to 303 documents.

Analysis Inclusion Criteria

To be included in the analysis, studies must have examined the relation between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity specifically (e.g., rather than parental ethnic-racial socialization associations with academic achievement, psychosocial functioning, or other developmental outcomes), and they had to do so among samples that were developmentally within the range of kindergarten through college age. These two criteria narrowed the number of relevant documents to 118. Remaining studies were further scrutinized for whether their measurement of ethnic-racial identity outcomes approximated one of the five prominent dimensions outlined by Rivas-Drake et al. (2014; i.e., exploration, resolution, centrality, positive affect, and public regard). Additionally, we included any measures that conceived of composite ethnic-racial identity scores as global measures. Within studies, all ethnic-racial identity

measures needed to be self-reported to ensure that respondents' assessments of their own identity were being considered. Thus, studies using parent reports of children's identities were excluded.

In addition, the operationalization and measurement of parental ethnic-racial socialization were inspected for all prospective studies. For our purposes, parental ethnic-racial socialization was broadly defined as the transmission of messages related to race and ethnicity from adult caretakers to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies of practices meeting that broad criteria were then further coded to fit within our adaptation of Hughes et al.'s (2006) four prominent approaches or practices of parental ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., pride and heritage socialization, bias socialization, egalitarianism, and the promotion of mistrust). Composite unidimensional scores of ethnic-racial socialization practices were also included as global measures (See Table 1 for prominent labels in the literature that fit within each practice). Measurements of ethnic-racial socialization based on all reporters (i.e., parent, child, and observer) were considered for analysis. All but two studies used parent or child self-reports of ethnic-racial socialization practices, and a post-hoc analysis assessed whether the socialization reporter moderated study associations.

To meet methodological inclusion criteria, studies needed to be correlational in which there was either a direct calculation of a bivariate correlation coefficient between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity or enough information for this effect to be computed. Four sampling restrictions were also imposed. First, studies had to be written in English; hence, all non-English studies were excluded. Second, the sample population must have included Latinx, African American, and/or Asian American participants. All other races, such as Native American samples, were excluded due to limited numbers of studies. Third, studies that focused on adopted samples were excluded. Finally, any duplicate records were accounted for

and consolidated to one entry, including published and unpublished versions of the same studies as well as identical analyses from the same authors and samples documented in separate manuscripts. After incorporating these additional qualifications, 68 articles were retained for analysis. See Figure 1 for a visual representation of the search and inclusion results.

Information Retrieved from Studies

Key design characteristics of each study were coded when available, including: (a) whether the study was a published research report, (b) setting characteristics, (c) participant characteristics, (d) type of parental ethnic-racial socialization measure, (e) type of ethnic-racial identity measure, and (f) estimate of the relation between parental ethnic-racial socialization approach and identity outcome of interest. We used simple bivariate correlation coefficients, r, as measures of the direction and magnitude of the relation. Table 2 presents a list of all information retrieved from studies.

Coder Reliability

Studies that met inclusion criteria were double-coded using a process that has shown high reliability in previous analyses (Rosenthal, 1987). The third author coded every report, and one of two research assistants double-coded them. Discrepancies were noted and discussed by the coders, and if agreement was not reached, another author was consulted. The initial agreement between coders was 94% across all articles before discrepancies were resolved.

Methods of Data Integration

Before conducting any statistical integration of the effect sizes, the number of positive and negative effects was counted, and the range of effects was assessed. We examined the distribution of sample sizes and effect sizes to determine whether the studies contained any

statistical outliers. Grubbs' (1950) test was applied, and if outliers were identified, these values were winsorized by setting them at the value of their nearest neighbor.

Although both published and unpublished studies were included in our search, there is still the possibility that not all studies examining the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity were obtained. Therefore, Duval and Tweedie's (2000) trim-and-fill procedure was employed. This procedure tested whether the distribution of effect sizes used in the analyses was consistent with that expected if estimates were normally distributed. Finally, funnel plotting and Egger's test were conducted to assess the potential for publication bias across studies.

An inverse-variance weighting procedure was used to calculate average effect sizes across all comparisons, and 95% confidence intervals were calculated. If the confidence interval did not contain zero, then the null hypothesis (i.e., parental ethnic-racial socialization had no relation to the ethnic-racial identity outcome) was rejected. Possible moderators of the parental ethnic-racial socialization link with ethnic-racial identity were tested via homogeneity analyses (Cooper & Hedges, 1994; Hedges & Olkin, 1985). To hold violations of independence to a minimum while also retaining as much information as possible, we used a shifting unit of analysis approach (see Cooper (2010) for a fuller description). In this approach, multiple correlations for the same outcome within a sample were averaged so that each sample contributed only one effect to the overall analysis or each category of a moderator.

All analyses were conducted twice, once using fixed-effect assumptions and once using random-effect assumptions (Hedges & Vevea, 1998). In a fixed-effects model, it is assumed that the only source of error explaining the variation in effect size between studies is due to sampling error or differences among participants across studies. However, it is possible to view studies as

containing random influences, thereby making it important to also conduct a random-effects

model that assumes a study-level variance component to be an additional source of random

variation. Rather than opt for a single model of error, we chose to apply both models to our data.

These sensitivity analyses allowed for the examination of the effects of different assumptions on

the outcomes of the meta-analysis (Iyengar & Greenhouse, 2009).

Results

The literature searches uncovered 68 studies that estimated the correlation between

parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity among non-adopted, United States-

based samples featuring youth between kindergarten and college ages. The 68 studies reported

627 separate correlation estimates based on approximately 90 independent samples of children.

For types of ethnic-racial socialization practices, 311 of the correlations measured pride and

heritage socialization; 136 measured bias socialization; 43 measured the promotion of mistrust;

54 measured egalitarianism; and 83 had a global score for ethnic-racial socialization. For

measures of ethnic-racial identity, 92 correlations measured exploration; 71 measured resolution;

90 measured centrality; 214 measured positive affect; 57 measured public regard; and 103

included a global score for ethnic-racial identity.

Of the 627 correlations, 45 were from an elementary-school sample (i.e., kindergarten to

fifth grade); 44 were from a middle-school sample (i.e., sixth to eighth grade); 248 were from a

high-school sample (i.e., ninth to twelfth grade); 134 were from a college-age sample; and 155

were from a mixed-grade sample. In terms of ethnic or racial groups, 51 correlations reported a

sample of Asian Americans; 318 reported African Americans; 164 reported Latinx samples; and

94 had multiple ethnic-racial groups reported in the study.

The 68 studies were completed between the years 1993 and 2016. The sample sizes

ranged from 24 to 805, with a median size of 197. The mean sample size was 210.72, with a

standard deviation of 139.09, suggesting a normal distribution. Grubbs' test revealed significant

sample size outliers (samples of 805, 750, and 749 were winsorized to 671), but there were no

significant outliers among the correlations. The effect sizes of the correlations ranged from -.51

to .77. There were 110 negative effects, 507 positive effects, and 10 effects for which the

correlation was zero.

Overall Correlation

The weighted average correlation between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial

identity across all studies and samples was $r = 0.18$ (95% CI = 0.16, 0.19) under a fixed-effects

model and $r = 0.18$ (95 % CI = 0.15, 0.22) under a random-effects model, $Q(89) = 460.94$, $p <$

.0001 (see Table 3 for overall effects). Trim-and-fill analyses indicated that the link between

parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity would still be positive and

significantly different from zero, although the magnitude increased slightly even after trimming

10 values under a fixed-effects model and 13 values under random-effects (see Table 4). In

addition, a moderation analysis for publication bias (Table 6) as well as funnel plotting and

Egger's test (Figure 2) indicated no difference between the average effects of published and

unpublished reports. Overall, findings suggest that across all relevant measures, samples, and

analyses, there is a moderate but substantial relationship between the global constructs of

parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and children of color's ethnic-racial identity.

Moderator Analyses

We performed additional analyses to determine the relationship between parental ethnic-

racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity using four theoretically derived moderators (see

Tables 5 and 6): (a) the type of parental ethnic-racial socialization practice, (b) the specific

ethnic-racial identity dimension assessed, (c) child grade-level in school, and (d) child

ethnic/racial group. All four moderators were significant under both fixed- and random-effects

assumptions, suggesting that each plays a role in how ethnic-racial socialization relates to ethnic-

racial identity.

Parental ethnic-racial socialization. For parental ethnic-racial socialization practice as a

moderator (see Table 5), findings confirmed that most ethnic-racial socialization practices were

associated with global ethnic-racial identity, with pride and heritage socialization having the

strongest relationship (r=.23, p <.0001). Specifically, pairwise comparisons confirmed that on

average and under both fixed-effects (FE) and random-effects (RE) assumptions, the correlations

between pride and heritage socialization and ethnic-racial identity were stronger and

significantly different from the correlations for bias socialization (r=.08; p <.0001; FE:

$Q(1)$=149.66, p <.0001; RE: $Q(1)$=23.78, p <.0001), egalitarianism (r=.12, p <.0001; FE:

$Q(1)$=40.02, p <.0001; RE: $Q(1)$=17.32, p <.0001), and global socialization measures (r=.16, p

<.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=21.03, p <.0001; RE: $Q(1)$=9.38, p <.01). Among these major ethnic-racial

socialization categories, only the promotion of mistrust was not a significant predictor.

Ethnic-racial identity. Among ethnic-racial identity dimensions (see Table 6),

moderator analysis revealed that all dimensions were positively and significantly associated with

global ethnic-racial socialization except for public regard, which held a significant negative

association (r =-.08, p <.0001) (see Table 5). Among the individual identity dimensions, pairwise

comparisons confirmed significant differences between effects, with the exploration dimension

having the strongest association with parental ethnic-racial socialization across studies (r=.34, p

<.0001). Specifically, the average correlation between parental ethnic-racial socialization

practices and ethnic-racial identity was significantly greater for exploration than it was for centrality (r=.17, p <.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=91.66, p < .0001; RE: $Q(1)$=13.72, p < .0001), positive affect (r=.15, p<.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=154.19, p < .0001; RE: $Q(1)$=17.95, p < .0001), public regard (r=-.08, p<.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=417.08, p < .0001; RE: $Q(1)$=62.13, p < .0001), and global measures of ethnic-racial identity (r=.17, p <.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=103.73, p < .0001; RE: $Q(1)$=8.86, p < .01). However, the correlation for resolution (r=.28, p <.01) was only significantly different under fixed assumptions (FE: $Q(1)$= 11.89, p <.01; RE: $Q(1)$= 1.33, p = .25).

Developmental age. For the grade-level moderator (see Table 6), ethnic-racial socialization was positively associated with ethnic-racial identity at every era of schooling, with the strongest relationship among studies of high-school students (r=.26, p <.0001). Pairwise comparisons confirmed that the average correlation between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity during high school was stronger and significantly different when compared to those in elementary school (r=.10, p <.0001; FE: $Q(1) = 43.32$, p <.0001; RE: $Q(1) = 19.58$, p <.0001) and middle school (r=.04, p <.05; FE: $Q(1) = 71.93$, p <.0001; RE: $Q(1) = 17.62$, p <.0001) under both fixed-effects and random-effects assumptions. However, the average correlation in high school was significantly different from the average correlation in college under fixed-effects (r=.22, p <.0001; FE: $Q(1) = 4.02$, p <.05) but not under random-effects assumptions (RE: $Q(1) = 0.99$, p =.32).

Ethnicity-race. For the ethnicity-race moderator (see Table 5), the overall association between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity was positive for African Americans, Latinxs, and Asian Americans, with the strongest relationship found among Latinxs (r=.25, p <.0001). Pairwise comparisons for ethnicity/race confirmed that the average correlation between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity for Latinxs was

significantly stronger when compared to African Americans (r=.13, $p <$.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=47.40, p

$<$.0001; RE: $Q(1)$=17.68, $p <$.0001) and Asian Americans (r=.17, $p <$.0001; FE: $Q(1)$=3.81, p

$\leq$.05; RE: $Q(1)$=5.02, $p <$.05).

Discussion

Ethnic-racial identity plays an important role in the development of academic and

psychological outcomes for youth of color (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Understandably, parents of

color employ various ethnic-racial socialization practices in hopes of cultivating strong identities

in their children (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015; Neblett et al., 2012). To date, the field

has been able to document both the high prevalence of these efforts as well as the statistical

correlations between various conceptions of ethnic-racial socialization and identity constructs.

However, both the optimal configurations and practical significance of these approaches have

remained unclear.

In response, this meta-analysis examined extant research to estimate the overall strength

of the relationship between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity across studies as

well as the degree to which theorized factors moderate the associations between socialization and

identity. Findings suggest that while overall parental ethnic-racial socialization is moderately

associated with ethnic-racial identity, effects vary across social and developmental contexts in

accordance with the socialization practices being used, dimensions of ethnic-racial identity being

targeted, ages of children being socialized, and ethnic or racial groups under consideration.

Global Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity

While the effect size between global ethnic-racial socialization and global ethnic-racial

identity is moderate ($r = .18$), it is likely that the strength of this association is substantially

attenuated by broad ranges in operationalization, measurement, and sampling methods across the

literature. Specifically, variations in the magnitude and direction of effects across the field are likely due to a lack of consensus regarding the conceptualization and measurement of constructs and contextual variations of ethnic-racial socialization use (e.g., developmental age, ethnic-racial group). Given the breadth of contextual, measurement, and design configurations across studies, we believe that the moderate but substantial global association represents a conservative estimate of the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. This finding provides encouraging validation of the meaningful stability of the relationship across various applications; hence, parents' global ethnic-racial socialization practices seem to be promising for cultivating strong ethnic-racial identity in their children.

Specific Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Results also included important findings on the degree to which individual ethnic-racial socialization practices hold discrete associations with global ethnic-racial identity. First, findings support the notion that pride and heritage socialization is the most prominent predictor of ethnic-racial identity among the ethnic-racial socialization approaches examined here. More importantly, the magnitude of the effect size for pride and heritage socialization ($r = .23$) was stronger than that of the global effect ($r = .18$), thus further validating the assertion that pride and heritage socialization is a main driver of overall ethnic-racial socialization associations with ethnic-racial identity. Among the ethnic-racial socialization practices that could be analyzed in this study, pride and heritage socialization is perhaps the most reliable approach for parents of color when strategizing techniques that promote strong and positive ethnic-racial identities.

Findings also indicate that bias socialization is positively related to ethnic-racial identity. In this case, the smaller effect size ($r = .08$) in conjunction with wide-ranging findings across studies signal the need for further, more nuanced examinations of how bias socialization effects

are moderated by additional factors, such as the identity dimension being considered in bias socialization studies, the discrete dimensions of bias socialization being assessed (e.g., proactive versus reactive, coping versus awareness), or the age of the child being socialized. It is plausible, for example, that bias socialization may be especially predictive of ethnic-racial identity in later adolescence when youth are most intently considering group identity and meaning and more likely to have had previously ethnic-racial encounter experiences. Variation in associations with identity dimensions across studies is also plausible, such as Rivas-Drake et al.'s (2009a) finding that bias socialization was a uniquely negative predictor of public regard. Such systematic analyses of the literature could ultimately provide pivotal support for contextually tailored bias socialization approaches as a component in a suite of optimal ethnic-racial socialization practices.

In a somewhat unanticipated finding, egalitarianism was positively associated with ethnic-racial identity across studies. In fact, egalitarianism proved to be an even stronger predictor of identity than did bias socialization. This finding is surprising given that the hallmarks of egalitarian practices are thought to be centered on color-blind values and/or mainstream affective norms. However, this meta-analytic result may be attributable to currently underexplored variation in how egalitarianism is captured across the literature, as it has been disparately operationalized with and without indicators of race de-emphasis (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Specifically, egalitarianism has often been captured by the promotion of values and ethics alone in ways that do not require cultural assimilation to the mainstream or outright rejection of a more centralized ethnic-racial identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Lesane-Brown, 2006). In these cases of values-focused messaging, egalitarianism is less

likely to be at odds with pride and heritage socialization or bias socialization, and as such, it is less likely to be negatively related to global ethnic-racial identity.

Further, it is possible that many parents of color who promote values-based egalitarian ideals as part of their ethnic-racial socialization repertoire may not only be simultaneously promoting centrality and values, but these parents may also be promoting a more value-driven ethnic-racial identity ideology over one driven by affect-related assimilation beliefs. Indeed, Carter (2005) discussed this phenomenon in her study of urban Black and Latinx youth, wherein many who presented as cultural mainstreamers still had strong ethnic-racial identity meanings that were not reliant on affective same-race norms. To date, though, extant measures of ethnic-racial identity ideology have focused on inter-group related beliefs (Sellers et al., 1997), and as such, future measurement work is needed to explore additional ideological domains, including how affect, values, and intergroup relations beliefs are prioritized in identity ideologies of people of color.

Moreover, there are more complex cultural mainstreaming socialization strategies, such as accommodation without assimilation (Ogbu, 2005, 2008) and bi-cultural coping (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015; Hamm, 2001). In these frameworks, youth of color are advised to vary their personal affect as a function of their social context, such as talking or dressing one way at school versus at home (Carter, 2005; Ogbu, 2005). Currently, none of the examinations of these multifaceted socialization approaches have estimated how they predict ethnic-racial identity. Future ethnic-racial socialization research should better capture more nuanced approaches to assimilation strategies in families, particularly as they may vary across the immigration statuses of groups. Furthermore, there are currently too few studies of egalitarian socialization associations with identity to systematically analyze moderation effects of discrete

egalitarian-related messages. Such distinctions should be explored in future studies to see if the degree of ethnic-racial de-emphasis in egalitarian messages produces any substantive variation in effect size or direction in relation to identity outcomes.

The promotion of mistrust was not significantly associated with identity in this meta-analysis. However, it is worth noting that there are markedly low levels of promotion of mistrust reported across extant studies (French et al., 2013; Hughes & Chen, 1997). For example, Hughes & Chen (1997) found that no more than 10-15% of African American parents had reported using the promotion of mistrust at all in the past year, and less than 2.5% reported doing so "very often." Given these and other low-reporting frequencies, the ability to actually observe the significant effects of this approach with current measures is low. While the current study provides little support for the promotion of mistrust as a prosocial strategy for parents of color, future studies should incorporate measurement and sampling methods that are specifically designed to capture more variation in respondents' levels of promotion of mistrust activities and experiences.

Finally, it is worth noting that after decades of research, there is still widespread inconsistency in the nomenclature around ethnic-racial socialization and its subdomains across studies. Our review process found the operationalizations of disparately named global and major subconstructs to be fairly consistent across studies; nevertheless, this range of labels for similar or identical phenomena (e.g., cultural socialization, racial pride socialization, and ethnic socialization; preparation for bias, racial barrier socialization, racial socialization) diminishes the field's ability to efficiently organize and communicate theoretical concepts and emerging findings. For the purpose of this study, we chose terminology from the field that both accurately captures the operationalizations of major constructs while avoiding confusion where terms may

have multiple meanings across literatures. Considering the synergy in operationalizations across terms, leading scholars in the field should invest collaborative effort toward bringing consensus to the ethnic-racial socialization nomenclature.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Ethnic-Racial Identity Dimensions

The relationship between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity was significant for all identity dimensions examined in this study, particularly for identity exploration. Such a finding is sensible, given that an exploration identity status is specifically characterized by engaging with information regarding ethnic-racial identity meaning. It is likely that in this stage, parents' socialization messages and activities—which are inherently laden with meaning-making content—play a role in both encouraging and providing opportunities for exploration activities in youth.

In an extreme sense, one might suspect that the exploration stage is a proxy for exposure to parents' ethnic-racial socialization and that exploration indicators simply capture parent-induced search-like behaviors. We argue that this proxy role is unlikely for a few reasons. Research on ethnic-racial identity development has demonstrated that parents' ethnic-racial socialization approaches first produce foreclosed ethnic-racial identities that are uncontested endorsements of parent-prescribed racial identity meanings, which have been shown to be common in adolescence and distinct from the exploration stage (Phinney 1988, 1989). Along this line, it is likely that parents advocate for a particular ethnic-racial identity interpretation rather than for the open exploration of meanings and a moratorium on commitment—two key characteristics of the exploration stage. Foreclosure then likely plays much more of a proxy role, while exploration presents a more self-directed stage that likely gains intensity from the youth's heightened receptivity to parents' ethnic-racial socialization stimuli. In addition, scholars have

noted that rather than parental practices alone, ethnic-racial "encounter" experiences outside of parental actions play a critical role in triggering the exploration phase of ethnic-racial identity (Cross, 1978; Phinney 1988, 1989). Given the role of these outside forces that move youth from foreclosure to exploration, it is again unlikely that exploration is simply another measure of parental practices.

Among other associations, it is notable that the link between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and public regard had an overall negative correlation. This finding suggests that families who use more frequent or intensive ethnic-racial socialization approaches tend to have children with more negative perceptions of how society views their ethnic-racial group. This premise is sensible considering the prominence of teachings on bias among ethnic-racial socialization practices, which generally aim to help youth anticipate and/or cope with negative group-related treatment in society. It is also worth noting that moderation studies have shown lower public regard—particularly in the context of high levels of other ethnic-racial identity dimensions—to yield positive outcomes by promoting resilience in the face of discrimination (Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). Chavous et al. (2003), for example, found that African American youth who held lower public regard perceptions alongside more positive affect and higher centrality tended to have higher levels of educational persistence than their peers with identity profiles universally high across identity dimensions. Parallel findings in parental ethnic-racial socialization research have demonstrated that bias socialization may play a role in promoting academic outcomes when done in conjunction with pride and heritage socialization (Wang & Huguley, 2012). Taken together, these findings provide support for the overall notion that ethnic-racial socialization is a valuable

contributor to healthy identity development across desired identity subconstructs for youth of color.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Children's Developmental Level

An important finding in the current study is that the association between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity is strongest in later adolescence, particularly in the high-school years. This developmental pattern was further supported by results indicating that the most robust association between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity dimension was for exploration, which is an especially salient identity status during adolescence (Phinney, 1989). This tandem of results is consistent with both the broader identity development literature and research specific to ethnic-racial identity. Adolescence is a time when awareness of the interface between personal identity and group identity increases in general (Harter, 2006), and high school has been shown to be a time when ethnic-racial identity exploration is especially intense for adolescents of color (Phinney, 1989). Our findings lend support to the notion that parental ethnic-racial socialization processes may be most effective during the high-school years.

While we were surprised to see little substantial effect difference between elementary- and middle-school-aged samples, one possible interpretation of this lack of distinction is a developmental threshold effect, whereby a spurt in socialization receptivity occurs once the ethnic-racial identity exploration process intensifies during high school. Indeed, Phinney and colleagues found that in a study of eighth graders, only one-third of students had started ethnic-racial identity searches, while in another study of tenth graders, approximately half had begun ethnic search processes (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). In light of these findings, the relatively modest middle-school effect may signal that ethnic-racial socialization practices

become dramatically more consequential once youth begin to explore their ethnic-racial identity by actively seeking ethnic-racial stimuli.

Alternatively, it is possible that the stronger associations between ethnic-racial socialization and identity at older stages are the result of a cumulative effect in which older youth have simply experienced more socialization over a longer period of time, thus accumulating stronger ethnic-racial identities. Yet, a cumulative effect explanation would fail to account for three key patterns: (a) the abrupt spike in the strength of the association in the high-school years rather than a gradual increase over time, (b) the slight downturn in effects between the high school and emerging adulthood stages, and (c) the parallel insignificant difference in association between the ethnic-racial identity exploration and resolution dimensions. In the cases of both age and identity stage, a cumulative effect would likely present as a continued increase in the strength of the association beyond high school or exploration stages, rather than any decrease or plateauing. Instead, this downturn after high school strongly suggests a stage explanation in which identity exploration during this stage facilitates the highest level of ethnic-racial socialization receptivity of the youth lifespan. Therefore, high school may be the most fertile developmental era for parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices and objectives.

Ethnic-Racial Group Differences

Because of a deeply entrenched and highly visible history of racial subordination in the United States, we hypothesized that across a comprehensive collection of geographies, developmental settings, and ethnic-racial socialization and identity measures, African Americans would demonstrate the strongest relationship between global socialization and identity meta-constructs. Contrary to our hypothesis, Latinxs demonstrated the strongest associations between these socialization and identity outcomes. In fact, of the three groups examined, African

Americans demonstrated the lowest associations between global ethnic-racial socialization and global ethnic-racial identity, a broad-based finding that corroborates the outcome of French and colleagues' (2013) analysis from a single sample of southern California college students. We speculate that these further substantiated racial differences across a range of contexts may be attributable to aforementioned distinctions in the types of ethnic-racial socialization practices emphasized by each group. Given the extended history of uniquely entrenched, structural, and interpersonal anti-black racism in the United States (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2015), it is not surprising that bias socialization is featured more prominently in African American families than it is in Latinx or Asian American families (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1999; French et al., 2013; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009a). Because bias socialization tends to be less strongly associated with ethnic-racial identity than are pride and heritage socialization or egalitarianism, a greater emphasis on bias may limit the overall strength of the association between parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity for African Americans.

Alternatively, qualitative differences in the nature of pride and heritage socialization, bias socialization, and other forms of parental ethnic-racial socialization across cultural contexts could also partially explain ethnic-racial group differences. For example, native language speaking might be an especially powerful part of ethnic-racial socialization—one that would be more common in groups with higher representations of more recent immigrants, like Latinxs and Asian Americans (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, immigration status may be an important factor more generally, with ethnic-racial socialization being more salient in groups that on average have generational histories with more recent arrivals (Hughes, 2006). Indeed, a post-hoc analysis of the limited number of studies that accounted for immigration

statuses did suggest that there were slightly stronger effects for studies featuring immigrant

versus native-born people of color (FE: immigrant $r = .17$, native born $r = .13$; RE: immigrant $r =$

.17, native born $r = .11$). Still, these findings must be interpreted with a great deal of caution

given the very limited number of studies informing them (i.e., only one study included a purely

immigrant sample, and 19 studies included both immigrant and non-immigrant samples).

Ultimately these possible explanations for ethnic-racial differences are speculative, but they still

should be considered in future multiple-group studies.

Methodological Moderators

Several potential methodological moderators were examined in post-hoc analyses.

Results did not vary substantially as a function of whether studies were cross-sectional or

longitudinal in design, and the effects were significant in both cases (FE: longitudinal $r = 0.12$,

cross-sectional $r = .17$; RE: longitudinal $r = 0.14$, cross-sectional $r = .16$; see Table 5). We also

considered testing the effects of observational data against survey data, but too few observational

studies ($n = 2$) were conducted to carry out such an analysis.

Of additional interest was the importance of the socialization reporter—whether parent or

child—which has been suggested as a factor for consideration in prior research (Hughes et al.,

2006). It is plausible that if the majority of studies have children reporting both the socialization

and identity constructs, then it is impossible to establish directionality or account for

confounding sources of the relationship. Our results did confirm that effect sizes in child-

reported studies were larger, although both parent and child reports of global ethnic-racial

socialization were significant predictors of youth ethnic-racial identity (FE: child $r = .21$, parent r

$= .10$; RE: child $r = .22$, parent $r = .09$; see Table 5). Given that all ethnic-racial identity outcomes

were youth-reported, it should be expected that measures with the same reporter will be more

highly associated than measures with different reporters. The most essential issue regarding reporter moderation is that the significance of both parent- and child-reported effects lend additional support to the socialization-to-identity directionality of the relationship. Future studies should examine this reporter moderation effect across multiple dimensions of relationships and in longitudinal designs to clarify the role that reporter plays in these analyses.

Limitations and Future Research Direction

Several limitations of the current analytic design should be considered when interpreting its results. First, despite a strong theoretical basis for parental socialization practices as antecedents in their association with identity formation, the direction of associations between ethnic-racial socialization and identity cannot be assumed based on these results (Cooper, 2010). As with most correlational analyses, the associations demonstrated in our study and the directionality between variables require further testing through experimental and quasi-experimental designs to solidify any causal inferences, particularly for novel and unexpected findings. As such, the current study should serve as a catalyst for more sophisticated longitudinal analyses of these constructs' interplay over time.

Second, while parental ethnic-racial socialization was the focus of this study, there are other impactful socializing influences that contribute to the ethnic-racial identity development of children, such as those from peers, teachers, and the media. Although accounting for these effects was beyond the scope of the current study, alternative ethnic-racial socialization sources and agents should be considered in future analyses in order to determine their effects relative to one another.

Third, because most studies do not report parents' ethnic-background, it was not possible to account for or analyze the associations in interracial families. It is likely that ethnic-racial

socialization usage and effect have unique and important properties in families with more than one race represented across parent-child relationships. In consideration of the growing number of interracial families in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2015), future scholarship should explore both quantitatively and qualitatively the contours of how ethnic-racial socialization and identity associations manifest in various configurations of interracial households.

Fourth, the current study did not account for several potential moderators that may be of interest to the field, including how studies incorporate covariates in their modeling (e.g., general parenting styles, socioeconomic status, or parents' own ethnic-racial beliefs and experiences). Accordingly, future studies should consider examining the moderating effects of key covariates. Additionally, several potentially important moderators—such as geographic region, community type, and data type (e.g., observation versus survey data)—are currently not represented well enough across individual studies to be explored meta-analytically. There is also a need for increased representation in the number of studies that capture participants' immigration status, which has also only been accounted for in a limited number of relevant examinations to date. Future individual inquiries should increase the degree of attention to these potentially important differentiating factors.

Fifth, there continues to be substantial variation in the nomenclature in ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity research, even as operationalizations are often similar across related terms. With these differences come concerns with the reliability and validity of the methods used across studies. In this study, we employed labels that we believe efficiently captured the main concepts behind similar terms in the field, but future collaborative efforts should seek to reconcile the nomenclature for the sake of more cohesive reviews and analyses. In addition, while identity ideology is a major consideration in many studies of African American

families (Sellers et al., 1997), it was not assessed in this study because it is not well examined across multiple ethnic-racial groups. Future studies may want to focus on identity ideology specifically to examine associations with parental ethnic-racial socialization across ethnic-racial subgroups.

Finally, there are extensions of the subdimension analyses that were beyond the scope of examination in the current study that carry significant importance to the field. For example, the subtypes of bias socialization noted earlier—preparation versus response and coping versus awareness—warrant specific and nuanced meta-analytic attention to determine their distinct effects. Along the same lines, the current study did not estimate the simultaneous effects of distinct facets of both parental ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. That is, we did not estimate how each ethnic-racial socialization practice independently relates to each dimension of ethnic-racial identity. It is highly likely that certain ethnic-racial socialization practices better predict certain identity dimensions across studies, such as Rivas-Drake et al.'s (2009a) single-study finding that bias socialization negatively predicts public regard. Such meta-analyses are too complex to be considered in a broadly designed summative analysis like the current study and must be considered in their own set of examinations. Future empirical efforts should consider these intersectional effects of ethnic-racial socialization and identity dimensions.

Conclusion

Given the historical and contemporary ethnic-racial social stratification in the United States as well as recent inflammatory high-profile race- and ethnicity-related events, families of color continue to prioritize cultivating strong pro-social ethnic-racial identities in their children, even as best practices in these socialization strategies have been relatively unclear. Our study addressed this gap by documenting some of the key dynamics in ethnic-racial socialization

processes. Results suggested that among ethnic-racial socialization approaches, pride and heritage socialization may be most beneficial, warranting consideration as a primary ethnic-racial socialization practice. Moreover, parents may benefit from a strategy whereby they substantially increase the use of ethnic-racial socialization practices in the high-school years when there may be greater receptivity from youth. Lastly, ethnic-racial socialization appears to be beneficial for children of color's identity formation among African Americans, Latinx's, and Asian Americans, although differences in the strength of these associations merit future empirical explorations. Developing a better understanding of these group differences would contribute to even more contextually tailored ethnic-racial socialization practices in the future.

Overall, our findings provide support for multiple ways in which ethnic-racial socialization practices are associated with ethnic-racial identities in children of color—identities which in turn have been widely shown to have positive impacts on other key developmental outcomes. Future research efforts should continue disentangling the contextual and practical nuances of these effects as the field refines an ecologically informed framework for the optimal usage of ethnic-racial socialization.

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Table 1

Prominent Terms from across Studies Coded for Association with Major Categories of Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity.

Category	Coded Conceptualization
Ethnic-Racial Socialization	
Pride and Heritage – parents' practices that either deliberately or implicitly promote ethnic pride through teaching children about their cultural customs, history and heritage	Covert and overt ethnic socialization Cultural appreciation of legacy Cultural embeddedness Cultural heritage Cultural history Cultural legacy Cultural pride Cultural pride reinforcement Cultural socialization Cultural values Emphasize positive messages about the self Ethnic pride Pride and Heritage Pride development socialization Pride development Racial pride
Bias socialization – parents' efforts to make their children aware of the discrimination they may face, process discrimination events, and provide tools for coping with said discrimination	Bias socialization Coping with antagonism Coping with racism/discrimination Convey negative messages that disparage people of color Preparation for bias Racism awareness training Racial barrier Racial barrier awareness Racism struggles socialization
Promotion of mistrust – the degree to which parents endorse the need for wariness of members of other racial groups	Isolation Promotion of mistrust
Egalitarianism socialization – parents' endorsements of assimilationist beliefs and mainstream cultural affective norms, including race-blind beliefs and/or the omission of racial discussions altogether	Cultural endorsement of the mainstream Egalitarianism Tolerance

Global ethnic racial socialization – single total score for ethnic-racial socialization	Combined racial socialization behaviors Multiple racial socialization practices Overall ethnic socialization Overall racial socialization Total scores

Ethnic-Racial Identity

Ethnic-racial identity exploration – the extent to which an individual is in the process of exploring what their group membership means to them	Ethnic identity exploration Ethnic identity search Racial identity exploration Racial identity search
Ethnic-racial identity resolution – the post-exploration condition where one has explored possible identity meanings and consciously settled on a meaning-making system	Ethnic identity resolution Racial identity resolution Ethnic identity achieved Racial identity achieved Ethnic identity commitment Racial identity commitment Ethnic identity attachment Racial identity attachment Ethnic identity internalized Racial identity internalized
Ethnic-racial identity centrality – the importance of one's group membership to one's self-concept, particularly as relative to other identity domains	Defining self in terms of ethnicity Defining self in terms of race Ethnic identity centrality Racial identity centrality Ethnic identity importance Racial identity importance
Ethnic-racial identity positive affect – includes belonging (the degree to which an individual feels membership in and connectedness to their ethnic-racial identity group and private regard (an individual's evaluation of and esteem attributed to their ethnic-racial group)	Ethnic affirmation Racial affirmation Ethnic sense of belonging Racial sense of belonging Ethnic private regard Racial private regard
Ethnic-racial identity public regard – an individual's beliefs about how members of other ethnic-racial groups in the broader society perceive one's own ethnic-racial group	Ethnic identity public regard Racial identity public regard

Global ethnic-racial identity – single dimension total score for ethnic-racial identity	Combined ethnic identity measures Combined racial identity measures Overall ethnic identity Overall racial identity Total scores

Table 2
Characteristics of Included Studies

Characteristics	*k*	%
Publication Type		
Published study	45	66%
Unpublished study	23	34%
Grade Level		
Elementary school	9	13%
Middle school	7	10%
High school	27	39%
College	11	16%
Mixed grade	15	22%
Race/Ethnicity		
African American	33	46%
Asian American	5	7%
Latinx	20	28%
Native American	0	0%
Mixed race	14	19%
Region		
Northeast	15	22%
South	13	19%
West	15	22%
Midwest	9	13%
Multiple regions	3	4%
Not reported	13	19%
Community type		
Urban	19	28%
Suburban	5	7%
Rural	2	3%
Multiple community types	5	7%
Not reported	37	54%
Study design		
Cross-sectional	57	77%
Longitudinal	17	23%
Measurement of socialization		
Child report	51	64%
Parent report	26	33%
Observation	2	3%

Note. *k* = number of studies

Racial Socialization and Identity

Table 3
Results of Overall Analyses Examining the Correlation between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Outcome	*k*	*r*	95% confidence interval		*Q*
			Low estimate	High estimate	
Ethnic-racial identity	90	.18***(.18***)	.16(.15)	.19(.22)	460.94***

Note. *k* = number of studies; Random-effects Q values and point estimates are presented in parentheses
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

Racial Socialization and Identity

Table 4
Trim-and-Fill Results

Outcome	Fixed effects (FE) trim-and-fill	Random effects (RE) trim-and-fill
Ethnic-racial identity	10 trimmed values	13 trimmed values
	FE: r=.20; CI=.19/.21	FE: r=.21; CI=.19/.22
	RE: r=.21; CI=.18/.24	RE: r=.22; CI=.18/.25

Note. CI: confidence interval.

Table 5
Results of Moderator Analyses Examining the Correlation between Sub-Dimensions of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Moderators	k	N of samples	Average Sample sizes	Range of Sample sizes	#ES	r	95% confidence interval		Q_b
							Low estimate	High estimate	
Types of ethnic-racial socialization									207.37***(61.63***)
Pride and Heritage	56	76	219	24-671	311	.23***(.25***)	.22(.21)	.25(.29)	
Bias socialization	31	43	231	43-671	136	.08***(.10***)	.06(.05)	.10(.15)	
Global socialization	24	28	188	40-671	83	.16***(.15***)	.14(.09)	.19(.20)	
Egalitarianism	10	15	236	43-566	54	.12***(.10***)	.09(.04)	.15(.16)	
Promotion of mistrust	10	13	189	43-530	43	.03(.03)	-.01(-.01)	.07(.07)	
Ethnic-racial identity dimension									478.63***(86.26***)
Positive affect	32	42	230	43-671	214	.15***(.15***)	.14(.11)	.17(.18)	
Global identity	29	38	175	24-671	104	.17***(.19***)	.14(.13)	.19(.24)	
Exploration	17	24	210	43-566	90	.34***(.33***)	.32(.25)	.36(.40)	
Centrality	17	25	205	71-530	90	.17***(.16***)	.14(.11)	.19(.21)	
Resolution	15	23	202	58-530	71	.28**(.27***)	.25(.21)	.30(.33)	
Public regard	11	16	242	90-530	57	-.08***(-.08*)	-.11(-.14)	-.04(-.01)	

Note. k = number of studies; Random-effects Q values and point estimates are presented in parentheses
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

Table 6

Results of Study and Demographic Moderator Analyses Examining the Correlation Between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Moderators	k	N of samples	Average Sample size	Range of Sample sizes	#ES	r	95% confidence interval		Q_b
							Low estimate	High estimate	
Publication type									.41(.96)
Published	45	61	238	24-671	401	.18***(.20***)	.16(.16)	.19(.23)	
Unpublished	23	29	142	40-473	226	.17***(.16***)	.14(.09)	.20(.22)	
Study design									
Longitudinal	17	28	228	24-671	133	.12***(.14***)	.11(.11)	.13(.17)	46.78***(38.58***)
Cross-sectional	57	73	187	24-671	494	.17***(.16***)	.16(.14)	.17(.18)	
Measurement of socialization									
Child report	51	66	200	24-671	442	.21***(.22***)	.19(.18)	.23(.26)	61.11***(22.60***)
Parent report	26	35	200	40-671	183	.10***(.09***)	.07(.06)	.12(.12)	
Observation	2	2	112	45-180	2	.15**(.15**)	.02(.02)	.28(.28)	
Developmental level									106.64***(28.25***)
Elementary (K-5)	9	12	191	40-671	45	.10***(.10***)	.06(.06)	.14(.14)	
Middle school (6-8)	7	11	185	58-345	44	.04*(.06*)	.00(.01)	.09(.13)	
High school (9-12)	27	33	180	43-513	248	.26***(.25***)	.23(.20)	.28(.31)	
College	11	14	225	84-530	134	.22***(.21***)	.18(.14)	.25(.28)	
Mixed	15	19	268	24-671	155	.14***(.17***)	.11(.09)	.16(.24)	
Not reported	1	1	100	-	1	.16(.16)	-.04(-.04)	.35(.35)	
Race									47.59***(19.10***)
African American	33	42	190	40-671	318	.13***(.12***)	.11(.09)	.15(.15)	

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Latinx	20	29	194	24-671	164	.25***(.28***)	.22(.21)	.27(.35)
Mixed race	14	14	301	43-671	84	.17***(.20***)	.14(.10)	.20(.30)
Asian American	5	5	153	114-224	51	.17***(.17***)	.10(.10)	.24(.24)

Note. k = number of studies; Random-effects Q values and point estimates are presented in parentheses
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

Racial Socialization and Identity

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┌─────────────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Records identified      │      │ Additional records      │
│ through database        │─────▶│ identified through      │
│ searching               │      │ other sources           │
│ (n = 1,966)             │      │ (n = 31)                │
└─────────────────────────┘      └─────────────────────────┘
```
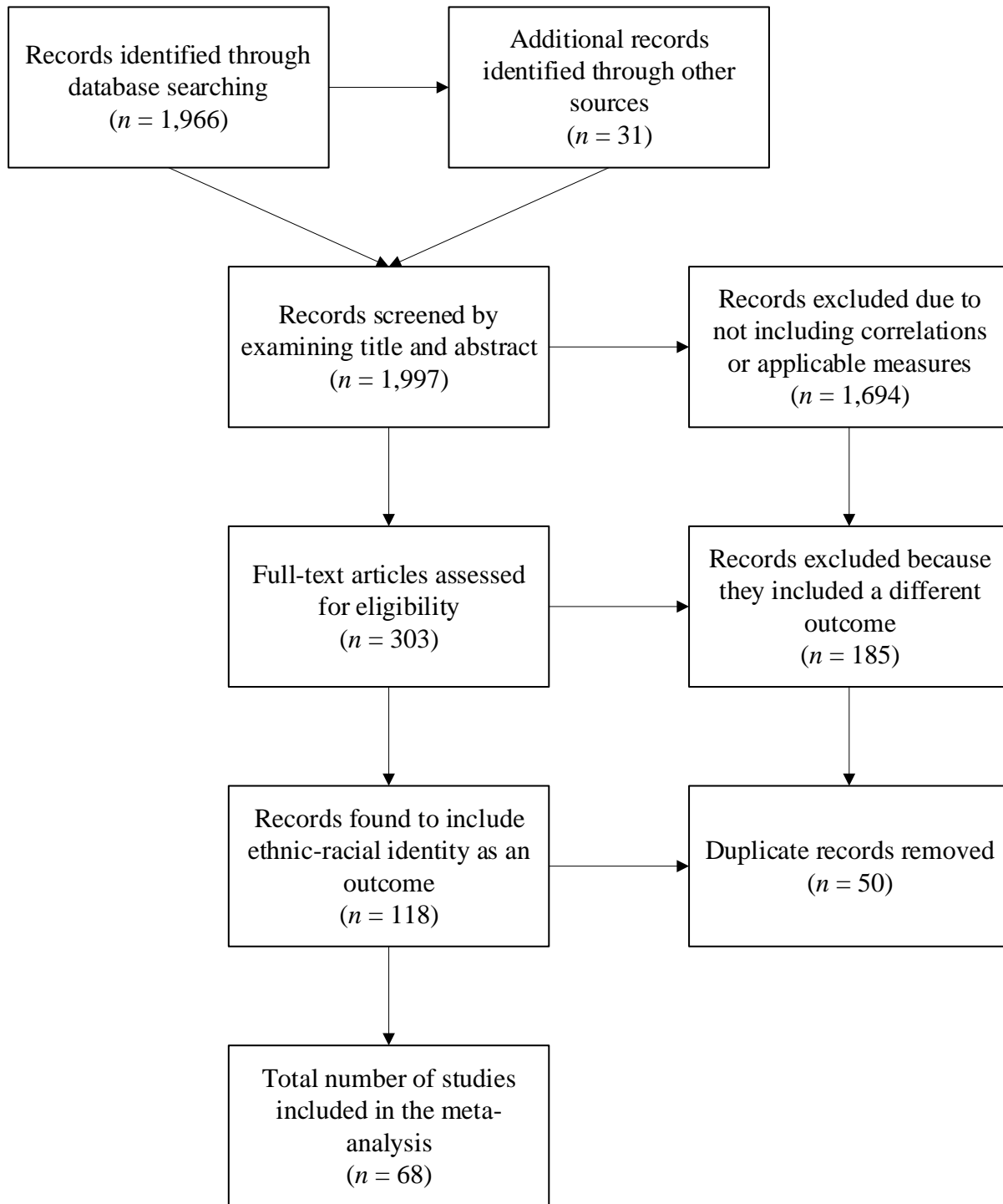
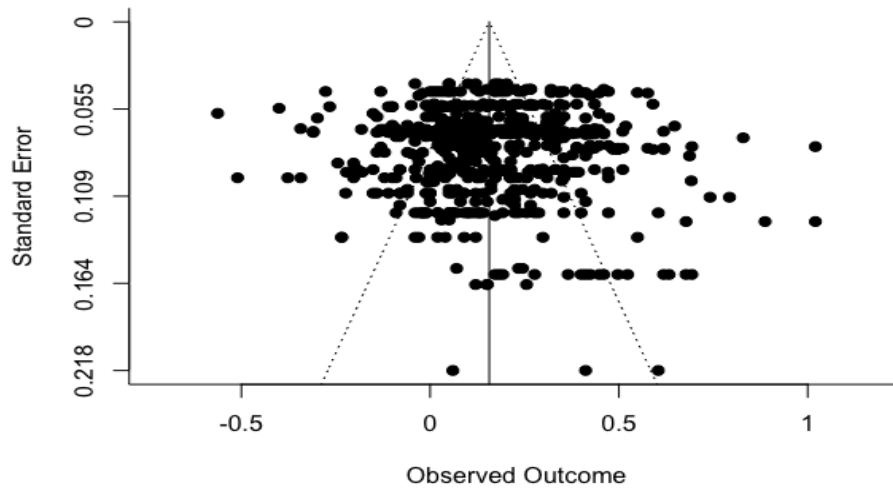*Figure 1.* Visual representation of the search and inclusion results.

Figure 2. Funnel plot with Egger's test of potential publication bias *(*Egger's test: z = 1.8155, p = .0695).

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[i] It is worth noting that a great deal of ethnic-racial socialization terminology is not universal in the field, and in this case, some authors prefer the term *cultural socialization* as an umbrella label for concepts that are discussed here as *ethnic-racial socialization* (see Lee (2003), for example). However, because much of the ethnic-racial socialization literature associates the term cultural socialization with pride and heritage approaches specifically, we have avoided operationalizing the term cultural socialization so as to avoid confusion caused by the term being associated with multiple constructs in the same body of literature. Moreover, using the term ethnic-racial socialization holds the added benefit of being an intuitive and widely-accepted parallel construct to ethnic-racial identity.

[ii] While pride and heritage can and have been analyzed as separate concepts in prior research (e.g., Stevenson, 2002; Brown et al., 2007, 2009), they are typically captured together under a single measure and tend to correlate highly with each other even when treated separately (r=.64 in Stevenson, 2002; r=.73 in Brown et al., 2009). As such, we believe the *pride and heritage* label clearly and intuitively captures the umbrella concept that is widely operationalized under various names in the literature.