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# Mexican American Youths' Academic Outcomes: The Role of Ethnic and Academic Socialization in Buffering Discrimination

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MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTHS' ACADEMIC OUTCOMES: THE ROLE  
OF ETHNIC AND ACADEMIC SOCIALIZATION IN  
BUFFERING DISCRIMINATION

by

Spencer M. Richards

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

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in

Psychology

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2011

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## ABSTRACT

Mexican American Youths' Academic Outcomes: The Role of Ethnic and  
Academic Socialization in Buffering Discrimination

by

Spencer M. Richards, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2011

Major Professor: Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.  
Department: Psychology

The following study is a secondary data analysis of data collected in the first wave of the California Families Project investigating the impact that discrimination in academic settings may have on academic outcomes of Mexican American youths. Primary socialization theory offers a conceptual framework of competing socialization influences bearing particular relevance in understanding the role of discrimination in Mexican American youths. The present investigation also seeks to clarify the protective role of various parenting practices in regarding academic achievement. Three hundred sixty-five Mexican American families were surveyed and results indicated that discrimination significantly predicted negative academic self-efficacy and poorer academic performance in crystallized measures of ability (i.e., verbal skills) but not a performance-based task (i.e., visuospatial skills and processing speed). Findings

suggested that the influence of parenting in mitigating discrimination for fifth graders is limited.

(102 pages)

## PUBLIC ABSTRACT

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An increasingly diversifying educational landscape in the United States has accompanied distressing academic disparities among ethnic minority youths. As Latinos represent the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority group within the U.S., particular attention to their academic outcomes is warranted. Alarming educational statistics have been reported for Latinos, with some estimating that nearly half fail to complete high school, and only a fraction go on to complete a degree in higher education. As Latinos grow to represent an increasing segment of the American educational system, more attention is required to understand what leads Latinos to engage (or disengage) in the educational process.

The current investigation analyzes data from the California Families Project, an ongoing research program following Mexican American families as their children advance through elementary, middle, and high school. The present investigation is a secondary analysis of data obtained by interviewing 365 Mexican American families with a child currently enrolled in the fifth grade. This project aimed to explore the extent to which Mexican American youths experienced discrimination within the school system by both peers and teachers, and what potential role those experiences had in understanding their academic self-efficacy and abilities. In addition, this study explored the role of various parenting practices and attitudes in two domains (academic and cultural) in possibly mitigating the influence of discrimination on academic outcomes for their children. The study generally found that discrimination related to certain measures of academic outcomes, particularly self-efficacy (defined as feeling able to attain a level of education commensurate or exceeding a level which one desired) and verbal abilities. In addition,

this study showed that while parenting behaviors and attitudes related to academic outcomes, none buffered the effect of discrimination to a significant degree.

This study holds implications for understanding Latino academic outcomes. The investigation suggests that by fifth grade, Mexican American youths are often already experiencing discrimination to an extent that it may impact their perceived ability to attain their educational goals. In addition, the findings from this study suggest that the influence of parents' behaviors and attitudes at this time may be limited. Discrimination experiences were significantly more powerful than parenting for the families in this study. While this study was methodologically limited by cross-sectional design and had rigorous inclusion criteria, these results may suggest that by this point in the developmental trajectory of Mexican American youths, it may be more powerfully indicated to intervene at the level of the academic institution rather than solely within the familial context. These results highlight the ongoing necessity of schools to make the academic environment one where Mexican American youths feel welcomed, included, and valued.

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Spencer M. Richards



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The diversification of the US classroom has been noted for at least a decade as the proportion of ethnic minority youths continue to increase in elementary, middle, and high schools across the nation (Fry, 2007; Fry & Gonzalez, 2008). Greater racial/ethnic diversity in classrooms is giving way to more frequent and visible instances of racism and prejudice (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales-Backen, 2008). These experiences of discrimination in schools have been found to relate to negative academic and psychosocial outcomes in children and adolescents, including lower academic engagement (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Cogburn, & Griffin, 2008; Smalls, White, Chavous, & Sellers, 2007), poor school performance and lower academic self-esteem (Régner & Loose, 2006). In addition to poor academic outcomes, experiences with discrimination have been found to relate to other psychosocial outcomes for youths such as lack of belonging (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005), depression, attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, and conduct disorder (Coker et al., 2009).

The changing school demographics point to a dramatic increase particularly in Latino children. Latino Americans represent the largest, fastest growing, and youngest ethnic minority group in the United States (U.S. Census, 2009). Similar to other ethnic minority youths, Latino children and adolescents frequently relate experiences of being stereotyped and unfairly discriminated against by authority figures, and teachers in particular (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Shaunessy, McHatton, Hughes, Ratcliff, & Brice,

2007). Latino youths have consistently higher school dropout rates compared to their White classmates as well as other ethnic minorities (Fry, 2003). Some studies have suggested that only 57% of Latinos finish high school, with only 10-16% going on to earn a college degree (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). With growing proportions of Latino youth in our schools and communities, it is critical to understand the mechanisms by which Latino youths learn about and engage (or disengage) in the educational process and intervene to alter this trajectory. Similarly, it is crucial to understand what processes occur in the lives of some Latino youths that help them to resist the frequent negative experiences in schools and persevere despite these experiences. One particular theoretical framework has attempted to explain disparities in resilience and outcomes in the context of socialization.

Primary socialization theory (PST; Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998) states that parental influence plays a significant role in socializing the behaviors and attitudes of children and adolescents. Familial influence represents the most powerful source of socialization for children, especially at young ages. This may take the form of implicit attitudes and beliefs, overt socialization practices, monitoring, or involvement in the child's daily life. Specifically, research has shown that parental attitudes and beliefs about culture are transmitted to their children (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Cultural attitudes and beliefs are taught explicitly and socialized implicitly from parent to child in ethnic minority families (Castelli, Zogmaister, & Tomelleri, 2009). Similarly, parents' academic attitudes have been shown to impact their children's academic performance (Hill, 2001). As Latino youth begin to experience academic

trouble in late childhood and early adolescence, families and socialization practices are often implicated in trying to explain this problematic trend.

Parents' socialization processes regarding academics have been shown to impact academic outcomes in youths (Asakawa, 2001; Bempechat, Graham, & Jimenez, 1999). Through both overt action and implicit attitudes, parents transmit academic attitudes and expectations to their children. As Régner and Loose (2006) described, parental involvement in their child's education often impacts academic outcomes. Within the framework of PST, parental academic attitudes and expectations for their children should also be transmitted. Latino parents have been shown to have high academic aspirations for their young children, whether or not their children have academic performance commensurate with such aspirations (Goldenberg, Gallimore, Reese, & Garnier, 2001). As these attitudes and aspirations are explicitly and implicitly expressed to their young children, PST and empirical research (Suizzo & Soon, 2006) would suggest that in the subsequent years, children of these parents would develop similar aspirations. As previously suggested, these attitudes likely influence academic beliefs, engagement, and abilities in youths.

While current research has examined each of these individual variables (i.e., discrimination, cultural socialization, academic expectations, and academic outcomes), no known work has described how these pieces fit together in a larger puzzle. PST posits that these potentially contradicting sources of influence may exert pressure at relatively different magnitudes at different ages. The theory offers a coherent guiding framework to investigate previously disjointed findings in the investigation of Latino youths' academic



outcomes. It is proposed that Latino youths' experiences with discrimination in school will negatively relate to their own academic aspirations/expectations and performance. However, the proposed model describes a buffering effect of two broad categories of parenting clusters: Cultural and academic socialization.

The framework offered by PST suggests that the relative influence of each of the primary sources of socialization is clearly prescribed in very young childhood and in adolescence such that parents have primary influence during the early years, but peers have a stronger primary influence during adolescence. During the preadolescent years, school gains in influence as parental influence wanes. As such, PST seems to suggest that discrimination experiences at school may be particularly problematic for preadolescent youths. Parental influence may still play a mitigating role in cases where individuals experience the potentially negative influence of discrimination, even from such salient socialization sources. The relative impact of each of these sources, however, remains unclear. A graphical representation of the proposed theoretical model is found in Figure 1, whereby the influences of peers and the academic environment (via discrimination experiences) interact with the influence of parental socialization.

The current investigation addresses four main research questions.

1. How do children's beliefs and experiences with discrimination at school relate to (a) their academic self-esteem and (b) their academic performance?
2. Do educational aspirations/expectations relate to the actual academic performance of these youths?
3. Do the predictors within the cultural and academic socialization clusters

interact with discrimination and academic aspirations/expectations?

4. Do the parental behaviors and attitudes directly predict and/or interact with academic performance?

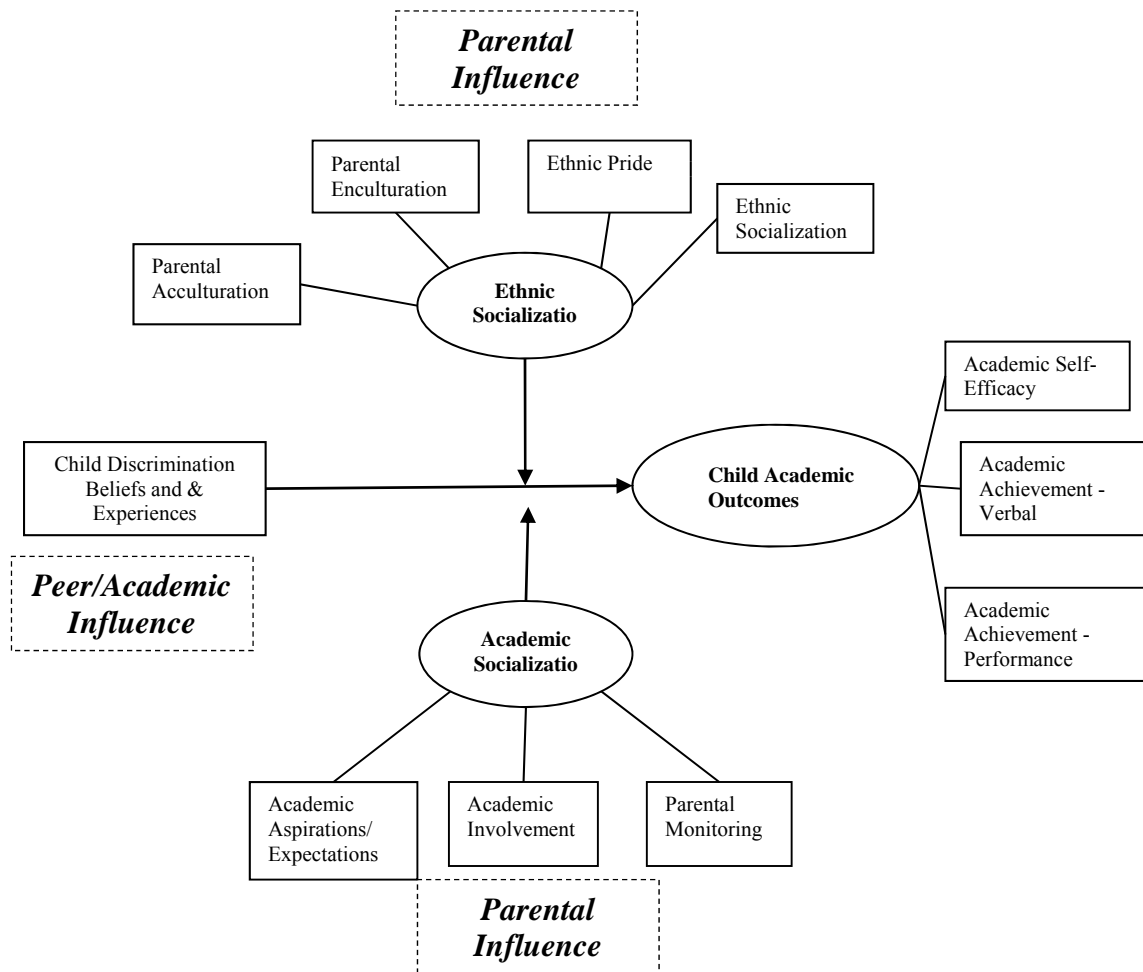


Figure 1. Hypothesized model of socialization domains on child academic outcomes.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This review of the literature will aim to accomplish four things: (a) outline the alarming academic disparities observed in Latino youths, (b) describe the potential role that discrimination may play in these disparities, (c) draw a brief picture of PST as it relates to Latino families, and (d) summarize the current research about ethnic and academic socialization and how they may relate to the achievement of ethnic minority youths generally, and Latino youth specifically. In doing so, this review is intended to create a portrait of some problems facing Latino youth, what parents have done to improve outcomes, and how PST may offer a conceptual framework by which to investigate the relative magnitude of influence of the three primary sources of socialization for preadolescents: school, peers, and family.

#### **Latino Academic Achievement**

Ethnic minority youths trail their White classmates in several measures of academic success. In achievement, graduation rates, and post-graduation employment, Latinos and other ethnic minority groups often experience drastic disparities from their White classmates (U.S. Department of Education, 2004). A recent publication stated that scarcely more than half of Latino students complete secondary education with a high school diploma (Kelly, 2005).

Latino youths have disproportionately high dropout rates. One publication has recently stated that Latino students may fail to complete high school at a rate 40-50

percentage points higher than White youths (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2009). This holds extremely powerful consequences for these youths. Noncompletion of high school costs a young person on many fronts. Mental health concerns are indicated consistently through empirical and anecdotal reports. In a qualitative study of Latino high school dropouts, Davison Avilés, Guerrero, Barajas Howarth, and Thomas (1999) interviewed youths to illuminate their experiences and choices regarding their education. These researchers found that these Latino youths reported experiences of alienation, discrimination, and a lack of culturally competent faculty and staff to support their needs. The respondents reported unique challenges to meeting graduation requirements, such as missing school during family migratory travel, work schedules, and difficulty engaging with course work. A consistent theme emerging from this study was the difficulty with school-home communication, with children reporting different values of the school environment conflicting with family values.

One of the most problematic themes to emerge in this qualitative study (Davison Avilés et al., 1999) was racist and discriminatory experiences. In addition to having limited culturally-focused faculty, staff, or programs, students reported being stereotyped and discouraged from participating in extracurricular activities. Several students in one focus group reported being placed in an English as second language (ESL) program despite being fluent in English. The school district had been placing students in this program as default based on surname. These and other experiences may help to begin setting the stage for how it is that so many Latino youth fall through the educational system. The broadly reported and corrosive experiences of racism and discrimination are

well documented in the lives of ethnic minority youths.

### **Discrimination in Ethnic Minority Youths**

Experiences of racism, exclusion, and discrimination are common among ethnic minority youths (Coker et al., 2009; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Spencer-Rodgers & Collins, 2006). Adolescents may be particularly susceptible to such experiences due to developmental factors. For example, adolescents are developing a sense of identity, both individual and social, and thus have a heightened awareness of themselves in relation to others. These experiences may vary from group to group. For example, children and adolescents of East Asian descent most commonly report experiencing ethnic exclusion and discrimination at the hands of their peers, often from other ethnic minorities. On the contrary, the reports of youths of African American and Latino heritage most often include unfair treatment, harsh punishment, being singled out and perceiving racially prejudiced attitudes from institutions and authority figures (Fisher et al., 2000).

Many ethnic minority teens report experiencing acts of racism and/or discrimination in school (Edwards & Romero, 2008; Romero & Roberts, 2003a, 2003b). In a recent study, Edwards and Romero (2008) surveyed 71 Mexican and Mexican American youths 11-15 years of age. In a survey of 11 stressful racism-related events (such as “I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes about people of my ethnic background,” and “I have been treated badly because of my accent”), youths endorsed an average of five items, meaning they had experienced and were at least somewhat bothered by these instances of racism and/or discrimination. Of the 71 youths surveyed,

88.7% reported experiences of racism.

Recently, empirical investigations have been conducted that highlighted the importance of exploring the culture-specific experiences of ethnic minority youths. One such study of a qualitative nature illuminating the experiences of teens of various ethnic minority backgrounds was conducted by Rosenbloom and Way (2004). This study highlighted the subtle and intricate relationships both between ethnic minority teens and dominant White culture, but also the importance of understanding the complex nature of interactions among ethnic minority youths. For example, several Black and Latino students described feeling that White and Asian American students were favored by teachers. The importance of cultural factors comes into focus as Black and Latino students explained that White and Asian American students received better grades because "...they (are) quiet...and we (are) loud" (p. 421). Asian American students shared accounts (corroborated by students of other ethnic groups) of being targeted, bullied, and harassed by Latino and Black students. While Asian American students also reported experiencing discrimination, these youths perceived the primary source of their discrimination to be from peers. Latino and Black classmates were more likely to experience discrimination from adults of authority, such as teachers, police, and shopkeepers. Again, this study emphasizes the similarities and important differences of the culture-specific experiences of youths of various ethnic minority groups.

Latino youth often present consistent reports of discrimination related to English language ability, skin color, perceived immigration concerns, poverty, and other negative stereotypes associated with the ethnic group (Edwards & Romero, 2008). In order to

examine and describe the actual experiences of Latino adolescents, Shaunessy and colleagues (2007) collected data from middle-school-aged Latino youths in interview format. This qualitative investigation aimed to elucidate the personal experiences of these youths from general education and gifted programs across a broad spectrum including self-perception, communication, and discrimination. In this investigation, all of the students in general education program ( $n = 8$ ) had personal experiences with discrimination. Several students described hearing derogatory remarks made about their ethnicity by both White students and White teachers. One Latina student reported being treated differently by White teachers when she was in a group of other Latinos as opposed to the treatment she received while with other gifted (mostly White) students. This differentially harsh treatment included apparent hostility and yelling while with her Latino friends that was absent in settings of mostly White youths. Interestingly, of the students involved in the gifted education program, only one Latino student expressed outward pride in his ethnicity. Not surprisingly, this student also reported the most frequent experiences of discrimination at the hands of his peers and teachers, to which he attributed his outward ethnic pride. He felt as if his ethnic pride caused him to be seen as a causing trouble. This and other students made behavioral changes, such as limiting their use of Spanish, in order to avoid continued problems with teachers and students.

Educational settings are one of the primary settings in which racial and ethnic stereotypes are propagated and disseminated (Brown & Lee, 2005). Latinos and other ethnic minority students report being discouraged from taking advanced coursework, receiving harsh or disproportionate discipline from teachers, and being assumed to have

limited English proficiency, the latter particularly for Latino youth. These school-related experiences of racism and/or discrimination have been shown to lead to negative academic outcomes in adolescents (Brody et al., 2006; Smalls et al., 2007; Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009). Discrimination of this type is characterized by unfair treatment and lower academic expectations for ethnic minority students, often based on negative stereotypes of cultural poverty and learning difficulties. Thomas and colleagues described some of the problematic outcomes associated with such academic discrimination. In a sample of Black young adolescents from the US mainland and the Caribbean, Thomas and colleagues found that across both ethnic groups, students reported more frequent experiences of teacher discrimination had significantly lower academic achievement.

In addition to impacting academic outcomes, experiences of discrimination have been found to impact mental health outcomes for Latino/a youths. In a longitudinal study following 5th-grade African American youths, Brody and colleagues (2006) describe several deleterious impacts of experiences of perceived discrimination. The negative effects fell along a spectrum of both internalizing (e.g., depression) and externalizing (e.g., conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder) problems. This study and others (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999) suggested that repeated exposure to negative discriminatory events can result in internalization of negative self-attitudes, thus creating or exacerbating developmental psychopathology. Discriminatory experiences may be particularly salient for youths experiencing similar acts of racism and discrimination in educational settings and from persons of authority.



In addition to academic performance (grades), academic engagement is also often reported to be impacted by racism in schools (Chavous et al., 2008; Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998). Chavous and colleagues conducted a study of 410 African American adolescents. These students varied widely across several demographic categories including family income, family education, and geographical location. Survey data about experiences with discrimination as well as several academic variables including academic importance, engagement, and performance were collected at 8th-grade and again at 11th-grade. For both boys and girls in this study, experiences of discrimination negatively related to academic importance at follow-up. In other words, those youths that reported more experiences of discrimination in school placed less importance and had lower engagement in school. If discrimination leads to academic disengagement at this vulnerable and crucial point of development, long-term consequences are possible for attitude formation, identity development, and career potential.

### **Primary Socialization Theory**

Formulated in the middle of the previous decade, PST was developed to explain deviant behaviors of adolescents (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). Originally utilized in models of drug abuse and prevention, PST is highly sociobehavioral in nature. It posits that beginning in early childhood and extending into late adolescence, behaviors, beliefs and attitudes are shaped by three sources of primary socialization (i.e., family, peers, and school). While these three sources all exert powerful pressure at particular points of

development, certain stages are marked by stronger influence of one or two particular sources. Despite having been developed as a model to explain deviance, PST can be applied more broadly to the processes of child socialization and development. For example, from early childhood through elementary school, PST states that the most powerful source of socialization is the immediate family. During this time, attitudes are shaped and molded by implicit and explicit messages from family members (especially those charged with socializing) that influence the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of the socialized youth. While the makeup and appearance of the family is certainly culture-specific, PST suggests that similar processes occur across cultures.

According to PST, beliefs about the importance and function of education would be directly imparted to a child through familial socialization practices via parental implicitly modeled attitudes, explicit teaching, and involvement in the form of positive and negative consequences for choices. In a differing but analogous process, cultural beliefs and attitudes would also be transmitted to a young child. As the family unit is the primary source of socialization at this age, and given an adequately strong relationship between the child and those socializing him/her, the values taught would likely resemble the values observed in the child.

In school, Latino and other ethnic minority students are likely to have experiences where values of the school setting differ from the values of the family (Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, & Beauvais, 1998). This phenomenon has subsequently been defined as acculturative stress (Berry, 2006). When such conflicts arise, PST asserts that young children with adequate familial bonding will rely on the socialization of their

families above that of the academic setting. One can see the potential application of such a principle regarding experiences of discrimination in school. If a Latino youth receives a message at his or her school that Latinos do not graduate high school, and this socialization force is most powerful for transmitting academic values, a serious risk is potentially posed to the student. However, if the child's primary source is his or her family, and the familial message runs counter to this discrimination, the child may be less likely to internalize these values and display them in behavior.

In fact, some ethnic minority youths do engage and succeed in academic settings and show resilience to psychopathology despite negative and pervasive discriminatory experiences (Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). Certain factors have been shown to be associated with positive psychosocial and academic outcomes even in the presence of perceived discrimination. One such factor is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity often refers to one's self-identification with others with a shared culture, heritage, language, ancestral homeland, and so forth (Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). Empirical evidence suggests that if ethnic minority youths develop a strong sense of ethnic identity, they are better able to stave off the harmful effects of discrimination. Recent longitudinal research (Chavous et al., 2003) found that Black students who held ethnicity as a salient aspect of their identities attended school more regularly, received better grades, and had increased chances of graduating and eventually attending college. Given, as PST suggests, that ethnic identity in children may arise from and relate to parental socialization practices, it may be the case that investigation of such practices would support PST and illuminate aspects of youth resilience.

Oetting and Donnermeyer (1998) suggested that while the three primary sources of socialization (i.e., school, peers, and family) all exert socialization pressure on developing youths, their relative impact differs across time. The authors suggest that in early childhood, with limited exposure to alternate sources of information, children rely very heavily on their family of origin for socialization. As they develop into school-aged children, they inevitably encounter additional sources (namely school and peers) that begin to exert their own influence and thus reduce the relative impact of familial influence. While Oetting and Donnermeyer made clear that by adolescence, the largest sphere of influence is one's peer group, what remains unknown is the timing of the transition of relative weight of influence between the various sources of socialization. At what point the influence of familial socialization is overtaken or at least considerably reduced by the remaining two primary sources is not clearly understood.

Knowledge of a conceptual timeline by which to understand the evolving influence of family, school, and peers, in addition to contributing to the basic understanding of knowledge about child development, could potentially lend very useful knowledge to intervention researchers. Large, sociopolitical institutions such as school environments are difficult places to intervene. Schools are also settings in which many youths experience discrimination at the hands of both peers and educators. However, if during late childhood and preadolescence families continue to exert sufficient socialization influence to mitigate the deleterious effects of discrimination in school contexts, intervention researchers could potentially more feasibly intervene at the family level and to strengthen children's resilience. Such an understanding can only be

developed in the context of parental socialization practices that have been shown to effectively influence child and adolescent outcomes.

### **Parenting: Ethnic Socialization**

Several studies have highlighted the importance of parental involvement and parenting practices in adolescent well-being (Berkel et al., 2009; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006). Ethnic socialization is one important aspect of parenting that has been studied in ethnic minority families. Often described as providing protection against the harsh realities of a racially biased society, ethnic socialization includes lessons that parents or guardians impart to their young children about how to live as member of an ethnic minority in the broader US culture. It is the process by which families teach children about what it means to be a member of their ethnic group and “the social meaning and consequence of ethnicity and race” (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007, p. 14). Miller and MacIntosh (1999) described how African American racial socialization includes “specific messages and practices pertinent to personal and group identity, intergroup and interindividual relationships, and position in the social hierarchy” (p. 161). Socialization messages are often characterized in one of two categories: Messages that promote racial and/or ethnic pride, and messages about potential or ongoing exposure to discrimination (Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith, & Johnson, 2009). Such messages are thought to provide a preparation or context in which a youth can reconcile the racial and ethnic injustices he or she will likely face. Both implicit and explicit messages are included in the socialization process, which varies

widely from family to family both between and among ethnic minority communities.

While youths from various ethnic backgrounds report some forms of ethnic or racial socialization, these messages are not always consistent across ethnic groups. A recent investigation by Huynh and Fuligni (2008) included survey data collected from several hundred middle adolescents of Chinese, Mexican, and European ancestry from multiple sites concerning the ethnic socialization messages they received from parents and their relationships to academic outcomes. Ethnic socialization correlated with multiple outcomes. In general, students across all ethnicities that reported higher amounts of ethnic socialization placed higher importance and found more utility in school. However, interesting for ethnic minority family socialization researchers, messages promoting mistrust were negatively correlated with academic performance measured by grade point average. Also intriguing is that a strong correlation existed across all three ethnic groups.

Much of the research about ethnic socialization has explored its potential as a protective factor. Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, and West-Bey (2009) examined parental ethnic socialization factors as they related to both academic and behavioral correlates in White and African American adolescents. Hughes et al. conceptualized ethnic socialization as represented by transmitting culturally relevant aspects of heritage and collective history by which to instill a sense of ethnic pride. In contrast, Hughes et al. described preparation for bias, an element commonly included within ethnic socialization, as a separate link in the conceptual framework. The investigators found that cultural socialization in the form of practices focused on building ethnic pride was positively and

significantly related to academic engagement, self-esteem, and both a direct and indirect positive relationship with academic efficacy (positive beliefs in academic abilities).

However, in this sample, practices preparing for ethnic bias had a moderately negative relationship to academic efficacy, particularly for ethnic majority students. The findings of Hughes and colleagues suggested that contemporary definitions of ethnic socialization may be overly broad or inadequately account for the differential impact of ethnic pride building and preparation for experiences of racism.

Fischer and Shaw (1999) described the complex and interrelated nature of experiences of discrimination, racial/ethnic socialization, and psychological well-being. In a sample of ethnic minority late adolescents and young adults, Fischer and Shaw proposed that experiencing racial discrimination would negatively impact the mental health of ethnic minority adolescents and young adults, and that several factors (including self-esteem, peer networks, and racial/ethnic socialization) would moderate the negative mental health outcomes. Fisher and Shaw failed to replicate previous findings of an overall negative relationship between experiencing racism and poor mental health within the total sample, however, such correlations were found within subgroups of the sample. For example, those with high personal self-esteem had a significantly negative relationship between racism experiences and mental health. Fischer and Shaw separately categorized racial/ethnic socialization into *beliefs* (e.g., “Teaching children about Black history will help them to survive a hostile world”) and *experience* (e.g., “Blacks don’t always have the same opportunities as Whites”; pp. 388-389). No relationship was found between beliefs about racial/ethnic socialization and well-being. However, and

importantly for racial/ethnic socialization researchers, this study showed a significant relationship between experiences of racial/ethnic socialization and mental health.

Specifically, participants that reported few experiences of racial/ethnic socialization and many experiences of racial discrimination within the past year had generally worse mental health outcomes. However, such a relationship was not seen in participants that reported many experiences of racial/ethnic socialization.

While much of contemporary research about racial/ethnic socialization has focused on its general protective relationship to self-esteem and well-being, it may be the case that particular aspects of socialization differentially influence particular aspects of self-esteem and well-being. In a recent investigation, Constantine and Blackmon (2002) examined such a relationship in African American early and middle adolescents. Investigators in this study examined the interrelationships of the individual subscales of a measure of teen ethnic socialization, including cultural coping, appreciation of a cultural legacy, and alertness to discrimination. Subscales were looked at in relation to various levels of self-esteem (i.e., home, school, and peer). Adolescents that reported higher socialization of cultural pride reported higher peer self-esteem., while African American youths that reported higher socialized pressure to the cultural mainstream White majority culture reported lower school self-esteem. In other words, those youths socialized *away* from their heritage culture had lower self-esteem in school, echoing the conclusions of Brody and colleagues (2006) that cultural dissonance, either via discrimination or socialization away from one's heritage culture, may relate to seriously problematic academic outcomes for ethnic minority youths, particularly their academic self-esteem.



In a recent study of Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Chinese mothers and adolescents, Hughes and colleagues (2009) attempted to clarify a causal pathway from racial socialization to youth ethnic identity. This study investigated the relationship between both mothers' and adolescents' reports of ethnic socialization practices as they pertained to youth ethnic identity. Again, similar to Hughes and colleagues' previous research, this study distinguished between socialization factors focused around ethnic pride and those related to bias preparation. While Hughes and colleagues found that mothers' reports were related to their child's reports of socialization practices, only the adolescents' self-reports of their mothers' practices were predictive of adolescent ethnic identity. Specifically, those adolescents who reported that their mothers' engaged in more cultural socialization also reported more belonging and affirmation from their ethnicity. While it is not surprising that youths' self-reports of their socialization better predicted their own identity, it is nonetheless significant and noteworthy that when attempting to exemplify the link between adolescents' ethnic identities and their parents' socialization practices, youth self-reports may better capture this phenomenon in further research.

Latinos are often characterized as one culturally homogeneous group. Trimble (1995) has called this "ethnic glossing," noting the potential dangers. Trimble noted the inherent dangers when drawing conclusions based on empirical evidence in using broad and "glossing" terms to characterize members within a particular ethnic group. Trimble states that such broad terms tend to mask cultural diversity within widely varying groups. The grouping term "Latino" often includes individuals with ancestral roots in nations and regions of North, Central, and South America, as well as Europe and the Caribbean.

Much of existing research examining ethnicity and/or family ethnic socialization fails to recognize this diversity of cultural heritages. However, Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2001) highlight the importance of engaging in research that acknowledges diversity among Latino groups. Latino teenagers from several national backgrounds including Honduran, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Salvadoran, Dominican, Guatemalan, Colombian, and Nicaraguan ancestry completed surveys about their familial ethnic socialization, self-esteem, and ethnic identity, among others. The researchers wanted to investigate what if any relationship existed between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement. As predicted, Latino teens generally exhibited a moderate-strong correlation between family ethnic socialization practices and achieved ethnic identity. However, the relationships among Latinos varied greatly. For example, the correlation for Nicaraguan youths was very strong ( $r = .86$ ) and significant at  $p < .001$ . For Honduran and Guatemalan youths, no relationship was found. In Mexican children, a more moderate relationship was observed ( $r = .55$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The sample for this study was overwhelmingly Mexican ( $n = 1,005$ , 85%) with comparatively few Central and South American Latino youths. When conducting research within Latino communities, conclusions must often be framed within the appropriate cultural context. Similarly, although with noted exceptions, this study very clearly exemplifies the importance of familial ethnic socialization in the ethnic identity development of Latino youths.

In addition to explicitly taught cultural values and preparation for the struggles of being a member of an ethnic minority group, information may be transmitted to children indirectly through parent behavior. Quintana and Vera (1999) conducted an investigation

of ethnic identity, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic socialization among Mexican American families. Children and young adolescents of two ages (grades 2 and 6, 7 and 13 years of age) were surveyed about several topics including their knowledge of ethnic prejudice, cultural norms, and culturally-specific behaviors. Parents were also interviewed about their ethnic socialization practices and their own acculturation. Significant correlations were found among a number of both youth and parent variables of interest. One possible explanation was that youths' ethnic knowledge (i.e., knowledge of cultural practices, holidays, etc.) was moderately and significantly related to knowledge about prejudice, ethnic socialization, and participation in culturally-relevant behaviors. The authors infer that more explicit teaching (i.e., ethnic socialization practices) from parents account for increased ethnic knowledge, and in turn relates to the subsequent ethnic identity measures in youths. However, also of importance are correlations between parents' level of Mexican American acculturation, their ethnic socialization practices, and their children's participation in culturally-relevant behaviors. One possibility from the observed relationships is that as parents model more aspects of their heritage culture via higher acculturation in that culture, they engage in more culturally-informed parenting and explicit ethnic socialization. In this way, parents provide ethnic socialization in both explicit (through active teaching) and implicit (via modeling) modalities.

### **Parenting: Academic Socialization**

Parents' beliefs, attitudes, and values about school and learning are transmitted to their children in a number of ways, including (as with ethnic socialization) modeling

behaviors and explicit teaching. In a review article, Taylor, Clayton, and Rowley (2004) describe the process of parental academic socialization as “what parents do,” which notes the importance of explicit and behavioral elements in parent-child relationships, as well as “who parents are,” which underscores the importance of demographic context in shaping children’s attitudes (p. 164). In their model, Taylor and colleagues described the several aspects that are of key importance. One such item includes parents’ own beliefs and experiences in school as they shape their practices and implicit attitudes. In turn, shape the learning environment at home, and interact with demographic and contextual aspects of the family and child. Barber (1997) also suggested the importance of a concept he called regulation. Regulation refers to parental behaviors such as monitoring, knowledge about their children, involvement, and rule setting. These behaviors are said to teach youths boundaries and improve a number of behavioral outcomes. Parenting behaviors, however, take place under the umbrella of the sociocultural context of the family. Parents of different cultural groups have been shown to have different developmental expectations for their children that impact the types of involvement and affect the home learning environment (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001).

Several studies have demonstrated the relationship between parents’ academic socialization practices and academic outcomes in their children (Hill, 2001; Salazar, Schludermann, Schludermann, & Huynh, 2000). In a large international study of middle adolescents from 10 ethnic groups and nationalities, Stolz and colleagues (2004) investigated several factors predictive of academic achievement. Among these were several aspects of parental academic socialization, including parental knowledge, one

aspect of Barber's (1997) regulation. Several factors were found to be largely predictive of academic achievement across multiple ethnic groups and nationalities. Of paramount importance was maternal knowledge of youths' daily lives (e.g., how they spent their money, where they spent their free time, how well they were doing in school). Also significantly predictive of academic achievement in 90% of the samples surveyed was non-academic paternal support, such as fathers assuaging their children's hurt feelings and being perceived as present when needed. Harkening the "what parents do" aspect of Taylor and colleagues (2004), the findings of Stolz and colleagues highlight the significance of being perceived as involved, knowledgeable, and available. In addition, while consistent across most or all of the cultural groups, several different patterns emerged among other predictors. Stolz and colleagues echo previous research by Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001), that while similarities may exist, research about familial academic socialization may be more appropriately understood when grounded within the specific sociocultural context in which it occurs.

A prominent article addressing the intersection of academic socialization and cultural context was reported in 1999 by Bempechat and colleagues. This study compared the academic socialization of nearly 600 low-income White and ethnic minority pre- and early-adolescents. The sample included White, African American, Asian American, and Latino low-income youths. Bempechat and colleagues aimed to examine the differences among the socialization practices of these cultural groups and find their relationships to youths' academic outcomes, including perceived academic abilities and performance on an achievement test. Not surprisingly, differences were found among the socialization

practices of the various ethnic groups. One interesting finding was that Latino youths endorsed certain practices at a significantly higher rate than their White or other ethnic minority classmates. For example, Latinos reported that their parents encouraged effort significantly more than classmates of other ethnic minority groups. In addition, and important to socialization researchers, Latino youth reported significantly more often that their parents emphasized the crucial role of education in their futures. Paradoxically, and inconsistent with previous research, Latinos in this sample had significantly worse achievement, despite the reported and socialized importance of education. It is important to note that while Latinos reported that their parents emphasized the importance of education, they did not report significantly higher parental involvement in their education, a well-documented key factor in predicting achievement (Hill, 2001; Taylor et al., 2004). One possible explanation may be that existing models of the relationships among academic socialization, culture, and academic achievement are as yet ambiguous. Further and culturally-appropriate empirical investigations are required to examine this seemingly important but unclear relationship.

### **Summary**

Research has demonstrated that ethnic minority youths generally, and Latino youths specifically, struggle with experiences of discrimination in academic settings. As increasing diversity in American classrooms continues, and the number of Latinos in the US continues to grow, these issues will only gain more prominence for Latino youths. As much research has shown, parental socialization practices have large and lasting effects

on the academic engagement, attitudes, and achievement of Latino youths. To date, research that has reported on academic outcomes has generally focused on academic achievement without regard for the impact on children's sense of academic self-efficacy. It may improve the understanding of the as yet unclear role of self-efficacy in the role of discrimination resiliency.

Primary Socialization Theory offers a conceptual framework by which to understand the competing socialization pressures in the lives of children and adolescents. Whether it includes messages about race, ethnicity, culture, or academics themselves, parental socialization plays a pivotal role in the development of beliefs and well-being of Latinos. Research supports the assertion that the influence of each source changes over time, from nearly exclusively relying on family for socialization to a stronger influence by school and eventually peers. What remains unknown is the timeline and pattern of the evolving influence of the various sources, and whether or not during preadolescence parents retain sufficient socialization power to mitigate the detrimental effects of discrimination suffered in academic contexts. It may potentially benefit those interested in child and adolescent development, as well as intervention researchers to examine these relationships and test whether parental socialization can buffer, reduce, or mitigate the discriminatory messages received from academic and peer influences. By creating a paradigm to test such parental influence, intervention researchers could possibly more effectively target their interventions for Latino families in their efforts to close the widening achievement gaps in education. The current investigation attempts to test the relative influence of discrimination experienced from school and peer contexts, as well as

that of positive parental academic and cultural socialization, to determine if parents retain sufficient socialization influence to mitigate the effects of discrimination.



## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

The following section presents a brief overview of the structure and organization of the current investigation. In addition, a short description is provided of the original parent study from which the present data were drawn, the California Families Project. Following that description, methodology for the current secondary data analysis is outlined, including data preparation, inclusion and exclusion procedures for the current sample, and detailed descriptions of the measures used in the present study (see Appendix A for a list of measures).

#### **California Families Project**

The current project is a secondary analysis of data collected during the first wave of the California Families Project (CFP; Conger, 2005). For this project, 674 Mexican-origin families with non-handicapped, typically-functioning children in the fifth grade participated in the first wave of data collection during the 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 school years. Children were drawn at random from lists provided by a large metropolitan school district and from Catholic schools within and surrounding an urban area of Northern California. Participants were then contacted by phone or in-person by members of the research team to evaluate their potential inclusion and secure their participation in the study. In order to be included in the original study, all members of the family must have identified as being of first-, second-, or third-generation Mexican origin. The target children for the study must also have been living with their biological mothers, and in the

case of two-parent households, the father had to be the child's biological father.

Trained research staff interviewed the participants (child, mother, and father, when available) in their homes using laptop computers. Interviewers were all bilingual and most were of Mexican heritage. They received training and continued supervision in the field by an interview coordinator. The supervision included continuing checks to assure that interviewers complied with a standardized set of interviewing procedures. During the child's tenure in fifth grade, interviewers collected data from families on two separate occasions, usually within a 1-week period. Each visit lasted between 2 and 3 hours and each participant was interviewed separately by one of the two interviewers. Effort was made to assure that the interviews were completed independently so that other family members could not hear the questions or answers for the other participants, mother, father, or focal child. The mother provided demographic information about the family and household members. Interviews were conducted in Spanish or English based on the preference of each participant. Two-parent families were compensated \$200 for each complete session in which they participated, and single-parent families received \$135 for each complete session. For each partially completed session, all families received \$50.

### **Procedure**

The present study was a secondary analysis of data from the CFP (Conger, 2005). For the current investigation, participants must have met original inclusion criteria previously mentioned. In addition, because the present study asked research questions specifically related to the influence of both mothers and fathers, only families with data

from mothers, fathers, and children were included in analysis.

### **Participants**

The sample for the current investigation consisted of CFP families that had complete scores for at least 75% of measures (i.e., six of the seven measures for mothers, six of the seven measures for fathers, and all three measures for children). Once each individual participant had qualified via the 75% completion criterion, only families that had a qualifying mother, father, and child were moved into the final sample for analysis. Of the original 674 participating in the CFP, 365 families met inclusion criteria. Of those in the current sample, 75.6% of mothers ( $n = 276$ ), 74.8% of fathers ( $n = 273$ ), and 11.8% of children ( $n = 43$ ) completed the majority of their interviews in Spanish.

Demographic information about mothers, fathers, and children was collected at the point of the initial interview. A vast majority of both mothers (90.5%) and fathers (83.8%) self-identified as Mexican, while only 39% of children reported Mexican, with most children identifying as Mexican American. Relationship information was collected from mothers only, 98% of whom reported being married or cohabiting. Mothers and fathers reported nearly identical level of education ( $M = 9.33$  and  $M = 9.38$  years, respectively). A summary of sample demographic variables can be found in Table 1.

### **Measures**

Information about each of the measures used for the current analyses follows. Internal consistencies, background information, and sample items are presented where

Table 1

*Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants*

Characteristics	Mothers ( <i>n</i> = 365)			Fathers ( <i>n</i> = 365)			Children ( <i>n</i> = 365)		
	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Gender: Female	100			0			51.55		
Ethnicity									
Mexican	90.5			83.8			38.9		
Mexican American	9.0			15.6			59.5		
Other	.3			.5			.5		
Don't know/NR	0			.1			1.1		
Generational status									
First generation	83.4			88.6			29.0		
Second generation	7.4			5.3			54.6		
Third generation	9.0			5.0			15.9		
Don't know/NR	.2			1.1			.5		
Relationship status									
Married	90.7								
Never married	8.8								
Divorced	.3								
Widowed	.3								
Age		36.81	5.85		39.44	6.01		10.39	0.60
Years of education		9.44	3.67		9.45	3.67		all in 5 <sup>th</sup> grade	

applicable. See Appendix A for a complete list and sample of measures as they appeared to participants.

### Academic Measures

**Woodcock-Johnson III.** The Woodcock-Johnson III Tests of Cognitive Ability (WJ-III; Woodcock, McGrew, & Mather, 2001) is a battery of brief assessments of cognitive abilities utilized as a measure of academic achievement abilities (Flanagan, 2001). The full battery includes many subscales of various academic abilities that are used to generate composite scores. Two general domains of academic ability measured

by the WJ-III are crystallized achievement (i.e., those skills thought to be more verbally based and academically trained) and fluid achievement (i.e., those skills presumed to be more innate and possibly less academically trained). For the current examination, measures of both fluid and crystallized abilities were assessed with specific subtests within the WJ-III battery.

To measure fluid abilities, participants were administered four subtests of the verbal comprehension cluster: picture vocabulary, synonyms, antonyms, and verbal analogies. These encompass a broad range of verbal abilities using verbal reasoning and lexical knowledge and skills. These abilities are hypothesized to be more susceptible to the effects of discrimination in the academic environment due to their more academically trained basis. When combined to form the verbal comprehension scale of achievement, the scale showed adequate internal consistency ( $\alpha = .74$ ) such that the subscales are able to be confidently used as a combined construct. To measure crystallized abilities, participants were administered a single subtest, the visual matching subtest. This subtest measures processing speed and perceptual reasoning, and relies less on verbal knowledge and information. The visual matching subtest showed outstanding internal consistency ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

**Academic aspirations and expectations.** Similar to Goldenberg and colleagues (2001), academic expectations were ascertained by asking two questions. Children were asked, “How far would you like to go in school?” and “How far do you expect to go in school?” Responses for children ranged from 1 (“8th grade or less,”) to 5 (“college degree”). Responses on this scale were used to create a measure of “academic self-

efficacy” in a procedure described later. Both mothers and fathers also completed a similar measure. Specifically they were asked, “How far would you like [child’s name] to go in school?” and “How far do you expect [him/her] to go in school?” Parental responses ranged from 1 (“high school graduate,”) to 8 (“Ph.D. or professional degree”).

**Parental academic involvement.** Items for these scales were either taken directly from or influenced by and adapted from those used by Epstein and Salinas (1993). In these scales, parents were asked four items about the past year regarding how often they had been involved in specific school-related activities with their child (e.g., helping with homework, studying for a test). Responses ranged on a four-point scale, from 1 (“never”) to 4 (“many times”). As these scales were original, and no such standardized measure exists, one purpose of using these measures was to aid in development of an empirically supported scale. For mothers’ self-report, the scale had moderately-acceptable internal consistency of standardized items ( $\alpha = .68$ ). For fathers’ self-report, the scale showed adequate internal consistency ( $\alpha = .75$ ).

Children were also given a similar questionnaire, and asked to rate each of their parents’ involvement in the school-related activities. This measure contained the same four items as the parents’ questionnaires, with the wording modified to reflect the appropriate parent (“In the past year, your mom [dad] helped you with homework or a school project”). Again, responses ranged on a 4-point scale, from 1 (“never,”) to 4 (“many times”). For children’s reports on their mothers, the scale possessed adequate internal consistency ( $\alpha = .73$ ), and for children’s reports on their fathers, the scale had excellent internal consistency ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

**Parental monitoring.** In order to assess the degree to which both mothers and fathers monitored their child, both academically and otherwise, another adapted scale was used. Developed from a similar measure used by Small and Luster (1994), the original scale contained eight items and had excellent internal consistency ( $\alpha = .87$ ). The version used in this study is a 10-item, modified version of this original scale. In this scale, parents were asked to self-report how often each of the 10 monitoring behavior statements applied to them during the previous three months, on a scale from 1 (“almost never or never,”) to 4 (“always or almost always”). Items included such statements as, “Over the past 3 months, you knew how [child’s name] was doing in his/her school work,” and “When [child’s name] went out at night, you knew where [he/she] was going to be.” The parents’ self-report scale had good overall internal consistency for standardized items (mothers  $\alpha = .78$ , fathers  $\alpha = .81$ ).

### **Culture and Ethnicity**

**Adolescents’ perceptions of discrimination and personal experiences with discrimination.** This scale was created from adapted questions found in the Racism in the Workplace Scale (Hughes & Dodge, 1997) and the Schedule of Sexist Events scale (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). The original scale contained 18 items belonging to two subscales: perceptions of general racism and personal experiences with prejudice and discrimination. However, after conducting preliminary factor analyses and tests of internal consistency, the original scale was reduced to eight items. The final version of the perceptions of general racism subscale contained three items and possessed sufficient internal consistency on standardized items ( $\alpha = .75$ ). The personal experiences with

prejudice and discrimination subscale contained five items, and also showed sufficient internal consistency on standardized items ( $\alpha = .75$ ), while the three-item perceived discrimination subscale had similarly adequate reliability ( $\alpha = .76$ ). Responses for the items regarding beliefs were on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true, 4 = very true) while those regarding direct experiences asked children to respond on a similar scale (1 = almost never or never, 4 = almost always or always).

**Ethnic socialization.** Both mothers and fathers completed this 11-item scale to assess the degree to which parents reinforced, taught, and exposed their children to traditional aspects Mexican and Mexican American culture. For example, topics of interest included participation in quinceañeras and baptisms, being proud of his/her ethnic background, and respecting his/her elders. It was developed as a combination questions from the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (Bernal & Knight, 1993; Knight, Cota, & Bernal, 1993), modified questions from this scale, and questions developed by the research team. Four items from the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire that were modified were done so to either shorten the original item or expand on the original content of the item. In this study, the scale had adequate internal consistency for mothers' reports ( $\alpha = .80$ ), as well as fathers' self-reports ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

**Mexican American Acculturation/Enculturation Scale.** The Mexican American Acculturation/Enculturation Scale (MAAS) consists of 50 self-report items about a broad range of beliefs, attitudes, and other aspects of acculturation and enculturation. Respondents indicate their level of agreement with the statements made in each item on a scale from 1-4 (1 = not at all, 4 = very much). The measure has two broad-



band subscales. The first subscale, acculturation, contains items pertaining to self-reliance, material success, and personal achievement. Mothers and fathers completed this measure. For both mothers and fathers, the acculturation subscale had adequate internal consistency ( $\alpha=.78$ ). Items for this scale were designed and selected from a number of sources. The second subscale, enculturation, contains items related to gender roles, multiple aspects of familism, and religion. The enculturation subscale showed high internal consistency for both mothers ( $\alpha = .89$ ) and fathers ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

Items in this measure were drawn from and created via a large number of sources. Values-related items were developed largely by González, Knight, and Saenz based on their work with Latino acculturation (see González, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Sirolli, 2002). Focus groups were also conducted, and many items were drawn directly from those used in these groups, or in response to content brought to light by them. The remaining items were drawn and adapted from similar measures of related constructs including items from Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Vanoss Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987).

**Mexican American Ethnic Pride scale.** The final measure related to culture and ethnicity is the Mexican American Ethnic Pride scale (MAEP). The measure was developed by González, Knight, and Saenz, and pilot tested in by Thayer, Valiente, Hageman, Delgado, and Updegraff (2002). This scale was administered to both mothers and fathers. It consisted of nine self-report items asking respondents to indicate how true the statements made about ethnic pride and ethnicity-related activities are of them. Responses ranged from 1-4 (1 = not at all true, 4 = very true). Mothers and fathers

responded to items about various aspects of ethnic pride, including “You have a lot of pride in your Mexican roots,” “You are active in organizations or social groups that include mostly Mexicans/Mexican-Americans,” and “You participate in Mexican cultural traditions such as special food, music, or customs.” This scale had good overall internal consistency for both mothers ( $\alpha = .84$ ) and fathers ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

The following section will briefly discuss generation of scales. The subsequent section will outline the analytical strategy and summary of results. Because of the extensive inferential statistical analysis, only significant results will be presented in this section. Additional results can be found in Appendix B.

#### **Scale Creation**

Scales were created based on a preparation procedure discussed by Widaman (2006). First, scores for total scores were created for each individual participant by summing each item reported. Each participant must have completed at least 75% of each individual scale in order to have a qualifying total score. Total scores for each scale, with the exception of that measuring adolescent academic expectations and aspirations, were completed with individual mean replacement used for missing items within each scale (Widaman, 2006).

A dichotomous score was computed from the original measure of academic aspirations and expectations measure that asked both how far children desired to go in school and how far they actually expected to go. Individuals that expected to complete as much or more education than they desired were coded as “matched” and those expecting to complete less education than they desired were coded as “unmatched.” Matched responses (i.e., expecting to complete at least as much schooling as one desires) were considered to be indicative of academic self-efficacy while unmatched responses (i.e.,

expecting to complete less education than one actually desires) reflected a lack of academic self-efficacy.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for parental scales. In addition to preliminary descriptive analysis, paired-samples t-tests were conducted to examine any scale mean differences between mothers and fathers. Fathers reported significantly higher acculturation ( $t = -5.05, p < .001, r^2 = .07$ ) and lower ethnic socialization ( $t = 2.34, p < .05, r^2 = .01$ ) and ethnic pride ( $t = 3.66, p < .001, r^2 = .04$ ). In addition, fathers reported lower monitoring ( $t = 9.43, p < .001, r^2 = .20$ ) and involvement ( $t = 4.88, p < .001, r^2 = .06$ ). Of note is that several scales for both mothers and fathers resulted in sample means very near the extreme ends of the respective scales.

Youths' descriptive statistics can be found in Table 3. Nearly three fourths (72.9%) of youths reported matched academic expectations and aspirations, indicating that they felt able to attain equal or greater amount of education than they desired. Youths also reported an average score of discrimination experiences and perceptions near the

Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics for Parent Scales*

Variable	Range	Mothers (n = 365)		Fathers (n = 365)	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Acculturation	14-56	37.35	6.50	39.54	6.17
Enculturation	36-144	122.10	10.86	122.76	11.16
MAEP	8-32	27.95	3.27	27.09	3.54
Ethnic socialization	11-44	31.94	5.59	31.05	5.71
Monitoring	14-56	51.68	4.79	48.34	6.49
Involvement	4-16	13.45	2.50	12.60	2.80
Educational expectations /aspirations	2-16	14.34	2.15	14.45	1.89

Table 3

*Descriptive Statistics for Youth Scales*

Variable	Youths ( $N = 365$ )				
	Range	$M$	$SD$	$n$ Matched	% matched
Discrimination	8-25	10.48	3.16		
WJ-III – Verbal comprehension	14-53	36.58	5.72		
WJ-III – Visual matching	20-117	39.77	8.00		
Educational expectations /aspirations				26.6	72.9

floor of the scale ( $M = 10.48$ ), with 142 (38.9%) reporting no experiences of discrimination. On the converse, 61.1% of youths did report experiencing discrimination at school by peers and/or teachers. Scores on the WJ-III are raw scores and are not intended to be interpreted as scaled scores from the original test battery.

### **Data Transformation**

Preliminary descriptive analyses revealed several scale distributions to be nonnormal. In order to more fully meet the assumptions of subsequent regression analyses (i.e., roughly normal distribution of predictors), data were transformed based on the nature of nonnormality. Distributions for all academic measures, as well as ethnic pride for both mothers and fathers, were highly negatively skewed. In order to better normalize these distributions, cube-root transformations were taken of total scores for each. Of the adolescent measures, only one scale was nonnormally distributed, experience and perceptions of discrimination. Because this distribution of scores was highly positively skewed, a  $\log_{10}$  transformation was done to draw the distribution out

from the negative end.

In order to investigate the buffering effect of the individual parenting variables, interaction terms were created by multiplying each individual parenting variable with children's report of discrimination. Fourteen interaction terms were created (i.e., one term for each of the seven variables for both mothers and fathers). In order to avoid concerns about multicollinearity, prior to creating interaction terms, each predictor variable was standardized after transformation. All descriptive and inferential analyses were then conducted with standardized scores, with the exception of the untransformed outcome variables.

### **Descriptive Analyses**

Several significant bivariate Pearson correlations were observed among study variables (see Table 4 for a full correlation matrix). Among predictors, parenting variables generally correlated more highly within each cluster (i.e., academic and cultural) than across clusters. The highest correlations were observed between cultural variables. For example, acculturation and enculturation significantly correlated for both mothers,  $r(365) = 0.585$  ( $p < .001$ ), and fathers,  $r(365) = 0.556$  ( $p < .001$ ). For academic predictors, the highest correlations were observed between academic involvement and parental monitoring for both mothers,  $r(365) = 0.248$  ( $p < .01$ ), and fathers,  $r(365) = 0.436$  ( $p < .001$ ).

Several predictors also correlated significantly with outcome variables. For matched adolescents' academic expectations and aspirations, mothers,  $r_{\text{pbs}}(359) = 0.113$

Table 4

*Correlations Among All Study Variables*

Variables <sup>a</sup>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	1.000																
2	-.164**	1.000															
3	-.155**	.029	1.000														
4	-.035	.062	.161**	1.000													
5	-.101	.101	.073	.038	1.000												
6	-.082	.113*	.083	.045	.189**	1.000											
7	.030	.058	-.033	-.058	.167**	.248**	1.000										
8	.007	-.002	-.168**	.027	-.100	-.128*	-.063	1.000									
9	.024	.045	-.130*	.058	-.086	.004	-.004	.585**	1.000								
10	.028	.101	-.053	.073	.059	.165**	.161**	.176**	.274**	1.000							
11	.024	.134*	-.054	.141**	.129*	.292**	.167**	.336**	.386**	.427**	1.000						
12	-.103	.083	.099	.011	.222**	.112*	.022	.046	.056	.044	.094	1.000					
13	-.033	.147**	.037	.046	.122*	.306**	.089	-.022	.001	.134*	.154**	.263**	1.000				
14	-.049	.060	-.027	-.002	.003	.154**	.198**	-.016	.043	.147**	.127*	.095	.436**	1.000			
15	.010	-.058	-.122*	-.020	-.048	-.121*	-.048	.151**	.043	-.056	.034	-.041	-.065	-.077	1.000		
16	.013	-.029	-.094	.022	.009	-.050	-.040	.076	.133*	.011	.040	.024	-.003	-.020	.556**	1.000	
17	.004	-.014	-.032	-.011	.018	.006	.040	.082	.083	.149**	.100*	.076	.130*	.228**	.040	.215**	1.000
18	.004	-.029	.017	-.053	.032	-.030	.058	.090	.102	.143**	.182**	.156**	.270**	.298**	.199**	.327**	.306**

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

<sup>a</sup> 1. Adolescent experiences/beliefs of discrimination. 2. Adolescent educational expectations and aspirations. 3. Adolescent WJ-III verbal comprehension. 4. Adolescent WJ-III visual matching. 5. Mother educational expectations and aspirations. 6. Mother parental monitoring. 7. Mother academic involvement. 8. Mother acculturation. 9. Mother enculturation. 10. Mother ethnic pride. 11. Mother ethnic socialization. 12. Father educational expectations and aspirations. 13. Father parental monitoring. 14. Father academic involvement. 15. Father acculturation. 16. Father enculturation. 17. Father ethnic pride. 18. Father ethnic socialization

Point-biserial correlations including adolescent educational expectations and aspirations.

( $p < .05$ ), and fathers,  $r_{\text{pbs}}(362) = .147$  ( $p < .01$ ), as well as mothers' reports of ethnic socialization,  $r_{\text{pbs}}(365) = .134$  ( $p < .05$ ) all weakly but significantly and positively correlated. Important to research question 1, the predictor with which matched adolescent academic expectations and aspirations correlated most strongly was adolescents' experiences with discrimination,  $r(365) = -.178$  ( $p < .01$ ). This relationship suggests that consistent with the prediction, those students experiencing more discrimination in academic settings are less likely to have matched academic expectations and aspirations.

Many significant correlations were observed between academic performance related variables and parent predictors. Most of these were seen in relation to adolescents' performance on the WJ-III verbal comprehension composite score. For mothers' variables, weak but significant correlations were observed between adolescents' scores on the WJ-III verbal comprehension composite score and acculturation,  $r(365) = -.168$  ( $p < .01$ ) and enculturation,  $r(365) = -.130$  ( $p < .05$ ). For fathers, only acculturation significantly correlated with verbal comprehension of adolescents,  $r(365) = -.122$  ( $p < .05$ ). A different pattern emerged from descriptive analysis of the performance-related WJ-III Visual Matching scores of adolescents. Only mothers' ethnic socialization significantly correlated with WJ-III Visual matching scores,  $r(365) = .141$  ( $p < .01$ ). These relationships suggest that for verbal comprehension, designed as a composite score of crystallized academic knowledge, higher mother and father acculturation relates to lower academic performance, as did higher mother enculturation. However, for the performance-related, fluid knowledge score observed in the visual matching task, only higher maternal ethnic socialization related to higher performance.



A similar pattern emerged in the relationships among adolescents' predictors and academic performance variables. Adolescents' experiences and perceptions of discrimination exhibited the strongest correlation to verbal comprehension,  $r(365) = -.155$  ( $p < .01$ ). However, no significant relationship was observed between adolescents' experiences of discrimination and the performance-related measure of visual matching,  $r(365) = -.035$  ( $p > .05$ ). Similarly, no relationship was observed between matched adolescent academic expectations and aspirations and either measure of academic performance. This pattern suggests that while verbal academic abilities are negatively related to discrimination experiences, performance-based visual matching seems to be unrelated.

### **Inferential Analyses**

With significant relationships among many study variables, the next step of data analysis involved a series of regression analyses to test whether child and parent variables significantly predicted child outcome variables. For all analyses, predictors were entered using block method regression. In order to evaluate research question 2, whether discrimination experiences significantly predict academic confidence, measured by dichotomously coded matched or unmatched educational aspirations and expectations (0 = unmatched, 1 = matched). In addition, it was hypothesized that parental academic and cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors would predict child academic self-efficacy (defined as matched aspirations and expectations). Finally, the original research questions addressed whether these same parenting attitudes, values, and behaviors would interact

with discrimination and academic self-efficacy, was evaluated by interactions between each parental variable and discrimination. Specifically, scores were standardized at the total scale level and multiplied to create interaction terms for regression analyses.

Significant results for predicting child academic self-efficacy from maternal variables can be found in Table 5.

Table 5 shows the results of logistic regression analyses for mother variables significantly predicting matched child academic aspirations and expectations. Each model showed a significant likelihood ratio, indicating that the tested model significantly improved predictions over the intercept-only model. The models containing maternal academic aspirations and expectations, academic involvement, acculturation, and enculturation were nonsignificant. These results can be found in Appendix B.

While each model-level analysis significantly predicted child academic confidence, the most interesting findings come at the level of individual predictors within these models. Notably, in each model, child experiences of discrimination significantly and negatively predicted academic self-efficacy, meaning that in the presence of each maternal variable and its respective interaction, children's experiences with discrimination was consistently the strongest predictor of whether or not their academic aspirations and expectations matched.

Several significant findings were observed at the level of maternal predictors. Parental monitoring (Wald  $\chi^2 = 4.522$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $R^2 = .06$ ) was the strongest and only significant predictor among the academic cluster of variables. Maternal academic aspirations and expectations, previously found to relate to children's academic outcomes

Table 5

*Logistic Regressions Significantly Predicting Child Academic Self-Efficacy by Mother Parenting Variables*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child discrimination	-.353	.116	9.279	1	.002	.702
Mother monitoring	.246	.115	4.522	1	.033	1.278
Interaction	-.187	.121	2.406	1	.121	.829
Constant	1.011	.123	67.595		<.001	2.748
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	Nagelkerke $R^2$
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio			15.021	3	.002	.06
Goodness-of-fit						
Hosmer-Lemeshow			10.456	8	.234	
Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child discrimination	-.363	.115	9.939	1	.002	.696
Mother ethnic pride	.256	.118	4.677	1	.031	1.292
Interaction	-.115	.111	1.067	1	.302	.892
Constant	1.037	.123	71.351		<.001	2.821
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	Nagelkerke $R^2$
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio			14.567	3	.002	.06
Goodness-of-fit						
Hosmer-Lemeshow			7.707	7	.463	
Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.357	.116	9.419	1	.002	.700
Mother Ethnic Socialization	.316	.123	6.586	1	.010	1.371
Interaction	.042	.121	.121	1	.728	1.043
Constant	1.033	.123	70.748		<.001	2.811
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	Nagelkerke $R^2$
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio			16.642	3	.001	.07
Goodness-of-fit						
Hosmer-Lemeshow			8.395	7	.396	

(Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001), were unrelated to children's academic self-confidence (Wald  $\chi^2 = 2.533, p > .05$ ). Of the cultural predictors, both ethnic pride (Wald  $\chi^2 = 4.677, p < .05, R^2 = .06$ ) and ethnic socialization (Wald  $\chi^2 = 6.586, p < .05, R^2 = .07$ ) significantly and positively predicted matched child academic aspirations and expectations.

With regard to research question 3, whether maternal attitudes, values, and behaviors would interact with children's experiences of discrimination and their academic self-efficacy, no significant interactions were observed in any of the models. Even though several of the mothers' variables significantly and positively predicted academic self-confidence in their children, none of these was shown to significantly interact with the negative relationship observed between children's experiences of and beliefs about discrimination at school. This may suggest that even at this early stage of development, school and social influences are potentially playing a larger socialization role than maternal influences.

Logistic regressions models were also run including paternal parenting attitudes, values, and behaviors. A similar pattern of results emerged from the series of regressions evaluating the prediction of child academic confidence by father variables and interactions. Specifically, each model with each respective father variable showed significant omnibus model likelihood ratios, meaning each model significantly predicted child academic confidence. Again, this suggests that each model which included its respective predictors significantly improved its predictive power over the intercept-only model. The only model to report a significant measure of goodness-of-fit was that which included fathers' ethnic socialization ( $\chi^2 = 19.073, p < .05, R^2 = .04$ ), meaning this model

best fit the observed data. It can be found in Table 6. All other models predicting child academic self-efficacy from paternal variables (i.e., father academic aspirations and expectations, academic involvement, monitoring, ethnic pride, ethnic socialization, acculturation and enculturation) yielded nonsignificant father predictors and can be found in Appendix B.

Linear regression analyses showed two models (Table 7), which included maternal parenting variables that significantly predicted child achievement on the verbal comprehension scale of the WJ-III. The first model included mother acculturation which had a significant overall model,  $R^2 = 0.054$ ,  $F(3, 361) = 6.893$ , as well as significant predictors of child discrimination ( $\beta = -.154$ ,  $p = .003$ ) and mother acculturation ( $\beta = -.165$ ,  $p = .001$ ). The interaction was nonsignificant ( $\beta = -.048$ ,  $p = .346$ ), indicating that the effect of discrimination was equal across all levels of mother acculturation. The second significant model included mother enculturation,  $R^2 = .040$ ,  $F(3, 361) = 5.056$ . Both child discrimination ( $\beta = -.152$ ,  $p = .003$ ) and mother enculturation ( $\beta = -.128$ ,  $p = .014$ ) negatively predicted child achievement on the verbal comprehension scale. Again, the interaction was nonsignificant, suggesting no mitigating influence of mother enculturation. Interestingly, both acculturation and enculturation negatively predicted academic achievement as measured by the verbal comprehension subset of the WJ-III. All other models of mother parenting variables had significant overall model statistics; however, no other maternal variables significantly predicted this outcome variable. As such, those models are presented in Appendix B.

Table 6

*Logistic Regression Predicting Child Academic Self-Efficacy from Father Parenting**Variables*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child discrimination	-.341	.118	8.381	1	.004	.711
Father monitoring	.309	.116	7.090	1	.008	1.362
Interaction	-.014	.112	.015	1	.902	.986
Constant	1.049	.123	72.323		< .001	2.854
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	Nagelkerke $R^2$
Overall model evaluation			16.057	3	.001	.06
Likelihood ratio						
Goodness-of-fit			6.094	8	.637	
Hosmer-Lemeshow						

Table 7

*Linear Regression Models Significantly Predicting Child Verbal Achievement from**Mother Parenting Variables*

Variable	B	SE	$\beta$	$R^2$	F	p
Acculturation						
Model				.054	6.893	< .001
Child discrimination	-.883	.293	-.154			.003
Acculturation	-.945	.293	-.165			.001
Interaction	-.273	.289	-.048			.346
Constant	36.580	.292				< .001
Enculturation						
Model				.040	5.056	.002
Child discrimination	-.868	.295	-.152			.003
Enculturation	-.734	.295	-.128			.014
Interaction	.088	.269	.017			.745
Constant	36.576	.295				< .001

Similar to the models including maternal parenting variables, all models including father parenting constructs had significant overall model statistics. However, only the model evaluating paternal acculturation showed a parenting variable significantly predict performance on the verbal comprehension scale of the WJ-III (see Table 8). This model accounted for 4% of variance in the outcome variable,  $R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(3, 361) = 4.955$  and indicated that higher paternal acculturation predicted lower performance on this section of the WJ-III. Child discrimination most strongly and negatively predicted verbal achievement ( $\beta = -.151$ ,  $p = .004$ ), while acculturation was slightly less strongly related ( $\beta = -.121$ ,  $p = .019$ ).

Of note is that parental academic variables (i.e., academic aspirations/expectations, academic involvement, and parental monitoring) in neither mothers nor fathers significantly predicted verbal comprehension (see Appendix B). This may suggest the relative lack of parental influence in this sample in the domain of direct academic values transmission. For both mothers and fathers, cultural variables better predicted outcome.

Table 8

*Linear Regression Model Significantly Predicting Child Verbal Achievement from Father Parenting Variables*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Acculturation Model				.040	4.955	.002
Child discrimination	-.864	.296	-.151			.004
Acculturation	-.694	.295	-.121			.019
Interaction	.178	.290	.032			.539
Constant	36.576	.295				< .001

Linear regression analyses were also conducted to predict child performance on the visual matching subscale of the WJ-III. This set of analyses showed that for both mothers and fathers, parenting attitudes and behaviors were much less effective at predicting child achievement. Table 9 shows the only model of all parenting variables for both mothers and fathers that significantly predicted child visual matching performance.

The model including mother ethnic socialization explained roughly 2% of variance in the visual matching performance,  $R^2 = 0.022$ ,  $F(3, 361) = 2.727$ ,  $p = .044$ , with ethnic socialization itself being the strongest predictor of the model ( $\beta = .142$ ,  $p = .007$ ). This significant result suggests that higher levels of maternal ethnic socialization significantly predict better child performance on the visual matching task. See Appendix B for nonsignificant models.

Table 9

*Linear Regression Model Significantly Predicting Child Performance Achievement from Mother Parenting Variables*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnic socialization						
Model				.022	2.727	.044
Child discrimination	-.299	.417	-.037			.474
Ethnic socialization	1.132	.417	.142			.007
Interaction	.221	.428	.027			.605
Constant	39.768	.413				< .001



## CHAPTER V

## DISCUSSION

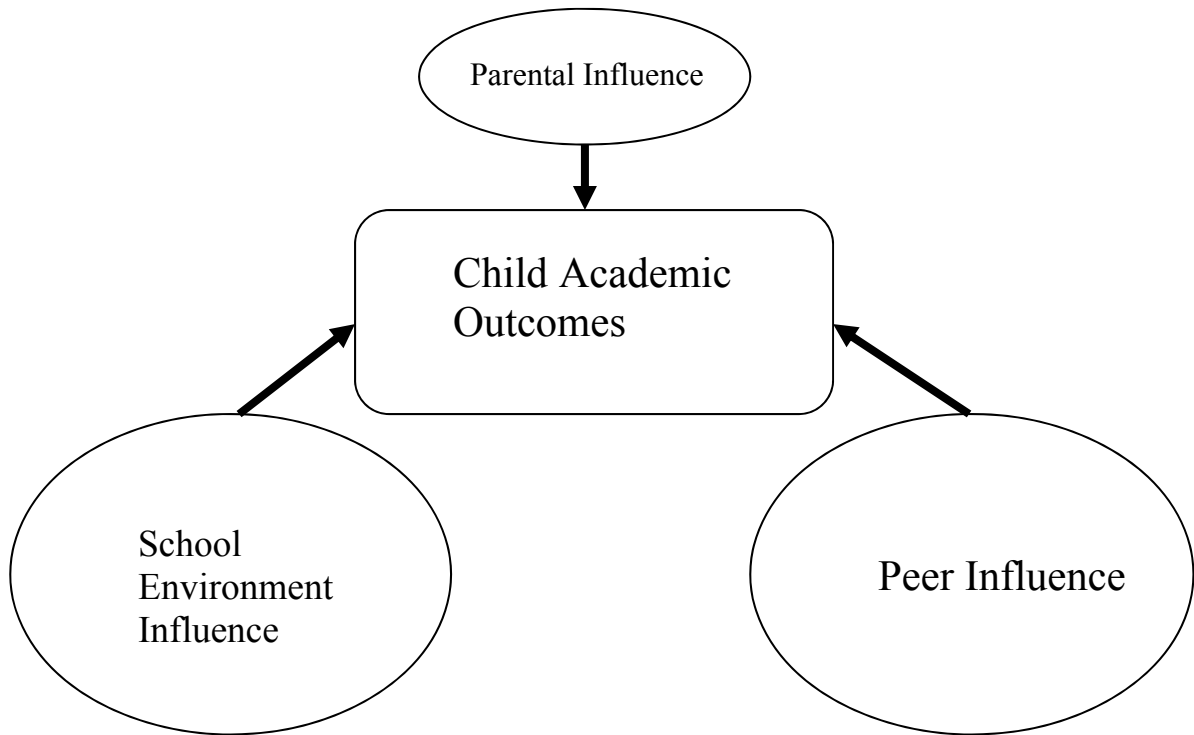
The results of the current investigation generally support several aspects of the research hypotheses. Specifically, consistent with previous research (Brody et al., 2006; Smalls et al., 2007; Thomas et al., 2009), the current investigation showed that youths' experiences of discrimination within the school environment are associated with worse academic outcomes. For both types of academic measurement (i.e., self-efficacy and abilities), discrimination negatively predicted outcomes. This relationship was observed only in verbally based academic abilities, however, suggesting a differentially impact on different aspects of academic performance. As verbal abilities (as measured by the WJ-III) are more closely related to school-based crystallized knowledge (e.g., vocabulary, verbal relationships), it seems reasonable that these abilities would be more powerfully and negatively influenced by experiences of discrimination within the academic context. If a young person consistently receives the message that he or she is not welcome at school, does not fit with the school environment, or that he or she will not succeed, it is understandable that engagement in that context would be reduced. As such, that individual may likely find himself or herself without academic skills as described above.

This same negative relationship may not be expected with cognitive abilities that are considered to be more innate (e.g., visual reasoning, processing speed). As these abilities are thought to be less learned and more characterological, they may be less susceptible to injuries to self-efficacy. The current findings support such a hypothesis, and speak to the compartmentalized nature of academic abilities. The lack of relationship

between the two measures of academic abilities (i.e., verbal and performance) supports such a compartmentalized view of these skills and suggests a view of these abilities falling in separate domains.

In general, the findings in this study do not support the hypothesis that parenting attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics serve to buffer the negative effects of discrimination. While several parenting behaviors, particularly parental monitoring and ethnic socialization, meaningfully predicted academic self-efficacy, the influence of these socialization practices was insufficient to counteract the negative effects of discrimination. Youths in this investigation showed consistently that discrimination experiences were more impactful on perceived ability to attain educational goals than parenting. These findings echo those of Bempechat and colleagues (1999) in that despite the reported and socialized importance of academic attitudes, parental academic socialization was not sufficient to predict academic performance.

Primary socialization theory offers one potential explanation for this finding. Research question three asked whether parental socialization would retain sufficient influential power to counteract negative influences from the other two primary socialization sources (i.e., school environment and peers). One interpretation of the current findings is that while parental socialization is related to academic outcomes, the deleterious effects from the other two primary sources outweighs parental influence. One primary purpose of the current study was to examine the evolving influence of primary socialization sources. Figure 2 presents a visual display of this interpretation.



*Figure 2.* Possible magnitude of influence of primary socialization sources.

Oetting and Donnermeyer (1998) suggested that in early childhood, families of origin represent the most powerful socialization force. As children develop into middle and late childhood, school gains influence over identity development and sense of self. By adolescence, parents generally have greatly reduced influence, supplanted by the more salient experiences in school and with peers. The results of the current study serve to further elucidate this rough timeline. By the absence of any significant interaction effects by any parental variables, the current findings imply that by middle childhood (i.e., 9-11 years of age), experiences with peers and the school environment more heavily influence socialization of academic self-efficacy. Even in the presence of parenting that effectively cultivates academic self-efficacy, discrimination experiences from peers and

the academic environment were shown to be more powerful for youths.

While the results of the current investigation begin to address the issues surrounding the relative influence of parental socialization through child development, this investigation was also limited in several ways. First, many possible alternate operational definitions of the study's variables are possible. Though the measures utilized in this study were all generally psychometrically sound, they are not immune to shortcomings of any self-report measure (e.g., social desirability, limited access to self-knowledge). For example, both parents and youths responded consistently at the highest end of the scale for both academic aspirations and expectations. Approximately half of both mothers and fathers reported that they both desired and expected that their children to complete a Ph.D. or other professional degree (the highest level of the scale), while nearly two-thirds of youths also both desired and expected to complete a college degree (the highest level of the child version of this scale). Many possible interpretations may be drawn from the skewed parental data. One potential conclusion that may be drawn from the observed data is related to sociocultural pressures to value (or appear to value) attainment of the highest possible level of education, regardless of what may seem realistic for a given youth. It may reflect an artifact of acculturation that parents both desire and expect their children to attain the highest levels of education. This may also suggest, however, that more culturally appropriate measures of Mexican American educational values be developed. Parents may have been responding to a perceived desirability effect of the measure. Additional research regarding the nature of Mexican American parental academic values is required before firm interpretations may be drawn.

One limiting factor in the current investigation, very few youths reported experiencing considerable amounts of discrimination. For example, nearly 40% ( $n = 142$ ) of participating youths reported experiencing no discrimination at all at school. On the converse, greater than 60% reported some experiences of discrimination within the academic context. However, fewer than 4% ( $n = 19$ ) endorsed experiences at midpoint of the measure. The overall trend was strongly suggestive that most children reported experiencing little, if any, discrimination from peers or teachers. Several interpretations may be drawn from this. Optimistically, it may be the case that because these children were so young at the time of initial data collection, they had simply not experienced a significant amount of negative intercultural experiences. Because these data were collected in a relatively culturally diverse area, the ethnic differences leading to stereotyping and discrimination may be less prominent for children of this age.

In addition, this study utilized statistical methodology which may have limited the scope of the investigation. Listwise deletion was used to select the study sample from the original sample in the parent study. The criteria were quite rigid and included only those families that completed the vast majority of measures. This may have unfairly biased the sample to include only those families which had sufficient resources to participate in multiple interview sessions. Of all the approximately 700 families surveyed in the CFP, the current study may represent only the most highly functioning and best equipped families. While the current study did have sufficient power to detect even small effects, nearly half of participants from the original study were not included because of stringent inclusion criteria. Further research should be conducted with more attention given to

including a sample representative of Mexican American families as they exist in their communities.

Another limitation of the current investigation is the limited scope of additional influential variables. For example, because this was primarily an application of PST, no child cultural variables were included as outcomes. Instead, parental socialization variables were used on the theoretical presumption that parental socialization would effectively transmit cultural and academic values. However, as the data failed to show a mitigating effect of parental socialization of any type, it may have been the case that youths simply didn't successfully acquire and internalize the values. It may be useful in future research to consider if the actual academic values in children may be influenced by the relationship between parental values and child outcomes.

The current investigation makes several points about nature of influence of discrimination in academic outcomes for Mexican American youths. Discrimination seems to most powerfully impact verbal academic abilities, presumably skills more dependent upon academic learning. Youths encountering these discriminatory experiences within the academic context may be receiving messages that school is not an environment in which they are welcome, in which they belong, or in which they can succeed. As academic retention in Latinos is alarmingly poor, these data offer insight into the powerfully deleterious effects of discrimination that Mexican American youths receive as early as elementary school. In order to improve academic retention in this fastest growing ethnic minority group in the US, it appears to be a crucial aspect of child academic development to invest energy in making the school environment one where

Mexican American youths feel included and welcomed.

In addition, this study contributes to the emerging understanding of the various socialization roles of mothers and fathers in Mexican American families. While patterns in the data had several overlaps (e.g., parental monitoring), this investigation shows that maternal variables were more strongly predictive of children's academic outcomes than were fathers'. While this study clearly had limited scope with regard to parental socialization practices, it does begin to develop a discussion about the various cultural and academic socialization roles of Mexican American parents.

Resilience research has consistently argued for the importance of what Ann Masten and colleagues have described as developmental cascades (Mastin, Herbers, Cutuli, & Lafavor, 2008). From this perspective, facilitating resilience in youths is developmentally and temporally contingent. Mastin and colleagues stated that in the prevention or early intervention with children facing factors which are likely to impede attainment of developmental competence, intervention at such a point before significant insults or injuries to the development of competencies can have longitudinal and far-reaching effects in maintaining an effective developmental trajectory. The current investigation provides some information regarding this crucial period in the facilitation of positive academic values and performance skills. By fifth grade, these youths have already begun forming beliefs about their competencies and abilities to attain educational goals which may have a negative cascade throughout adolescence and adulthood. Mastin and colleagues would suggest that in order to maximize probability of school retention and avoid the host of previously described problematic academic outcomes for Latino

youths, it may be crucial to continue developing an empirical understanding of the optimal developmental period of intervention and cultivate healthy academic values.

The outcomes of this study highlight important areas of future research. The central question of this study (and one that remains unanswered) was to what developmental point the influence of parental socialization effectively influence child outcomes to a greater extent than peer or academic socialization forces. While most youths reported minimal experiences with discrimination, greater than 60% reported some such experiences at school. In order to address the temporal question of competing socialization influences, longitudinal analysis beginning in earlier childhood may be recommended.



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APPENDICES



Appendix A  
List of Measures

## Scales

Scale Title:	Adolescents' Perceptions of Discrimination and Personal Experiences with Discrimination – Personal Experiences with Prejudice and Discrimination
Reporter:	Child/Adolescent
Instructions:	For the next set of questions, I am interested in your experiences with other people, in your neighborhood and at school. Tell me how true the following statements are for you.
Instructions (Spanish)	Para las siguientes preguntas estoy interesado/a en tus experiencias con otras personas, en tu vecindad y en tu escuela. Dime que tan ciertas son para ti las siguientes frases.
Scale anchors:	1 = not at all true, 2 = somewhat true, 3 = mostly true, 4 = very true
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = nada cierto, 2 = algo cierto, 3 = cierto, 4 = muy cierto
Scale Items:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. You have heard kids at school making jokes or saying bad things about [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</li> <li>2. Kids at school think bad things about [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</li> <li>3. Your teachers dislike [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</li> <li>4. Kids at school dislike [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</li> <li>5. You have heard your teachers at school making jokes or saying bad things about [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</li> </ol>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Has oído a niños en tu escuela haciendo bromas o diciendo cosas malas de los [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> <li>2. Niños en la escuela piensan mal sobre los [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> <li>3. A tus maestros no les gustan los [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> <li>4. A los niños de la escuela no les gustan los [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> <li>5. Has oído a tus maestros en tu escuela haciendo bromas o diciendo cosas malas de los [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> </ol>

Scale Title:	Adolescents' Perceptions of Discrimination and Personal Experiences with Discrimination – Perceived Discrimination
Reporter:	Child/Adolescent
Instructions:	Thinking about these people, please tell me how often each of the following things happened to you in the past 3 months.
Instructions (Spanish)	Pensando en estas personas dime, en los últimos 3 meses, que tan seguido te ha sucedido cada una de las siguientes cosas.
Scale anchors:	1 = almost never or never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = a lot of the time, 4 = almost always or always
Scale anchors	1 = casi nunca o nunca, 2 = a veces, 3 = muchas veces, 4 = casi

(Spanish)	siempre o siempre
Scale Items:	<p>6. How often have kids at school excluded you from their activities, like not inviting you to go out with them, not inviting you to their houses, or not letting you join their games, because you are [Mexican/Mexican-American]?</p> <p>7. How often have you had to work harder in school than White kids to get the same praise or the same grades from your teachers because you are [Mexican/Mexican-American]?</p> <p>8. Have kids at school called you names because you are [Mexican/Mexican-American]?</p>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<p>6. ¿Qué tan seguido los niños de tu escuela te excluyeron de sus actividades, así como: invitarte a salir con ellos, o a sus casas, o jugar con ellos porque eres [Mexicano/México-Americano]?</p> <p>7. ¿Qué tan seguido tuviste que trabajar más que los niños anglosajones en la escuela para que tu maestro/a te dijera cosas buenas o para recibir las mismas calificaciones, porque eres [Mexicano/México-Americano]?</p> <p>8. ¿Los niños de la escuela te dijeron malas palabras, porque eres [Mexicano/México-Americano]?</p>

Scale Title:	Educational Aspirations and Expectancies – Child Self-Report
Reporter:	Child/Adolescent
Instructions:	Next, I would like to ask you a couple of questions about your future plans regarding your education.
Instructions (Spanish)	Ahora me gustaría hacerte algunas preguntas sobre tus planes para el futuro de tu educación.
Scale anchors:	1 = 8th grade or less, 2 = 9th-11th grade, 3 = High School graduate, 4 = Vocational, Technical, Trade, or Business School, 5 = College degree
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = Grado 8 o menos, 2 = Grado 9-11, 3 = Terminó secundaria, 4 = Escuela vocacional, técnica, o escuela de comercio, 5 = Terminó Universidad
Scale Items:	<p>1. How far would you <b>like</b> to go in school?</p> <p>2. How far do you <b>really</b> think you will go in school?</p>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<p>1. ¿Hasta dónde <b>quisieras</b> llegar en la escuela?</p> <p>2. <b>En realidad</b>, ¿hasta donde piensas que llegarás en la escuela?</p>

Scale Title:	Educational Aspirations and Expectancies – Parent Report on Child
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	Next, I would like to ask you a couple of questions about your thoughts about [FOCAL CHILD] future education.

Instructions (Spanish)	Quiero hacerle unas preguntas acerca de sus pensamientos sobre la educación futura de [FOCAL CHILD].
Scale anchors:	1 = 8th grade or less, 2 = 9th-11th grade, 3 = High School graduate, 4 = Vocational, 5 = Junior College degree, 6 = 4-year College, 7 = Master's degree/ 8 = Ph.D. or professional degree (e.g., law, medicine, dentistry, etc.)
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = Grado 8 o menos, 2 = Grado 9-11, 3 = Terminó secundaria, 4 = Escuela vocacional, técnica, o escuela de comercio, 5 = Colegio de la Comunidad, 6 = Termine Universidad, 7 = Maestría, 8 = Doctorado o Título profesional (como leyes, medicina, dentista, etc.)
Scale Items:	1. How far do you want [FOCAL CHILD] to go in school? 2. How far do you <b>expect</b> [FOCAL CHILD] to go in school?
Scale Items (Spanish)	1. ¿Hasta donde quiere que llegue [FOCAL CHILD] en la escuela? 2. <b>En realidad</b> ¿hasta donde piensa que va a llegar [FOCAL CHILD] en la escuela?

Scale Title:	Ethnic Socialization
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	Please tell me how often you do the following with [FOCAL CHILD].
Instructions (Spanish)	Por favor dígame que tan seguido hace las siguientes cosas con [FOCAL CHILD]
Scale anchors:	1 = almost never or never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = a lot of the time, 4 = almost always or always
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = casi nunca o nunca, 2 = a veces, 3 = muchas veces, 4 = casi siempre o siempre
Scale Items:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How often do you tell [FOCAL CHILD] about successful Mexican Americans who live in your community?</li> <li>2. How often do you tell [FOCAL CHILD] about the discrimination [he/she] may face because of [his/her] Mexican background?</li> <li>3. Tell [FOCAL CHILD] to be proud of [his/her] Mexican background.</li> <li>4. Tell [FOCAL CHILD] Mexican folktales such as La Llorona?</li> <li>5. Talk to [FOCAL CHILD] about how important it is to respect one's elders.</li> <li>6. Encourage [FOCAL CHILD] to speak Spanish.</li> <li>7. Tell [FOCAL CHILD] about important and famous Mexican or Mexican American people in history like Cesar Chavez, Frida Kahlo, Benito Juárez, or Pancho Villa.</li> <li>8. Take [FOCAL CHILD] to Mexican celebrations like Quinceañeras, Mexican weddings, or baptisms.</li> <li>9. How often do you tell [FOCAL CHILD] that [his/her] behavior reflects on the family?</li> <li>10. Tell [FOCAL CHILD] that [he/she] always has an obligation to</li> </ol>

	<p>help members of the family?</p> <p>11. Talk to [FOCAL CHILD] about the importance of extended family members such as someone's godparents?</p>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ¿Qué tan seguido le cuenta a [FOCAL CHILD] acerca de México Americanos exitosos que viven en su comunidad.</li> <li>2. ¿Qué tan seguido le platica a [FOCAL CHILD] acerca de la discriminación que él/ella podría enfrentar debido a su origen mexicano</li> <li>3. Le dice a [FOCAL CHILD] que esté orgulloso/a de su origen Mexicano.</li> <li>4. Le platica a [FOCAL CHILD] cuentos tradicionales como la de la Llorona.</li> <li>5. Le habla a [FOCAL CHILD] acerca de lo importante que es respetar a sus mayores.</li> <li>6. Anima a [FOCAL CHILD] que hable español.</li> <li>7. Platica con [FOCAL CHILD] acerca de personajes Mexicanos famosos e importantes en la historia, como Cesar Chávez, Frida Kahlo, Benito Juárez, o Pancho Villa</li> <li>8. Lleva a [FOCAL CHILD] a celebraciones mexicanas, tales como quinceañeras, bodas o bautizos.</li> <li>9. ¿Qué tan seguido le dice a [FOCAL CHILD] que el comportamiento de él/ella se refleja en la familia?</li> <li>10. Le dice a [FOCAL CHILD] que él/ella siempre tiene la obligación de ayudar a los miembros de la familia.</li> <li>11. Platica con [FOCAL CHILD] sobre la importancia de la familia extendida así como lo importante que son los compadres.</li> </ol>

Scale Title:	Mexican American Acculturation/Enculturation Scale (MAAS)
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	The next statements are about what people may think or believe. Tell me how much you agree with the following statements.
Instructions (Spanish)	Las siguientes frases son acerca de lo que la gente puede pensar o creer. Dígame cuanto está de acuerdo o desacuerdo con las siguientes frases.
Scale anchors:	1 = not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = somewhat, 4 = very much
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = nada, 2 = un poco, 3 = algo, 4 = bastante
Scale Items:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How much do you agree that parents should teach their children to pray?</li> <li>2. How much do you agree that parents should teach their children that the family always comes first?</li> <li>3. Children should be taught that it is their duty to care for their parents when their parents get old.</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>4. Children should always do things to make their parents happy.</li><li>5. How much do you agree that, no matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect?</li><li>6. Children should be taught that it is important to have a lot of money.</li><li>7. People should learn how to take care of themselves and not depend on others.</li><li>8. God is first; family is second.</li><li>9. Family provides a sense of security because they will always be there for you.</li><li>10. How much do you agree that children should respect adult relatives as if they were parents?</li><li>11. If a relative is having a hard time financially, one should help him or her out if possible.</li><li>12. When it comes to important decisions, the family should ask for advice from close relatives.</li><li>13. Men should earn most of the money for the family so women can stay home and take care of the children and the home.</li><li>14. One must be ready to compete with others to get ahead.</li><li>15. Children should never question their parents' decisions.</li><li>16. Money is the key to happiness.</li><li>17. The most important thing parents can teach their children is to be independent from others.</li><li>18. One's belief in God gives inner strength and meaning to life.</li><li>19. Families need to watch over and protect teenage girls more than teenage boys.</li><li>20. It is always important to be united as a family.</li><li>21. How much do you believe that a person should share his or her home with relatives if they need a place to stay?</li><li>22. Children should be on their best behavior when visiting the homes of friends or relatives.</li><li>23. Parents should encourage children to do everything better than others.</li><li>24. Owning a lot of nice things makes one very happy.</li><li>25. Children should always honor their parents and never say bad things about them.</li><li>26. As children get older their parents should allow them to make their own decisions.</li><li>27. If everything is taken away, one still has his or her faith in God.</li><li>28. It is important to have close relationships with aunts, uncles, grandparents and cousins.</li><li>29. Older kids should take care of and be role models for their younger brothers and sisters.</li><li>30. How much do you agree that children should be taught to always be</li></ol>
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	<p>good because they represent the family?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31. Children should follow their parents' rules, even if they think the rules are unfair.</li> <li>32. It is important for the man to have more power in the family than the woman.</li> <li>33. Personal achievements are the most important things in life.</li> <li>34. The more money one has, the more respect he or she should get from others.</li> <li>35. When there are problems in life, a person can only count on himself or herself.</li> <li>36. It is important to thank God every day for all one has.</li> <li>37. Holidays and celebrations are important because the whole family comes together.</li> <li>38. Parents should be willing to make great sacrifices to make sure their children have a better life.</li> <li>39. A person should always think about his/her family when making important decisions.</li> <li>40. It is important for children to understand that their parents should have the final say when decisions are made in the family.</li> <li>41. How much do you agree that parents should teach their children to compete to win?</li> <li>42. Mothers are the main person responsible for raising children.</li> <li>43. The best way for a person to feel good about himself or herself is to have a lot of money.</li> <li>44. Parents should encourage children to solve their own problems.</li> <li>45. It is important to follow the Word of God.</li> <li>46. It is important for family members to show their love and affection to one another.</li> <li>47. It is important to work hard and do one's best because this work reflects on the family.</li> <li>48. Religion should be an important part of one's life.</li> <li>49. Children should always be polite when speaking to any adult.</li> <li>50. How much do you agree that a wife should always support her husband's decisions, even if she does not agree with him?</li> </ol>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos a rezar?</li> <li>2. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos que la familia siempre es primero?</li> <li>3. Se les debería enseñar a los niños que es su obligación cuidar a sus padres cuando ellos se hagan viejos.</li> <li>4. Los niños siempre deberían hacer las cosas que hagan a sus padres felices.</li> <li>5. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que sea lo que sea, los niños siempre deberían tratar a sus padres con respeto?</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>6. Se les debería enseñar a los niños que es importante tener mucho dinero.</li><li>7. La gente debería aprender cómo cuidarse ellos mismos y no contar con otra gente.</li><li>8. Dios está primero, la familia está segundo.</li><li>9. La familia provee un sentido de seguridad, porque ellos siempre estarán allí para usted.</li><li>10. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que los niños deberían respetar a parientes mayores como si fueran sus padres?</li><li>11. Si un pariente tiene dificultades económicas, uno debería ayudarle si puede.</li><li>12. Cuando se trata de decisiones importantes, la familia debería pedir consejos a los parientes mas cercanos.</li><li>13. Los hombres deberían ganar la mayoría del dinero en la familia para que las mujeres puedan quedarse en casa y cuidar a los hijos y el hogar.</li><li>14. Uno tiene que estar listo para competir con otros si uno quiere salir adelante.</li><li>15. Los hijos nunca deberían cuestionar las decisiones de sus padres.</li><li>16. El dinero es la clave para la felicidad.</li><li>17. Lo más importante que los padres pueden enseñarle a sus hijos es que sean independientes de otros.</li><li>18. La creencia en Dios da fuerza interna y significado a la vida.</li><li>19. Las familias necesitan vigilar y proteger más a las niñas adolescentes que a los niños adolescentes.</li><li>20. Siempre es importante estar unidos como familia.</li><li>21. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que uno debería de compartir su casa con parientes si ellos necesitan un lugar donde quedarse?</li><li>22. Los niños deberían portarse de la mejor manera cuando visitan las casas de amigos o familiares.</li><li>23. Los padres deberían animar a los hijos para que hagan todo mejor que los demás.</li><li>24. Tener muchas cosas buenas lo hace a uno muy feliz.</li><li>25. Los niños siempre deberían honrar a sus padres y nunca decir cosas malas de ellos.</li><li>26. Según los niños van creciendo, los padres deberían dejar que ellos tomen sus propias decisiones.</li><li>27. Si a uno le quitan todo, todavía le queda la fe en Dios.</li><li>28. Es importante mantener relaciones cercanas con tíos, abuelos y primos.</li><li>29. Los hermanos mayores deberían cuidar y darles el buen ejemplo a los hermanos menores.</li><li>30. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que se les debe enseñar a los niños a que siempre sean buenos porque ellos representan a la familia?</li></ol>
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	<p>31. Los niños deberían seguir las reglas de sus padres, aún cuando piensen que no son justas.</p> <p>32. En la familia es importante que el hombre tenga más poder que la mujer.</p> <p>33. Los logros personales son las cosas más importantes en la vida.</p> <p>34. Entre más dinero tenga uno, más respeto debería recibir.</p> <p>35. Cuando hay problemas en la vida, uno sólo puede contar con sí mismo.</p> <p>36. Es importante darle gracias a Dios todos los días por todo lo que uno tiene.</p> <p>37. Los días festivos y las celebraciones son importantes porque se reúne toda la familia.</p> <p>38. Los padres deberían estar dispuestos hacer grandes sacrificios para asegurarse que sus hijos tengan una vida mejor.</p> <p>39. Uno siempre debería considerar a su familia cuando toma decisiones importantes.</p> <p>40. Es importante que los niños entiendan que sus padres deberían tener la última palabra cuando se toman decisiones en la familia.</p> <p>41. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos a competir para ganar?</p> <p>42. Las madres son las personas principales responsables por la crianza de los hijos.</p> <p>43. La mejor manera de sentirse bien acerca de uno mismo es tener mucho dinero.</p> <p>44. Los padres deberían animar a sus hijos a que resuelvan sus propios problemas.</p> <p>45. Es importante seguir la palabra de Dios.</p> <p>46. Es importante que los miembros de la familia muestren su amor y afecto unos a los otros.</p> <p>47. Es importante trabajar duro y hacer lo mejor que uno pueda porque el trabajo de uno se refleja en la familia.</p> <p>48. La religión debería ser una parte importante de la vida de uno.</p> <p>49. Los niños siempre deberían ser amables cuando hablan con cualquier adulto.</p> <p>50. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está que la esposa siempre debería apoyar las decisiones de su esposo, aunque no esté de acuerdo con él?</p>
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Scale Title:	Parent Involvement in Child's Education: Parent Self-Report
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	Please tell me how often you have done the following in the past year.
Instructions (Spanish)	En el último año, dígame que tan seguido ha hecho lo siguiente.

Scale anchors:	1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = Nunca 2 = Rara vez, 3 = A veces, 4 = Seguido
Scale Items:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In <b>the past year</b>, you helped [FOCAL CHILD] with homework or a school project.</li> <li>2. You encouraged [FOCAL CHILD] to study.</li> <li>3. You helped [FOCAL CHILD] study for a test.</li> <li>4. You checked to see that [FOCAL CHILD] had done [his/her] homework.</li> </ol>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. En <b>el último año</b>, le ayudó a [FOCAL CHILD] con su tarea o algún proyecto escolar.</li> <li>2. Animó a [FOCAL CHILD] a estudiar.</li> <li>3. Le ayudó a [FOCAL CHILD] a estudiar para un examen.</li> <li>4. Revisó que [FOCAL CHILD] termine su tarea.</li> </ol>

Scale Title:	Parental Monitoring
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	Please tell me how often each statement describes your experiences with [FOCAL CHILD] during the past 3 months.
Instructions (Spanish)	En los últimos 3 meses, ¿qué tan seguido describe cada frase sus experiencias con [FOCAL CHILD].
Scale anchors:	1 = Almost never or never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = A lot of the time, 4 = Almost always or always
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = Casi nunca o nunca, 2 = A veces, 3 = Muchas veces, 4 = Casi siempre o siempre
Scale Items:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Over <b>the past 3 months</b>, you knew how [FOCAL CHILD] was doing in his/her school work.</li> <li>2. You knew what [FOCAL CHILD] was doing after school.</li> <li>3. You knew how [FOCAL CHILD] spent [his/her] money.</li> <li>4. You knew the parents of [FOCAL CHILD] friends.</li> <li>5. You knew who [FOCAL CHILD] friends were.</li> <li>6. If [FOCAL CHILD] was going to get home late, [he/she] was expected to call you.</li> <li>7. [FOCAL CHILD] told you who [he/she] was going to be with before [he/she] went out.</li> <li>8. When [FOCAL CHILD] went out at night, you knew where [he/she] was going to be.</li> <li>9. Over <b>the past 3 months</b>, you knew about the plans [FOCAL CHILD] had with [his/her] friends.</li> <li>10. When [FOCAL CHILD] went out, you asked [him/her] where [he/she] was going.</li> <li>11. You knew where [FOCAL CHILD] was and what [he/she] was doing.</li> </ol>

	<p>12. You talked with [FOCAL CHILD] about what was going on in [his/her] life.</p> <p>13. You knew if [FOCAL CHILD] did something wrong.</p> <p>14. You knew when [FOCAL CHILD] did something really well at school or some place else away from home.</p>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<p>1. En <b>los últimos 3 meses</b>, usted sabía cómo le iba a [FOCAL CHILD] en su trabajo escolar.</p> <p>2. Usted sabía lo que [FOCAL CHILD] hacía después de la escuela.</p> <p>3. Usted sabía en lo que [FOCAL CHILD] gastó su dinero.</p> <p>4. Usted conocía a los padres de los amigos [FOCAL CHILD].</p> <p>5. Usted sabía quienes eran los amigos de [FOCAL CHILD].</p> <p>6. Si [FOCAL CHILD] iba a llegar tarde a casa, usted esperaba que él/ella le llamara.</p> <p>7. [FOCAL CHILD] le dijo con quien iba a estar antes de salir.</p> <p>8. Cuando [FOCAL CHILD] salió por la noche, usted sabía en donde él/ella iba estar.</p> <p>9. En <b>los últimos 3 meses</b>, usted sabía sobre los planes que [FOCAL CHILD] tenía con sus amigos.</p> <p>10. Cuando [FOCAL CHILD] salió, le preguntaba a donde iba.</p> <p>11. Sabía donde estaba [FOCAL CHILD] y lo que estaba haciendo.</p> <p>12. Habló con [FOCAL CHILD] acerca de lo que estaba pasando en su vida.</p> <p>13. Si [FOCAL CHILD] había hecho algo mal, lo sabía.</p> <p>14. Se daba cuenta si [FOCAL CHILD] había hecho algo muy bueno en la escuela o en otro lugar fuera de la casa.</p>

Scale Title:	Mexican American Ethnic Pride (MAEP)
Reporter:	Mother/Father
Instructions:	The next statements are about your feelings about your Mexican background. Please tell me how much each statement is true for you.
Instructions (Spanish)	Las siguientes frases son sobre sus sentimientos acerca de su origen Mexicano. Por favor dígame que tan cierta es cada frase para usted.
Scale anchors:	1 = Not at all true, 2 = Some-what true, 3 = Mostly true, 4 = Very true
Scale anchors (Spanish)	1 = Nada cierto, 2 = Algo cierto, 3 = Cierto, 4 = Muy cierto
Scale Items:	<p>1. You have a lot of pride in your Mexican roots.</p> <p>2. You feel good about your cultural or ethnic background.</p> <p>3. You like people to know that your family is [Mexican/Mexican-American].</p> <p>4. You feel proud to see Latino actors, musicians and artists being successful.</p> <p>5. You are active in organizations or social groups that include mostly [Mexicans/Mexican-Americans].</p>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. You are happy that you are [Mexican/Mexican-American].</li> <li>7. You participate in Mexican cultural traditions such as special food, music, or customs.</li> <li>8. You feel a strong attachment towards your own ethnic group.</li> </ol>
Scale Items (Spanish)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Está muy orgullosa de sus raíces Mexicanas.</li> <li>2. Se siente bien sobre su cultura u origen étnico.</li> <li>3. Le gusta que la gente sepa que su familia es [Mexicano/México-Americano].</li> <li>4. Se siente orgullosa de ver que actores, músicos y artistas Latinos tengan éxito.</li> <li>5. Es activa en organizaciones o grupos sociales que principalmente incluyen a [Mexicanos/México-Americanos].</li> <li>6. Está feliz de ser [Mexicana/México-Americana].</li> <li>7. Participa en tradiciones culturales Mexicanas como comida, música o costumbres.</li> <li>8. Siente un acercamiento fuerte a su propio grupo étnico.</li> </ol>

## Appendix B

Results of Regression Models with Nonsignificant Parent Predictors

### Mother Logistic Regression Models

Table B1

*Logistic Regression Predicting Child Academic Self-Efficacy from Mother Educational Expectations/Aspirations*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child discrimination	-.322	.115	7.775	1	.005	.725
Mother educational expectations / aspirations	.187	.118	2.533	1	.112	1.206
Interaction	-.007	.117	.004	1	.950	.993
Constant	.991	.112	65.605		<.001	2.694
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			11.222	3	.011	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			3.395	7	.846	

Table B2

*Logistic Regression Predicting Academic Self-Efficacy from Mother Academic Involvement*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.389	.118	10.911	1	.001	.678
Mother academic involvement	.137	.122	1.272	1	.259	1.147
Interaction	.223	.129	2.972	1	.085	1.249
Constant	1.014	.121	70.055		<.001	2.758
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			14.063	3	.003	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			8.185	7	.317	

Table B3

*Logistic Regression Predicting Academic Self-Efficacy from Mother Acculturation*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.350	.114	9.433	1	.002	.705
Mother acculturation	-.003	.121	.001	1	.978	.997
Interaction	.014	.112	.015	1	.904	1.014
Constant	1.014	.120	70.935		<.001	2.757
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			9.419	3	.024	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			17.978	7	.021	

Table B4

*Logistic Regression Predicting Academic Self-Efficacy from Mother Enculturation*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.350	.115	9.304	1	.002	.705
Mother enculturation	.092	.122	.577	1	.447	1.097
Interaction	.063	.106	.353	1	.553	1.065
Constant	1.104	.121	70.644		<.001	2.757
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			10.627	3	.014	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			7.192	7	.516	

### Father Logistic Regression Models

Table B5

*Logistic Regression Predicting Academic Self-Efficacy from Father Educational Expectations/Aspirations*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.299	.124	5.793	1	.016	.742
Father educational expectations/ aspirations	.134	.125	1.145	1	.285	1.143
Interaction	.051	.098	.273	1	.601	1.052
Constant	1.052	.124	72.050		<.001	2.863
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			9.018	3	.029	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			4.465	7	.725	

Table B6

*Logistic Regression Predicting Matched Child Educational Expectations and Aspirations from Father Academic Involvement*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.352	.115	9.402	1	.002	.703
Father academic involvement	.126	.119	1.130	1	.288	1.134
Interaction	-.059	.111	.286	1	.593	.942
Constant	1.016	.121	70.736		<.001	2.763
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			10.665	3	.014	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			12.282	8	.139	



Table B7

*Logistic Regression Predicting Matched Child Educational Expectations and Aspirations from Father Acculturation*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.359	.115	9.655	1	.002	.699
Father acculturation	-.114	.122	.880	1	.348	.892
Interaction	-.102	.114	.789	1	.374	.903
Constant	1.019	.121	71.090		<.001	2.770
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			11.427	3	.010	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			4.984	8	.759	

Table B8

*Logistic Regression Predicting Matched Child Educational Expectations and Aspirations from Father Enculturation*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.353	.114	9.500	1	.002	.703
Father enculturation	-.061	.122	.249	1	.618	.941
Interaction	-.037	.110	.112	1	.737	.964
Constant	1.016	.121	71.017		<.001	2.761
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			9.185	3	.020	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			5.938	8	.654	

Table B9

*Logistic Regression Predicting Matched Child Educational Expectations and Aspirations from Father Ethnic Pride*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.334	.116	8.348	1	.004	.716
Father ethnic pride	-.010	.120	.007	1	.935	.990
Interaction	-.150	.120	1.561	1	.211	.861
Constant	1.017	.121	71.016		<.001	2.766
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			11.039	3	.012	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			6.116	8	.634	

Table B10

*Logistic Regression Predicting Matched Child Educational Expectations and Aspirations from Father Ethnic Socialization*

Predictor	B	SE	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^{\beta}$ (odds ratio)
Child Discrimination	-.347	.114	9.176	1	.002	.707
Father ethnic socialization	-.059	.121	.237	1	.626	.943
Interaction	-.059	.116	.256	1	.613	.943
Constant	1.015	.120	70.971		<.001	2.759
Test			$\chi^2$	df	p	
Overall model evaluation likelihood ratio			9.959	3	.019*	
Goodness-of-fit Hosmer-Lemeshow			19.073	8	.014	

**Mother Linear Regression Models**

Table B11

*Linear Regression Models Nonsignificantly Predicting Child Verbal Comprehension from Mother Parenting Variables*

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Educational aspirations/expectations						
Model				.028	3.379	.018
Child discrimination	-.859	.304	-.150			.005
Educational aspirations / expectations	.350	.306	.061			.256
Interaction	-.204	.313	.035			.514
Constant	36.554	.305				<.001
Monitoring						
Model				.022	3.623	.013
Child discrimination	-.853	.300	-.150			.005
Monitoring	.426	.302	.074			.159
Interaction	-.426	.302	-.035			.509
Constant	-36.519	.300				<.001
Academic involvement						
Model				.018	3.273	.021
Child discrimination	-.921	.301	-.161			.002
Academic involvement	-.145	.298	-.025			.628
Interaction	.245	.320	.040			.444
Constant	36.571	.297				<.001
Mexican American ethnic pride						
Model				.027	3.313	.020
Child discrimination	-.885	.297	-.155			.003
MAEP	-.285	.297	-.050			.338
Interaction	.096	.293	-.017			.743
Constant	36.575	.297				<.001
Ethnic socialization						
Model				.036	4.534	.004
Child discrimination	-.902	.296	-.158			.002
Ethnic socialization	-.271	.296	-.047			.360
Interaction	-.580	.304	-.099			.057
Constant	36.592	.295				<.001

**Father Linear Regression Models**

Table B11

*Linear Regressions Nonsignificantly Predicting Child Verbal Comprehension from Father Parenting Variables*

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Educational aspirations / expectations						
Model				.031	3.663	.013
Child discrimination	-.868	.317	-.147			.007
Educational aspirations /expectations	.492	.309	.086			.112
Interaction	-.056	.243	-.013			.817
Constant	36.581	.304				<.001
Monitoring						
Model				.025	3.126	.026
Child discrimination	-.857	.302	-.150			.005
Monitoring	.182	.300	.032			.544
Interaction	.121	.297	.021			.684
Constant	36.600	.299				<.001
Academic involvement						
Model				.025	3.126	.026
Child discrimination	-.894	.298	-.156			.003
Academic involvement	-.199	.298	-.035			.504
Interaction	.036	.291	.006			.902
Constant	36.580	.297				<.001
Enculturation						
Model				.033	4.130	.007
Child discrimination	-.891	.297	-.156			.003
Enculturation	-.529	.296	-.093			.074
Interaction	-.133	.284	-.024			.639
Constant	<.001	.052				.994
Mexican American ethnic pride						
Model				.026	3.155	.025
Child discrimination	-.874	.299	-.153			.004
MAEP	-.181	.297	-.032			.543
Interaction	-.126	.308	-.021			.682
Constant	36.579	.297				<.001
Ethnic socialization						
Model				.024	3.016	.030
Child discrimination	-.890	.298	-.156			.003
Ethnic socialization	.100	.297	.017			.737
Interaction	.049	.053	.008			.871
Constant	36.578	.297				<.001

Table B13

*Linear Regressions Nonsignificantly Predicting Child Visual Matching from Mother Parenting Variables*

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Educational expectations /aspirations						
Model				.003	.349	.790
Child discrimination	-.254	.430	-.032			.554
Educational expectations /aspirations	.299	.433	.037			.490
Interaction	.299	.442	-.025			.641
Constant	39.777	.432				<.001
Monitoring						
Model				.005	.631	.595
Child discrimination	-.286	.425	-.036			.501
Monitoring	.374	.428	.047			.383
Interaction	-.406	.456	-.047			.374
Constant	39.782	.426				<.001
Academic involvement						
Model				.005	.650	.583
Child discrimination	-.305	.426	-.038			.475
Academic involvement	-.440	.421	-.055			.297
Interaction	.253	.453	.030			.577
Constant	39.766	.419				<.001
Acculturation						
Model				.003	.361	.781
Child discrimination	-.279	.420	-.038			.508
Acculturation	.210	.421	.026			.618
Interaction	.254	.415	.032			.541
Constant	39.771	.420				<.001
Enculturation						
Model				.006	.707	.549
Child discrimination	-.283	.419	-.035			.500
Enculturation	.442	.423	.055			.297
Interaction	.243	.383	.033			.527
Constant	39.768	.419				<.001
MAEP						
Model				.008	.910	.436
Child discrimination	-.309	.420	-.039			.463
MAEP	.580	.420	.072			.168
Interaction	.234	.414	.030			.573
Constant	39.767	.419				<.001

Table B14

*Linear Regressions Nonsignificantly Predicting Child Visual Matching from Father Parenting Variables*

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Academic aspirations/expectations						
Model				.001	.111	.953
Child discrimination	-.246	.457	-.029			.591
Academic aspirations/expectations	.074	.445	.009			.868
Interaction	-.051	.350	-.008			.884
Constant	39.806	.437				<.001
Monitoring						
Model				.004	.466	.706
Child discrimination	-.238	.426	-.030			.578
Monitoring	.359	.424	.045			.398
Interaction	.207	.420	.026			.622
Constant	39.783	.423				<.001
Academic involvement						
Model				.001	.152	.929
Child discrimination	-.284	.423	-.036			.502
Academic involvement	-.026	.421	-.003			.951
Interaction	.042	.413	-.005			.918
Constant	39.772	.421				<.001
Acculturation						
Model				.002	.274	.844
Child discrimination	-.259	.422	-.032			.540
Acculturation	-.165	.421	-.021			.695
Interaction	.203	.413	.026			.624
Constant	39.772	.420				<.001
Enculturation						
Model				.002	.293	.831
Child discrimination	-.297	.422	-.037			.481
Enculturation	.167	.421	.022			.670
Interaction	-.201	.403	-.026			.618
Constant	39.776	.420				<.001
MAEP						
Model				.004	.475	.700
Child discrimination	-.237	.422	-.030			.575
MAEP	-.085	.420	-.011			.840
Interaction	-.421	.435	-.051			.333
Constant	39.775	.420				<.001
Ethnic socialization						
Model				.004	.483	.693
Child discrimination	-.277	.420	-.035			.511
Ethnic socialization	-.422	.420	-.053			.316
Interaction	-.019	.425	-.002			.965
Constant	39.774	.420				<.001