RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIOEMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG BLACK CHILDREN DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF SCHOOLING: THE ROLE OF FAMILY, SCHOOL, AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXTS

BY

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Abstract

      Parents of racial/ethnic minority children often engage in racial socialization in an effort to ensure that they are able to cope in a society in which discrimination and inequalities persist. Of all the racial/ethnic groups, Black parents are the most likely to engage in this practice. To further our understanding of racial socialization in Black families, this study examined factors that shape whether parents engage and, in turn, its influence on student achievement and behavior during the first two years of formal schooling. In addition to examining child and family characteristics, this study also examined neighborhood and school contexts. The sample consists of 2,446 Black kindergarteners from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (restricted file), a national and longitudinal dataset that provides a representative sample of children in the U.S. Data from the ECLS-K was merged onto U.S. Census tract-level data (2000) in order to examine neighborhood conditions. Overall, results from the multivariate analysis indicate that Black children from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and those that live in less disadvantaged neighborhoods are more likely to receive racial socialization messages including discussions of racial heritage, religion and attendance at cultural events in kindergarten. Parents are more likely to engage in racial socialization with girls, except when the family lives in a disadvantaged neighborhood. However, they are more likely to engage with boys in more disadvantaged neighborhoods. Racial socialization also matters for students' educational outcomes. Findings indicate that racial socialization is related to children's reading and math achievement in kindergarten and first grade. Additionally, children whose parents engage in racial socialization have fewer internalizing behavior problems and better approaches to learning and interpersonal behaviors. Implications for further research are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite decades of policies and programs aimed at reducing racial discrimination, Black children continue to be concentrated in racially segregated and lower quality schools, to live in more impoverished neighborhoods and experience discrimination in housing and labor markets as they transition to adulthood (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilkes & Iceland, 2004). The entrance into formal schooling is a critical period in child development and for some Black children may also represent their first daily experiences with racism, discrimination and limited opportunities (Farkas, 1996; Farkas, 2003; Lee & Burkham, 2002; Lleras & Rangel, 2009). Studies show that African American children are more likely to be placed in lower ability groups and suspended from school during the elementary school years (Lleras & Dyer under review; Lleras & Rangel, 2009; Wright, Morgan, Coyne, Beaver, & Barnes, 2014). Further, Black children continue to lag behind their non-Black peers, especially white students, academically. Upon entering school, Black children have lower reading and math achievement than their white peers and studies show that these inequalities tend to persist and even grow over time (Lee & Burkam, 2002). Studies indicate that lower achievement during the early school years has been linked to poorer educational outcomes later on in middle and high school and Black students remain at increased risk for dropout compared to other groups (Duncan et al., 2007; Kao & Thompson, 2003). While Black students are overrepresented among students with academic difficulties, there is substantial variation among Black children both in terms of their educational trajectories and the kinds of schools they attend. Since the Civil Rights Movement, the Black middle class has grown, creating socioeconomic diversity among Black families (Patillo, 2005). As a result, some Black families have begun to live in racially diverse and predominantly white neighborhoods, exposing their children to non-Black peers.

Despite an expanding middle class, Black children today continue to face many challenges. In an effort to ensure their racial and ethnic minority children are able to cope with these and other race-based inequalities, some parents engage in a practice known as racial socialization. In doing so, parents seek to provide children with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate and function in a society in which being Black is often viewed negatively. Examples of racial socialization include teaching children about their racial/ethnic heritage, instilling racial pride, emphasizing spiritual coping and creating a religious foundation, preparing children for racial bias and promoting mistrust of whites (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). While there has been substantial research on parent involvement in school, the quality of parent-child interactions and the home environment, less is known about how parenting practices like racial socialization are related to positive growth and development among racial minority children. The overall goal of this study is to examine whether racial socialization practices are related to the early academic achievement, behavior and socioemotional development among young Black children during the early years of formal schooling. An

equally important goal is to determine how school and neighborhood conditions may shape parents' engagement in racial socialization practices and relate to Black children's development.

Significance of the Study

While some research suggests that family socioeconomic circumstances are related to whether parents engage in racial socialization, less is known about how the broader school and neighborhood context may also influence whether parents decide to practice racial socialization with their children (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). In addition, research suggests that racial socialization practices may play an important role in fostering self-esteem, identity development, and school performance among Black students (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Harris-Britt, Valrie, & Kurtz-Costes, 2007; Thompson, 1994; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). However, most of what we know about who is more likely to engage in racial socialization and the possible benefits of this practice for Black students has focused on adolescents, with less attention paid to racial socialization practices and children's development during the early years of schooling (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Thompson, 1994). This represents an important gap in our understanding of what factors may uniquely affect the early educational outcomes among Black children. In particular, little is known about how racial socialization practices may foster healthy socioemotional development, school-related behaviors and educational performance among younger Black children and thus, help prepare them to successfully navigate and master the demands of later schooling. The current study will extend our understanding on whether and how racial socialization practices influence early academic, behavioral and social trajectories among Black children. Further, this study will determine what role school and neighborhood contexts play in this process and whether there are differences between girls and boys in the kinds of practices parents engage in and whether these practices have an influence on early outcomes.

Research Questions

This study will utilize data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS-K) and the U.S. Census 2000 to examine what factors are related to parents' engagement in various dimensions of racial socialization of Black children and how parents' engagement in these practices influences the cognitive, behavioral and socioemotional development of Black children during the first two years of formal schooling. Specifically, this study addresses three main questions:

1. What family, school and neighborhood characteristics are related to whether parents of Black children engage in multiple forms of racial socialization practices including racial heritage, attendance at cultural events and religious discussions?
2. Are there sex differences in the likelihood that parents will engage in different kinds of racial socialization practices? If so, do the differences in the kinds of socialization messages received by Black boys and girls vary by school and neighborhood conditions?

3. Are racial socialization practices positively related to Black children's academic achievement, school-related behavior and socioemotional development during kindergarten and first grade, controlling for family background, school and neighborhood characteristics? If so, do Black boys benefit more or less than Black girls from parental engagement in racial socialization practices?

Organization of Study

This study will extend prior research on racial socialization by examining whether parenting practices vary by child and family characteristics as well as, school and neighborhood contexts. Further, this study will examine what role racial socialization plays in explaining differences among Black children in their academic achievement, school-related behavior and socioemotional development at the end of kindergarten and first grade. Unlike prior research, this study will also examine how neighborhood and school contexts influence racial socialization and its effects on Black children's development.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the theoretical framework and prior research on racial socialization practices among racial minorities in the U.S. This chapter includes a conceptual definition of racial socialization as well as a discussion of how prior research has operationalized this concept. In addition, this chapter will discuss findings from prior studies on what individual and family factors affect whether parents engage in racial socialization as well as the limited studies on the relationship between racial socialization practices and children's academic achievement and behavior.

Chapter 3 describes the methods that were used in this study. This section provides information about the dataset, sample and all measures included in the analyses. The statistical analysis plan to address each question is also presented in this section. Chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of the descriptive and analytic results from the regression analyses performed to answer each of the research questions. Chapter 5 includes a discussion of the results of the study, including the implications of the results. This chapter also includes a discussion of the limitations and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and review of prior research on racial socialization practices. First, I will provide a conceptual definition of racial socialization. Then, I will discuss how prior research has operationalized racial socialization. Next, I will discuss findings from prior research on what individual, family, neighborhood and school factors affect whether parents engage in racial socialization. Finally, I will discuss findings from prior research on the relationship between racial socialization and academic achievement, behavior and socioemotional development.

What is Racial Socialization?

Racial socialization is a concept grounded in the psychological literature defined by Peters (1985) as "providing for and… raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations." While other racial/ethnic minority parents may practice some form of racial socialization, African American families are the most likely of all groups to engage in this practice due to their particular history of forced displacement, slavery, institutionalized racism and continued experiences with discrimination in the U.S. (Brown et al., 2007; Hughes & Chen, 1999). In earlier work, Boykin and Toms (1985) identified three dimensions of racial socialization in Black families: the cultural experience, the minority experience and the mainstream experience. Socialization of the *cultural experience* emphasized knowledge of Black history and heritage and experience in Black cultural traditions. Socialization of the *minority experience* emphasized racial pride while socialization to the *mainstream experience* centered on messages related to working hard and getting a good education. Later scholars expanded this concept to also include parental messages to children related to spiritual coping, which focuses on the idea that God is in charge and will "never leave you". A decade later, Stevenson (1994) characterized all three of these dimensions of racial socialization as *proactive* messages. He suggested that the purpose of proactive racial socialization messages was to help children develop a positive sense of self though a deeper understanding and appreciation of the unique aspects of their racial/ethnic group, regardless of the negative stereotypes and discrimination that they may encounter in their society.

In addition to the significance of proactive racial socialization practices, Stevenson (1994) and others also emphasized the importance of ensuring that racial and ethnic minority children are equipped with the self-confidence and skills to better cope with racism and discrimination that they may encounter, particularly as they get older (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thornton et al., 1990). Stevenson (1994) referred to these types of messages as *protective* racial socialization. Through protective racial socialization messages parents focus on the potential negative interactions that may occur between members of racial and ethnic minority groups and members of the dominant, White society. For example, parents who prepare their children for experiencing racial bias and promote mistrust of members and social institutions

in the dominant society are engaging in protective racial socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents who engage in preparation for bias focus on preparing children for encounters with racial discrimination and prejudice, including what to expect and how to react in a given situation. Parents who engage in the promotion of mistrust send messages to children about the (un)trustworthiness of people who belong to the dominant, White society (Stevenson, 1994). While proactive racial socialization messages are conveyed to Black children throughout their childhood, parents are much more likely to engage in protective racial socialization during adolescence and early adulthood (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Chen, 1999).

This study examines proactive racial socialization among a national sample of Black kindergartners. Specifically, I examine three dimensions of proactive racial socialization messages that have been shown to be relevant for children's early development: 1) discussions of racial heritage; 2) participation in cultural events; and 3) discussions about religion. Parents' engagement in discussions of racial heritage operationalizes the socialization to the minority experience, a dimension conceptualized by Boykin and Toms (1985). Participation in cultural events serves as a proxy measure for socialization of the cultural experience and discussions about religion aim to examine parents' transmission of messages about spiritual coping. For centuries, religion and spirituality have played a major role in the lives of Black people (Constantine, Lewis, Conner, & Sanchez, 2000). The belief that God will solve all of "your problems" and that God will always "protect you" have been central to the belief systems of many African Americans. Religiosity and spirituality have also been a central part of the coping strategies developed in African American communities during times of struggle (Brodsky, 2000; Boyd-Franklin, 2003). Often, these beliefs are internalized and passed down from generation to generation. From an early age, parents may emphasize the importance of getting to know God and set out to help children do so by attending church regularly, teaching children to pray constantly, and by reading scripture. Thus, given the role of religion in Black life, this study will extend prior definitions of racial socialization to include parents' discussions about religion with their children and how this may relate to better academic achievement, learning-related behaviors in school and socio-emotional development.

Who Engages in Racial Socialization?

In the U.S., parents of Black children are more likely to engage in racial socialization practices compared to parents of children who belong to other racial/ethnic minority groups (Brown et al., 2007; Hughes & Chen, 1999). However, while research suggests that racial socialization practices are becoming much more common, not all parents of Black children engage in these kinds of practices (Thornton et al., 1990). Prior research suggests that married parents and older parents are more likely to transmit racial messages to their children (Brown et al., 2007; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Crouter, Baril, Davis, & McHale, 2008; Thornton et al., 1990). In addition, mothers and fathers who have

completed more years of schooling and Black families in the middle class are also more likely to engage in racial socialization (Brown et al., 2007; Caughy et al., 2002; Thornton et al., 1990).

Parents of Black children not only vary in whether they practice racial socialization but also in the kinds of racial socialization messages parents choose to transmit to their children. For example, in a sample of 128 Black mothers and fathers with a child between the ages of 10-19, Crouter and colleagues (2008) found that parents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds were more likely to engage in cultural socialization practices in comparison to parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. These practices included reading to and/or providing children with books on Black people, as well as other materials to foster a sense of racial pride. Similar results have been found for younger children (Brown et al., 2007; Caughy et al., 2002). In a cross-sectional study of 200 preschool children in Baltimore, Caughy and colleagues (2002) examined family-level predictors of five dimensions of racial socialization, including racial pride, spirituality, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias, and an Africentric home environment. Findings indicated that middle-class parents were more likely to emphasize spirituality and racial pride as well as to provide an Africentric home environment. Parents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds were also less likely to promote mistrust of others and to engage in practices that would prepare their children for dealing with racial bias.

In a related study, Brown and colleagues (2007) utilized national data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-kindergarten cohort to examine whether family socioeconomic background was related to the likelihood that parents discuss racial heritage with their children. Rather than focusing solely on Black children, their sample consisted of non-Hispanic White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and multiracial kindergarteners. Their results suggested that married parents and those with higher levels of education were more likely to transmit these sorts of messages to their children. However, since this study included multiple racial and ethnic groups including non-Hispanic White students, we do not know if marital status and education also predict differences among parents of Black children, specifically, nor do we know whether these parental characteristics are associated with other forms of racial socialization such as, attendance at cultural events.

Prior research also suggests that the kinds of racial socialization messages parents send to their children may depend on the sex of the child. Some studies have found that parents are more likely to engage in *proactive* racial socialization with girls and in *protective* socialization with boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Bowman and Howard (1985) examined a group of adolescents and found that boys reported receiving more messages from their parents about how to deal with White people and how to negotiate various racial barriers they may experience in their lives. Adolescent girls reported they were more likely to receive messages about racial pride. A recent study by Stevenson, and

colleagues (2002), however found that adolescent boys were more likely to receive proactive messages that prepared them for racial bias compared to teenage girls.

To date, there are no studies utilizing national data which examine the impact of child's sex, family socioeconomic background, and marital status, on the likelihood that parents engage in multiple dimensions of racial socialization with young children in elementary school. Of the few studies that have been conducted, most focus on adolescents. The few that examine younger children either do not use national samples or have not focused on Black children specifically. This study will address these shortcomings in prior research by examining whether a range of family characteristics and child's sex are associated with the likelihood that parents engage in multiple forms of racial socialization practices among a national sample of Black children in the first two years of formal schooling. This study pays particular attention to the possibility that parents may engage in different kinds or racial socialization depending on whether their child is male or female as well as neighborhood and school conditions.

Racial Socialization and Contextual Factors

Parenting in general and racial socialization practices specifically, do not occur in a vacuum. Rather, the strategies parents of Black children may choose to adopt (or not) might be influenced by the external conditions of their everyday environments. Despite findings that a large percentage of Black parents engage in racial socialization (Caughy et al., 2002; Thornton et al., 1990), few researchers have examined how neighborhood and school characteristics might affect both the likelihood that parents engage in racial socialization at all and also the variability in the kinds of racial socialization practices parents of Black children choose to adopt (Brown et al., 2007; Caughy et al., 2006). This study seeks to fill in this gap by examining whether and how school and neighborhood conditions are related to multiple forms of proactive racial socialization practices among young, Black children.

Social disorganization, neighborhood poverty and racial socialization. To explore the role that neighborhoods and schools may play in parents' engagement in racial socialization, the current study draws on several sociological concepts, including social disorganization, racial composition, and institutional resources. The concept of social disorganization originates from Shaw and McKay's research in the early 1940's. Their work on the persistence of crime in urban communities focused on the role of poverty and social disorganization as key factors. They argued that high poverty neighborhoods lacked social capital, which in turn, resulted in the deterioration of social order within the neighborhoods. While most of the research on social disorganization and neighborhood poverty has been shown to affect youth outcomes, less attention has been paid to how neighborhood conditions affect parenting practices specifically. However, research does suggest that parents in economically disadvantaged communities are more likely to be stressed, anxious and depressed compared to parents living in more advantaged neighborhoods (Christie-Mizelle, Steelman, & Stewart, 2003; Franco, Pottick, & Huang, 2010). There is

also some evidence that suggests that social disorganization and neighborhood poverty affect parents' engagement in racial socialization. In one of the few studies to examine the effects of social disorganization and neighborhood poverty on parents' racial socialization practices, Caughy and colleagues (2006) found that parents who lived in more disorganized and economically disadvantaged neighborhoods were more likely to prepare their preschool children for bias and to promote the mistrust of others. One explanation of this finding is that parents in these kinds of communities lack social capital and are more likely to parent in isolation compared to parents in more advantaged neighborhoods. Thus, it is possible that a perceived or actual lack of support from reliable and trustworthy resources coupled with limited opportunity structure may foster parental feelings of mistrust. Parents may, in turn, relay these kinds of feelings through racialized messages to their children about the trustworthiness of others. It is also possible that parents in more disadvantaged neighborhoods engage in these kinds of racial socialization practices because they are trying to prepare their children for the hostile racialized world they are likely to encounter as they become older and more independent.

   Racial composition and racial socialization. Of the handful of studies that have examined whether neighborhood characteristics affect the likelihood of racial socialization practices, most have focused on neighborhood racial composition. The racial composition of the neighborhood is usually defined by the percent of Black residents living in the neighborhood. The results of these studies have found no relationship between the percent of Black residents in a neighborhood and the likelihood of parents engaging in either cultural socialization or messages of racial pride (Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987). That is, whether parents engaged in racial socialization practices was unrelated to the racial composition of the neighborhoods in which they lived. However, at least one study found that racial neighborhood composition was related to how messages of racial socialization were transmitted from parents to their children. In her ethnographic study of suburbs in Washington, D.C., Lacy (2007) found that racial messages tended to be more discreet in predominantly Black communities, suggesting that when Black children do not come into contact on a daily basis with White children, parents may not see the added benefit of overtly relaying these racial socialization messages to their children. In contrast, parents of Black children in predominantly White communities tended to relay messages of racial pride in a more public way (Lacy, 2007). For example, parents reported sending children to their grandmother's house during the summer and involving them in groups that would allow them to interact with other Black children. It is possible that in predominantly White neighborhoods, Black culture is less visible and parents may respond to this by purposefully organizing experiences (i.e., play groups) to teach children the meaning of Blackness (Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987).

   Ethnographic work also suggests that among parents who engage in racial socialization with their children, the racial composition of their neighborhoods may affect the kinds of practices they adopt. Two

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studies have found that parents in racially mixed and predominantly White neighborhoods engaged more frequently in transmitting messages of self-worth, preparation for bias, spiritual coping and the promotion of mistrust to their children than parents in predominantly Black communities, except in severe poverty neighborhoods (Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987). Lacy's (2007) study of middle-class Black families in three distinct suburban communities found that parents in the predominantly White community prepared their children for discrimination prior to it actually occurring. One parent responded, "We haven't had any incidents, but…there could come a time, so when it does happen, she is not devastated by it" (p. 170). Similar sentiments were expressed by respondents in Tatum's (1987) *Assimilation Blues*. With Blacks making up only 2.4 percent of Sunset Beach, a city in California, parents perceived their community as unfair to Blacks and in response, prepped children for encounters with discrimination, taught them to think highly of themselves (message of self-worth), and to work twice as hard. Lacy and Tatum's ethnographic work provides important evidence that racial composition of the neighborhood may impact the kinds of parenting practices parents may engage in with their Black children and insight into why they may choose to adopt these practices.

The findings from these qualitative studies have received mixed support in studies using quantitative methodologies. Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, and Davis (2005) examined the influence of neighborhood cultural diversity on adolescents' reception of racial socialization messages. They found that adolescents in more culturally diverse neighborhoods were more likely to receive spiritual coping messages. Additionally, adolescent girls were more likely to receive messages of racial pride. Caughy and colleagues (2006) also examined neighborhood racial composition in order to examine whether parents' engagement in racial socialization differs by context. Utilizing a sample of 241 first graders, their results showed that parents were more likely to promote messages of mistrust if they lived in predominantly Black neighborhoods in comparison to parents living in predominantly White neighborhoods.

Institutional resources and racial socialization. Entry into formal schooling marks a critical period in children's cognitive, behavioral and social development. Young children typically divide their time between school and home with a significant portion of their waking hours spent at school. Given the high degree of racial residential segregation, kindergarten is often the first time many Black children have the opportunity to come into contact with children from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. If Black children are attending schools where a higher percentage of the students are non-Black, it may signal to parents the need to practice racial socialization in order to better prepare their children for actual or perceived discrimination. In one of the only studies to examine the relationship between school racial composition and racial socialization, Brown and colleagues (2007) found that parents were more likely to engage in discussions of racial heritage if children attended schools with fewer minority students. Since

this study focused on children of all racial/ethnic groups, more research is needed to understand how school racial composition affects parents' engagement in discussions of racial heritage as well as other dimensions of socialization among Black children, specifically. This study will focus specifically on the percent of Black students in the elementary school and how this relates to parent's engagement in different forms of racial socialization.

In addition to school racial composition, parents may be more likely to engage in racial socialization if their child attends public and urban schools. While the goal of school is to educate children and prepare them for success in adulthood, research suggests that these schools may be hostile environments for Black children. For instance, urban schools are often characterized by lower student achievement, lack of resources and high teacher turnover rates (Lippman, Burns, & McArthur, 1996). It is possible that parents may engage in racial socialization as a way to empower children to do well in school in spite of school conditions.

Racial Socialization and Student Achievement

To further our understanding of whether racial socialization practices among Black children are important parenting strategies to consider when examining how parents influence the schooling success of their children, a major goal of this study is to examine the relationship between parents' socialization practices and their children's early educational achievement, socio-emotional and behavioral development. Although research in this area is scarce, findings from available studies suggest that proactive racial socialization messages such as racial pride may have a significant and positive effect on student achievement (Brown, Tanner-Smith, & Lesane-Brown, 2009; Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). In a cross-sectional study, Smith and colleagues (2003) sampled 98 Black fourth grade children and their parents in a urban southeastern city, in an effort to examine whether messages of racial pride, racial barriers, and mistrust affect children's academic performance in reading, math, and on standardized achievement tests. Their results showed that students who received more messages of racial pride had higher reading, math and standardized test scores than students who received fewer, or no messages of pride. In addition, messages about racial barriers were negatively related to student academic performance. That is, children who received more messages about racial barriers performed worse than their peers whose parents did not transmit such messages. It is possible that younger children may not be old enough to have experienced racism or mature enough to understand discrimination and messages of mistrust and, as a result, these kinds of practices may actually work to reduce their achievement (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Spencer, 1983).

In another study, Brown and colleagues (2009) found messages of racial heritage were significantly and positively related to young children's cognitive development. Using the ECLS-K, the researchers examined the role discussions about racial heritage played in kindergarteners' scores on

reading, math and general knowledge tests. Their results showed that children who received more messages scored higher on each of the tests in comparison to their peers whose parents did not promote messages of racial heritage, even after controlling for child and family characteristics (sex, SES, marital status, parents' age), school type, racial composition, and geographic region. The current study will extend the research by Brown and colleagues (2009) in three main ways. First, this study includes additional measures of racial socialization (participation in cultural events, discussions about religion). Second, this study examines not only the association between racial socialization and student achievement but socio-emotional development and school-related behaviors as well. Finally, this study examines how students' sex, school and neighborhood context are related to racial socialization practices and their association with student achievement and behavior.

Racial Socialization and Student Behavior

Similar to the research on racial socialization and academic achievement, few studies have examined the relationship between racial socialization practices and Black children's socioemotional development and school-related behaviors. In one of the few studies, Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, and Davis (2002) examined whether racial socialization had an effect on fighting and initiation of fights in a sample of 127 Black adolescents. Measures of racial socialization included: spiritual and religious coping, preparation for bias, mainstream socialization, racial pride, and racial heritage. Their results showed that adolescents who reported receiving spiritual and religious coping messages and messages of racial pride and heritage were less likely to get into fights and initiate fights.

Similar results have also been found for younger children. Caughy and colleagues (2002) examined the relationship between racial socialization practices and behavioral problems in a single city sample of 200 preschool children. Racial socialization was defined as messages of spirituality, racial pride, promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias. The researchers also included a measure of the home environment that focused on the extent to which the family's home is Africentric (e.g., presence of culturally appropriate toys, household items made of African fabric). Children whose parents transmitted messages of racial pride were shown to have fewer externalizing and internalizing behavior problems than their peers whose parents did not transmit such messages, net of parents' SES, educational attainment, and employment status. Positive and significant findings in this area of research are particularly important given that Black children are often rated by their teachers as having poor behavior, which can affect their overall achievement and success in the future. Thus, more research is needed to better understand the role racial socialization may play in children's behavior during the early school years.

Current Study

Parents' engagement in racial socialization may have the potential to benefit Black children academically and behaviorally (Brown et al., 2009; Caughy et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 2002). Prior

research suggests that children whose parents transmit messages of racial pride and religious coping score higher on math, reading, and standardized tests and have fewer behavior problems in comparison to their peers whose parents do not engage in racial socialization practices. However, studies to date on racial socialization have been limited in several ways. First, while ethnographic and qualitative research on racial socialization have provided important theoretical insights into why parents engage in certain kinds of practices in Black families, they are often based on limited samples that are restricted to only a few community contexts. Among the quantitative studies, the majority have used samples from one or two school districts. As a result, the findings are less generalizable and may not capture the full range of variation among Black families. Additionally, studies have included a range of racial/ethnic groups and have not focused specifically on Black children. The ability to make generalizations to the Black population is important given their unique history and when considering policy implications. Second, researchers have tended to examine parental messages of racial socialization independently of one another. That is, the effects of one kind of socialization compared to another kind of socialization. However, parents may adopt and simultaneously engage in more than one kind of racial socialization practice or not engage in any practices at all (Crouter et al., 2008; Thornton et al., 1990). Third, current research has largely focused on family-level factors to explain whether parents engage in racial socialization. While it is important to examine the effects of a range of family conditions which may influence parenting practices, this study expands prior research by examining the larger, macro racial and socioeconomic environment within which these practices may occur. For example, prior research has pointed to the possible role the racial composition of the neighborhood may play in determining the kinds of parenting practices parents may adopt. The current study moves beyond prior research by examining how sex of the child, neighborhood and school conditions may not only affect whether parents engage in racial socialization, but the kinds of practices and the effects of those practices on children's development as well.

Utilizing data from a national sample of elementary school children this study will add to the growing body of research on racial socialization in several ways. First, the sample includes Black children from diverse family socio-economic backgrounds, neighborhoods and schools across the U.S. This large sample allows me to examine differences among parents of Black children in racial socialization as well as the influence of these practices on children's cognitive, behavioral and socioemotional development. Second, the longitudinal nature of the data will allow me to examine whether racial socialization practices are associated with immediate differences in outcomes measured at the end of kindergarten as well as whether these associations persist into first grade. Third, I analyze how the neighborhood and school environment is related to parental socialization practices as well as whether the larger environment may moderate the relationship between racial socialization and children's development. Fourth, due to the

dearth of research in this area on younger children, I examine each dimension of racial socialization individually to examine their association with the outcomes. Since parents often engage in more than a single dimension of racial socialization simultaneously, I also create an index that combines measures of racial socialization in order to determine if involvement in multiple forms of socialization has a greater influence on children's cognitive and behavioral development compared to none or only one message. Finally, I pay particular attention to how child's sex may be related to differences in the forms of racial socialization practices parents engage in, the effects of those practices on outcomes and whether the sex differences are moderated by school and neighborhood context. Specifically, the current study addresses the following research questions:

1) What role does family background, school and neighborhood characteristics play in determining whether parents of Black children engage in racial socialization practices as well as the kinds of racial socialization they practice?

2) Does the likelihood that parents will engage in different kinds of racial socialization practices vary by the child's sex? If so, do the differences in the kinds of socialization messages received by Black boys and Black girls from their parents vary by school and neighborhood conditions?

3) Are racial socialization practices positively related to Black children's reading and mathematics achievement, school-related behavior and socioemotional development during kindergarten and first grade, controlling for family background, school and neighborhood characteristics? If so, do Black boys benefit more or less than Black girls from parental engagement in racial socialization practices?

Chapter 3: Methods

Data

      This study uses data from the restricted version of the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K) and information from the U.S. Census in 2000. The ECLS-K data were collected by the National Council on Education Statistics beginning in the fall of 1998 when children were in kindergarten and followed them through the eighth grade. Information was collected from parents, teachers and school administrators in an effort to learn more about children's school experiences as they move through elementary and middle school. The ECLS-K includes information on children's cognitive, behavioral, and physical development at each time point as well as information on the home and school environments, parents' engagement in a number of activities with children within and outside the home, and teacher and classroom characteristics. The base year sample includes more than 22,000 children from over 1,000 public and private elementary schools across the U.S.

      It is also possible to learn more about the neighborhoods in which children and their families reside in using the restricted version of the dataset. The restricted version of the ECLS-K provides neighborhood identifiers which allow researchers to identify the census tract location of each child in the sample. This identifying information was merged with data from the U.S. Census collected in 2000. A Census tract is a small geographical boundary that has an average population size of 4,000 people. Research shows that using tracts rather than larger community areas or zip-code level data are preferable when examining how concentrated advantage or disadvantage relates to various outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov & Sealand, 1993; South & Crowder, 1997).

Sample

      The current study uses data from the first three waves of data collection in the fall and spring of kindergarten and the spring of first grade. In the first wave of data collection during the fall of kindergarten, parents were asked to identify their child's race among the following categories: Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, White, or another race. The sample was restricted to children who were identified as Black or African American in the parent survey. When the parent interview was not completed, ECLS-K used race information obtained from the school. The sample was restricted to include only Black children who participated in the kindergarten and first grade waves of data collection. The final sample included 2,446 Black children in 505 elementary schools and 994 census tracts across the U.S. Because this study is interested in parents' engagement in racial socialization with Black children, parents' race was not restricted to being Black. The majority of parents of Black children in this subsample, however, reported being Black or African American (95.7%).

Variables

        Racial socialization[1]. This study focuses on three dimensions of proactive racial socialization provided in the base year of the ECLS-K, including parents' promotion of racial pride, religious coping and participation in cultural events with their child. Prior research suggests that these proactive messages of racial socialization are appropriate for young children and may be positively related to their development (Brown, et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2003). In the spring of kindergarten, parents were asked several questions from the parent survey which I used to operationalize these three dimensions of racial socialization. To measure *racial pride*, I used one question in which parents were asked, "How often does someone in your family talk with the child about their ethnic or racial heritage." To measure *religious coping*, I used one question in which parents were asked, "How often does someone in your family talk with the child about your family's religious beliefs or traditions?" To measure *participation in cultural events*, I used one question in which parents were asked "How often does someone in your family participate in special cultural events or traditions connected with your racial or ethnic background." The responses for each question were 1 = never; 2 = almost never; 3 = several times a year; 4 = several times a month; 5 = several times a week.

        I recoded these three questions to measure racial socialization in three ways. First, each measure of racial socialization was recoded into a dichotomous variable such that "1" equals parents who report engaging in the particular form of racial socialization regardless of frequency and a "0" equals parents who report never engaging in the particular form of racial socialization. Second, I wanted to distinguish between parents who participate in any form of racial socialization, regardless of frequency, from those parents who report not participating in at all. I created a dummy variable to distinguish between parents who engaged in any form of racial socialization (=1) and those who did not engage in racial socialization practices at all (=0). Third, I wanted to differentiate between parents who engaged in multiple forms of racial socialization with those who practice only one or two forms or not at all. I added up the three items to create an index of racial socialization which ranged from 0 (no racial socialization) to 3 (engaged in all three forms of racial socialization).

        Neighborhood disadvantage. Few researchers have examined the role that neighborhoods may play in shaping parents' engagement in racial socialization and its potential effects on children's development. In one of the only studies to do so, Caughy et al. (2006) found that parents in socioeconomically depressed neighborhoods in Baltimore were more likely to promote messages of mistrust among their preschool age children. This study will explore how neighborhood conditions may

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[1] Because responses to these items were highly skewed I used dichotomous variables to measure whether parents engaged or not in each form of proactive racial socialization. For example, nearly 50 percent of parents reported that they did not participate in cultural events.

influence parents' engagement in proactive racial socialization practices with their child. Tract identifiers from the restricted ECLS-K data were merged with the Census tract level information from the U.S. Census in 2000. Drawing on prior studies which have examined neighborhood disadvantage and various outcomes (Sampson, Sharkey, & Raudenbush, 2008), several census tract characteristics were combined to create an overall measure of neighborhood disadvantage. Measures included in the *Neighborhood disadvantage index* include: the percent of unemployed adults, percent of Black residents, percent of single-parent households, percent of households below the poverty line, percent of children under 18 years old and the percent of households receiving public assistance. Scores for each item were standardized and averaged to create a composite score of neighborhood disadvantage. Table 1 presents the zero-order correlations of items from the Census tract-level data used to create the neighborhood disadvantage score. All the items were moderately to highly correlated, ranging from a low of .38 to a high of .79.

Table 1

Zero-order Correlations among Census Tract-level Measures Used in Neighborhood Disadvantage

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. % unemployed	-					
2. % Black	.56***	-				
3. % single parents	.66***	.72***	-			
4. % below poverty	.78***	.54***	.79***	-		
5. % children less than 18	.48***	.38***	.38***	.47***	-	
6. % public assistance	.71***	.40***	.64***	.72***	.57***	-

$^+$p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

School characteristics. One of the main goals of this study was to examine whether parents' engagement in racial socialization practices are shaped by school and neighborhood characteristics and what role these environments play in the relationship between racial socialization and Black children's academic achievement and behavior. Items from the school administrator survey were used to measure several school characteristics including school type, location and racial composition. To measure school type, I used a dummy variable indicating whether the elementary school was public (0 = private). To measure school location, I created a dummy variable indicating whether the school was located in an urban area (= 1), suburban or rural elementary schools were the reference category. Prior research suggests the racial make-up of schools may affect parents' engagement in racial socialization practices as well as student achievement, behavior and socioemotional development (Brown et al., 2007; Hanushek, Kain, & Rivkin, 2009; Johnson, Crosnoe, & Elder, 2001; Lleras, 2008; Lleras & Rangel, 2009) Parents whose children attend predominantly White schools may make an intentional effort to expose their children to their Black heritage while parents whose children attend predominantly Black schools may be less likely to do so since their children are constantly surrounded by other children and adults who look like them and their likelihood of exposure to Black heritage in the classroom setting or through school

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events may be higher (Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987). One item from the ECLS-K was used to measure racial composition. School administrators were asked to report on the percentage of Black students in the school. Responses were 0 percent, more than 0 and less than 5 percent, 5 to less than 10 percent, 10 to less than 25 percent and 25 percent or more. I created a dummy variable for schools where Black students comprised 25 percent or more of the student body. As indicated in prior research, I hypothesized that parents will be more likely to engage in racial socialization practices if their child attends a school with a lower percentage of Black students and less likely to do so if the child attends a predominantly Black school.[2]

   Child and family characteristics. The current study includes several child and family background variables that have been shown to be associated with the likelihood that parents will engage in racial socialization practices as well as children's achievement, behavior and socioemotional development (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Caughy et al., 2006; Caughy et al., 2002; Crouter et al., 2008; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thornton et al., 1990). These variables include child's sex, family socioeconomic status, marital status, age of the mother, and number of siblings in the household under the age of 18. At least one prior study found that parents tend to promote proactive messages of racial socialization (e.g., racial heritage) more with adolescent girls and protective socialization messages with adolescent boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985). It is also possible that parents engage more or less in these kinds of racial socialization practices with boys depending on the neighborhood and school context. Therefore in addition to examining differences by child's sex, I will also examine whether the sex gaps in racial socialization are moderated by neighborhood and school characteristics. In addition, I hypothesize that single parents will be less likely to engage in racial socialization practices while higher SES and older parents will be more likely to engage in these practices (Thornton, et al., 1990). Family SES was measured using a composite variable available in the ECLS-K which combines data on mother's and father's education, occupational prestige, and family income. The family SES variable was standardized so that the mean equals 0 and the standard deviation equals 1.

   Academic achievement. This study uses the Item-based Scoring (IRT) reading and mathematics scaled scores provided in the ECLS-K to measure academic achievement. These tests were administered to children at the end of their kindergarten year and at the end of their first grade year.

   Reading and math Achievement. The reading assessments were designed to measure children's competency of basic skills, vocabulary and comprehension. The kindergarten reading test assessed children's ability to: recognize uppercase and lowercase letters, identify the sounds letters make at the beginning and end of words, recognize sight words, and comprehend words within context. The first

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[2] Ideally, I would have liked to use a continuous measure of the percent white in the school. However, this variable is not available in the dataset.

grade reading test measures additional skills in print familiarity, vocabulary and reading comprehension. The mathematics assessments were designed to measure conceptual and procedural knowledge and problem solving skills. In kindergarten, the mathematics test assessed children's ability to: recognize numbers and shapes, count to ten, compare objects, and solve addition and subtraction. In first grade, the mathematics test also assessed additional skills typical of first grade including multiplication, and division word problems.

Learning-Related Behavior and Socioemotional Development. I used several items available in the teacher surveys of the ECLS-K to measure children's behavioral and socioemotional development. Teachers were asked to report on how often the child exhibited certain social skills and behaviors in the spring of kindergarten and in the spring of first grade as part of Social Skills Rating System (SRS) developed by Gresham and Elliot (1990). This study used five of the SRS scales available in the ECLS-K: learning-related behavior (approaches to learning), self-control, interpersonal behavior, externalizing behavior problems and internalizing behavior problems.

Approaches to learning. The composite score provided by the ECLS-K measuring children's approaches to learning in kindergarten and first grade was based on teacher's reports of the child's attentiveness, task persistence, eagerness to learn, learning independence, flexibility, and organization. Scores for each item ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (very often) and were averaged to create a single composite measure, with higher scores indicate better learning-related behaviors.

Self-control. To measure student's self-control in kindergarten and first grade, teachers were asked about the frequency with which to the child respects other people's property in the classroom, controls their temper, how well they respond to peer pressure, and how accepting they are of ideas from their peers (1=never; 4=very often). These items were averaged to create a single composite score with higher scores indicating better self-control.

Interpersonal behavior. Five items from the Social Rating Scale and were used to measure children's interpersonal behavior. Teachers in kindergarten and first grade reported on the child's ability to form and maintain relationships with others, their ability to get along with those who are different, how well they comfort other children and show sensitivity to others, and their ability to express ideas, opinions, and feelings in a positive way. These items were averaged to create a composite score, with higher scores indicating better interpersonal behavior.

Externalizing behavior problems. Five items from the SRS were used to measure externalizing behavior problems during kindergarten and first grade. Teachers were asked to report on how often the child argues, fights, gets angry, acts impulsively and disturbs others during class. Responses ranged from 1=never) to 4=most of the time. These items were averaged to develop a single composite score for externalizing behavior with higher scores indicating greater externalizing behavior problems.

Internalizing behavior problems. Four items were used to measure internalizing behavior in kindergarten and first grade. Teachers were asked to report on how often the child appeared lonely, anxious, sad, and displayed low self-esteem, ranging from 1 = never to 4 = most of the time. These items were averaged to create a composite measure of internalizing behavior, with higher scores indicating greater internalizing behavior problems.

Analysis

The sampling design in the ECLS-K dataset is multilevel, whereby children are nested within schools. Ordinary least squares regression is not appropriate for this kind of sampling structure because it violates the assumption of independence. In cases where there is a problem of non-independence, ordinary least squares and logistic regression will usually produce biased standard errors for the school and neighborhood coefficients due to correlated error structures. I used Huber-White sandwich robust variance estimates available in the robust cluster option in STATA to correct the standard errors in all analyses (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002;White, 1980).[3]

Missing data for all variables were dealt with using multiple imputation methods (Allison, 2002). Five datasets were created using the ice command in STATA, which replaces missing values with predicted values generated from five statistical models that include all of the variables in the analysis. This method is preferable to listwise deletion methods because it allowed me to retain a larger portion of the sample and thus, obtain greater ability to generalizing my findings to the population (Royston, 2004; Rubin, 1987).

In the first set of regression analyses, I examined how family, school and neighborhood characteristics related to the likelihood that parents of Black children will engage in the multiple measures of racial socialization. In the second set of regression analyses, I examined whether racial socialization practices are related to Black student's achievement, behavior and socioemotional development during kindergarten and first grade, after taking into account child's sex, family characteristics, neighborhood disadvantage and school characteristics that could be related to both the likelihood that parents engage in racial socialization and the educational outcomes. In the third analysis, I examined whether the influence of racial socialization on children's outcomes varies by student's sex, neighborhood and school contexts. That is, whether student's sex, the school and neighborhood context moderates the relationship between parent socialization practices and child outcomes. Analyses for each research question posed in this study are explained in further detail below.

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[3] One method for dealing with nested data is hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). However, HLM was not used because there were too few students nested within schools and nested with Census tracks. On average, there were two to three students in each school and neighborhood.

Question 1: What role does child's sex, family background, school and neighborhood characteristics play in determining whether parents of Black children engage in racial socialization practices as well as the kinds of racial socialization they practice? Do differences in the kinds of socialization messages received by Black boys and Black girls from their parents vary by school and neighborhood conditions? A key goal of this study was to examine what family, school and neighborhood characteristics were associated with parent's engagement in racial socialization practices with their young children. Four of the socialization variables are dichotomous: discussions of racial heritage, religious discussions, participation in cultural events and whether the parent's engage in *any* of these forms of racial socialization with their children (1 = yes; 0 = no). Therefore a series of binary logistic regression models were used to estimate the likelihood that parents engage in each of these socialization practices or in any of these practices. The other measure of socialization was the number of different socialization practices parents engaged in with their children. Since this categorical variable ranged from 0 (no engagement) to 3 (engagement in all three forms-racial heritage, religious discussions and cultural events), ordinal logistic regression was used to estimate these models.

All analyses predicting whether parents engage in racial socialization practices estimated four models. The first three logistic models determined whether there are differences in the probability that parents of Black children engage in racial socialization practices depending on neighborhood context, school characteristics, family background and child's sex. The first model (Model 1) included only the neighborhood disadvantage index. The second model (Model 2) included all three elementary school characteristics (public, urban and Black). The third model included child's sex (male) and the family characteristics (SES, single mother, mother's age, number of siblings). To determine whether any of these factors had a unique association with racial socialization, the fourth model included neighborhood disadvantage, school characteristics, family background and students' sex together in the model of racial socialization.

Prior research has suggested that parents may differentially socialize girls and boys. Additionally, research shows that parents may send different messages to children depending on their neighborhood and school context. In order to examine whether parents engage boys differently than girls depending on context, I created a series of interaction terms between the neighborhood, school and family characteristics and child's sex and included them in the final model predicting each measure of racial socialization practices.

Question 2: Are racial socialization practices positively related to Black children's reading and mathematics achievement, school-related behavior and socioemotional development during kindergarten and first grade, controlling for family background, school and neighborhood characteristics? If so, do Black boys benefit more or less than Black girls from parental engagement in racial socialization practices? To answer the second research question, I estimated a series of ordinal least squares regression models in which the children's achievement, behavioral and socioemotional development in kindergarten and first grade were regressed on each racial socialization measure separately, controlling for neighborhood disadvantage, school characteristics, child's sex and family background. These models determined whether any of the measures of racial socialization practices explained significant variation among Black children in their achievement, behavior and socioemotional development during the first two years of formal schooling, after taking into account family socioeconomic background and contextual factors that may be related to whether parent's engage in racial socialization and the outcomes. As in the previous analyses, I also examined whether the relationship between racial socialization and children's outcomes varied for boys and girls. That is, was racial socialization more or less beneficial for boys in terms of their achievement and behaviors?

Chapter 4: Results

Descriptive Results

Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations of all the variables used in the analysis. In this subsample of Black kindergartners, the majority of parents report practicing some form of racial socialization. Approximately, seventy percent of parents report that they engaged in discussions of racial heritage with their child and slightly more than 80 percent discussed religion. A little over half of the parents report that they took their child to at least one cultural event over the past year. The mean for parents' engagement in different kinds of racial socialization is 2.08, which suggests that parents, on average, are engaging in two forms of racial socialization.

The mean for the *neighborhood disadvantage index* was constructed using census tract-level data on unemployment, racial composition, marital status, poverty, children under 18 and public assistance was -1.07 with a standard deviation of .81. On average, Black children in this subsample of kindergartners in the U.S. lived in neighborhoods with unemployment substantially higher than the national average (10.5 percent) and in neighborhoods where half of the residents are Black. In addition, they lived in neighborhoods where almost half of households are headed by single mothers (41.2 percent) and almost one in four households was below the poverty line. Black children in this subsample also lived in neighborhoods where on average, 7 percent of households receive some type of public assistance.

The vast majority of Black children in this sample attended public elementary schools (88 percent). Additionally, a little more than half of the students attended elementary schools located in urban areas. Finally, more than two-thirds of Black children attended elementary schools where 81 percent of the students are identified as Black or African American.

There are approximately an equal number of males and females in the sample. Approximately half of the children lived in a single mother household and have one sibling under the age of eighteen living in the household. On average, the mothers in this sample are 32 years old. The mean for family SES is -.36 with a standard deviation of .75.

On average, teachers reported Black kindergartners and first graders often engage in positive learning-related behaviors, self-control and interpersonal skills. In general, teachers also reported that Black children almost never have externalizing or internalizing behavior problems during the first two years of school.

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations of All Variables Used in Analysis (N = 2,446)

	Mean	SD	Range
Racial socialization			
Discussions of racial heritage (yes = 1; 0 = no)	.71	.45	
Religious discussions (yes = 1; 0 = no)	.83	.38	
Participation in cultural events (yes = 1; 0 = no)	.54	.50	
Engagement in *any* form or racial socialization (1 = yes; 0 = no)	.90	.30	
Number of racial socialization practices	2.08	1.01	0-3
Child and Family Characteristics			
Male (0 = female)	.50	.50	
Family SES	-.36	.75	-4.75-2.64
Single mother (0 = two-parents)	.51	.50	
Mother's age	32.19	8.26	19-80
# siblings	1.56	1.37	0-14
Neighborhood characteristics			
Neighborhood Disadvantage Index	-1.07	.81	-1.77-2.59
% unemployed	10.54	6.76	0-52.15
% Black	52.11	31.98	0-100
% single parents	41.18	20.82	0-97.78
% below poverty	23.18	14.42	.16-67.73
% children less than 18	29.30	6.14	2.06-52.61
% public assistance	7.17	6.07	0-43.95
School Characteristics			
Public	.88	.32	0-1
Urban	.54	.50	0-1
Black school	.81	.39	0-1
Student Achievement			
Reading Achievement, kindergarten	34.73	11.40	14.69-103.22
Reading Achievement, 1st grade	60.32	18.96	17.48-131.57
Math Achievement, kindergarten	26.46	9.23	7.25-78.25
Math Achievement, 1st grade	46.61	13.43	8.21-98.22
Student Behavior and Socioemotional Development			
Approaches to learning, kindergarten	2.90	.73	1-4
Approaches to learning, 1st grade	2.79	.76	1-4
Self-control, kindergarten	2.95	.68	1-4
Self-control, 1st grade	2.95	.68	1-4
Interpersonal, kindergarten	2.93	.68	1-4
Interpersonal, 1st grade	2.91	.69	1-4
Externalizing, kindergarten	1.87	.74	1-4
Externalizing, 1st grade	1.89	.75	1-4
Internalizing, kindergarten	1.61	.56	1-4
Internalizing, 1st grade	1.66	.57	1-4

Individual, Family, Contextual Factors and Racial Socialization

Tables 3 through 6 present the odds ratios from the logistic regression analyses which examine the extent to which child and family background characteristics as well as neighborhood and school contexts are associated with parents' engagement in four measures of racial socialization. These four measures include whether they discussed racial heritage, religion, participated in cultural events, and engaged in any form of racial socialization at all with their child. Table 7 presents the results of the

ordinal logistic regression analyses of the effects of child and family background characteristics and context on parents' engagement in multiple forms of racial socialization. To ease the interpretation of results, all coefficients were converted to odds ratios (exponentiated *B*), which are given in each table. Here, odds ratios indicate the odds that parents report engaging in racial socialization practices given child's sex, family, and neighborhood and school characteristics. Odds ratios less than 1 indicate that parents are less likely to engage in a particular socialization practice whereas ratios above 1 indicates that the odds of engagement are higher. Model 1 includes the neighborhood disadvantage index based on the census-tract level of each child in the subsample. Model 2 includes the characteristics of the elementary school attended by the child. Model 3 includes child's sex, family SES, single mother, mother's age, and the number of siblings in the home. Model 4 includes all child and family background characteristics, neighborhood characteristics and school characteristics in order to examine whether any of these factors are uniquely associated with the likelihood that parents engage in racial socialization.

Racial heritage. Table 3 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses of the relationship between neighborhood, school and family characteristics and the likelihood that parents' engaged in discussions with their child about their racial heritage. The results in Model 1 indicate that Black children who live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods are less likely to receive messages from their parent's about their racial heritage. Specifically, for every one unit increase in neighborhood disadvantage the odds that a parent discussed racial heritage with their kindergartner declines by 15 percent. In model 2, we can see that school context is also significantly associated with the likelihood that parent's engage in discussions of racial heritage with their child. On average, Black children who attend public schools and schools that are at least 25 percent Black are less likely to receive messages about racial heritage. Specifically, being in a public school and schools with higher percentages of students who are Black is associated with a 39 percent and 22 percent decrease in the odds of parent's engagement in racial heritage messages, respectively. On the other hand, Black children who attend urban elementary schools rather than rural or suburban schools have 31 percent higher odds of experiencing this form of racial socialization from their parents.

With respect to individual and family characteristics, the results in Model 3 indicate that parents are more likely to engage in this form of racial socialization with Black girls. Specifically, being a male decreases the odds of this kind of socialization by about 26 percent. As expected, Black children in higher SES families were significantly more likely to receive messages from their parent's about their racial heritage.

Model 4 includes neighborhood, school, child and family characteristics in the model predicting parent's engagement in discussions of racial heritage. While Black children remain less likely to experience this form of racial socialization if they are in more disadvantaged neighborhoods, the effect is

no longer significant. Black children in public schools and urban schools remain less likely to experience discussions of racial heritage compared to similar children in private schools and rural or suburban areas, respectively. After controlling for context, the increased odds associated with greater family SES decline somewhat, but remains significant.

The interaction between neighborhood disadvantage and male is positive and significant in the final model (Model 4). Thus, while overall parents were significantly more likely to engage in discussions of racial heritage with Black girls, when they lived in more disadvantaged neighborhoods the opposite was true. Parents are much more likely to engage in discussions of racial heritage with Black boys, if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Table 3

Odds Ratios Predicting Whether Parents of Black Children Engage in Discussions of Racial Heritage in Kindergarten (N=2,446)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		Racial Heritage		
Neighborhood disadvantage	.85**			.91
	(.06)			(.07)
School Characteristics				
Public		.61**		.74+
		(.17)		(.18)
Urban		1.31*		1.34**
		(.11)		(.11)
Black school		.78+		.87
		(.13)		(.14)
Child and Family Characteristics				
Male			.74	.74**
			(.09)	(.09)
Family SES			1.38***	1.30***
			(.07)	(.07)
Single mother			.85	.87
			(.11)	(.11)
Mother's age			1.00	1.00
			(.01)	(.01)
# siblings			1.02	1.04
			(.03)	(.04)
Interactions				
Neighborhood disadvantage X Male				1.39*
				(.10)
Urban school X Male				.67+
				(.21)
Constant	.91	1.40	1.32	1.50
R^2	.01	.01	.02	.02

+p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Religion. Table 4 presents the results from the binary logistic regression predicting whether parents engaged in religious discussions with their child. Similar to the findings for discussions of racial heritage, neighborhoods matter. The results in Model 1 show that without controls for school and family characteristics, the odds that parents engaged in religious discussions decline as neighborhood disadvantage increases. However, this result becomes nonsignificant once controls are added to the final model (Model 4). Parents are also less likely to engage in religious discussions with their child if they attend public or predominantly Black schools (Model 2). Specifically, attending a public school decreases the odds of engaging in religious discussions by 59 percent and attending a more Black school decreases the odds by 34 percent.

Unlike the results for racial heritage, Black boys and girls are equally likely to discuss religion with their parents. Increases in family SES are associated with significantly higher odds of engaging in religious discussions. Results also indicate that Black children in single mother households are

significantly less likely than those in married households to receive these kinds of messages. When all predictors are included in the model, significant effects were found for public school attendance, family SES, marital status, and mother's age.

As in the prior analysis of racial heritage, I also included an interaction term between males and neighborhood and school context in the final model. Similar to the findings for racial heritage, I found that Black boys living in high disadvantaged neighborhoods had higher odds of receiving religious messages compared to Black girls. The odds of parents engaging in discussions are also higher for females if they attend an urban compared to rural or suburban school.

Table 4

Odds Ratios Predicting Whether Parents of Black Children Engage in Religious Discussions in Kindergarten (N=2,446)

Variables	Religious Discussions			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Neighborhood disadvantage	.75***			.88
	(.08)			(.09)
School Characteristics				
Public		.41***		.58*
		(.23)		(.24)
Urban		.94		.96
		(.12)		(.12)
Black school		.66*		.80
		(.17)		(.18)
Child and Family Characteristics				
Male			.88	.89
			(.11)	(.11)
Family SES			1.52***	1.41***
			(.08)	(.09)
Single mother			.70**	.73*
			(.12)	(.12)
Mother's age			1.03***	1.03***
			(.01)	(.01)
# siblings			1.01	1.03
			(.04)	(.04)
Interactions				
Neighborhood disadvantage X Male				1.35*
				(.15)
Urban school X Male				.62+
				(.27)
Constant	1.57	2.75	.91	1.58
R^2	.01	.01	.04	.05

+p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Participation in cultural events. Table 5 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses of the relationship between child and family characteristics as well as neighborhood and school characteristics on the odds of parents' participation in cultural events with their child. Similar to previous findings, living in more disadvantaged neighborhoods is associated with diminished odds of participating in cultural events. Further, parents whose child attends schools with a higher percentage of Black

students are also less likely to participate in these types of events while children who attend urban schools are more likely to be involved in cultural activities with their parents and these effects remain significant after controlling for neighborhood, child and family characteristics (Model 4).

Black boys have slightly lower odds of participating in cultural events with their parents however, the coefficient fails to reach significance. However, as expected, the odds of participation in cultural events greatly increases (55 percent) with higher levels of family SES. When I added the interaction term between male and neighborhood disadvantage to the final model I found that, once again, parents of Black boys are more likely to take them to cultural events if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods compared to girls.

Table 5
Odds Ratios Predicting Whether Parents of Black Children Participate in Cultural Events in Kindergarten (N=2,446)

Variables	Cultural Events			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Neighborhood disadvantage	.87*			.95
	(.05)			(.06)
School Characteristics				
Public		.72		.97
		(.13)		(.14)
Urban		1.29**		1.24*
		(.10)		(.09)
Black school		.77*		.80*
		(.13)		(.09)
Child and Family Characteristics				
Male			.87	.86
			(.09)	(.09)
Family SES			1.58***	1.53***
			(.07)	(.08)
Single mother			.91	.92
			(.09)	(.09)
Mother's age			1.00	1.00
			(.01)	(.01)
# siblings			1.07*	1.08*
			(.03)	(.03)
Interactions				
Neighborhood disadvantage X Male				1.30*
				(.11)
Urban school X Male				.56**
				(.18)
Constant	.16	.52	.46	.49
R^2	.002	.01	.02	.03

+p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Engagement in any form of racial socialization. Table 6 presents the results of the logistic regression analysis of the effects of child and family background, neighborhood and school characteristics on whether parents engage in any form of racial socialization. Similar to the findings from earlier analysis, the odds that parents will engage in any form of racial socialization with their child are lower if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and attend public schools or predominantly Black schools. However, only public school remains significant in the full model (Model 4).

There are no sex differences in whether parents practice any form of racial socialization with their child, but as before parents of Black boys are significantly more likely to participate in some kind of racial socialization if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and if they attend rural or suburban elementary schools. In addition, Black children in single mother families have lower odds of receiving any kind of racial socialization messages.

Table 6
Odds Ratios Predicting Whether Parents of Black Children Engage in Any Form of Racial Socialization Practices in Kindergarten (N=2,446)

Variables	Any Form of Socialization			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Neighborhood disadvantage	.77**			.85
	(.08)			(.11)
School Characteristics				
Public		.40**		.56+
		(.31)		(.32)
Urban		1.17		1.16
		(.15)		(.15)
Black school		.64*		.89
		(.23)		(.26)
Child and Family Characteristics				
Male			.81	.82
			(.14)	(.14)
Family SES			1.44***	1.34**
			(.08)	(.09)
Single mother			.69*	.71*
			(.16)	(.16)
Mother's age			1.02*	1.02*
			(.01)	(.01)
# siblings			.97	.99
			(.05)	(.05)
Interactions				
Neighborhood disadvantage X Male				1.44
				(.20)
Urban school X Male				.46*
				(.33)
Constant	2.22	3.34	2.07	2.69
R^2	.01	.01	.03	.04

+p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Number of racial socialization practices. Table 7 presents the results of the ordered logistic regression analysis of the relationship between child and family background, neighborhood, and school characteristics on the number of racial socialization practiced engaged in by parents of Black children. As expected, living in highly disadvantaged neighborhoods decreases the odds of engaging in a higher number of racial socialization practices. Still, parents are less likely to engage in more types of socialization if their child attends public school. Black children are also less likely to receive more kinds of racial socialization messages from their parents if they attend a predominantly Black elementary school, though this coefficient does not retain significance in the full model.

In general, Black boys have significantly lower odds of receiving multiple racial socialization messages from their parents compared to girls and this is particularly true if they attend urban versus rural

or suburban schools. However, once again neighborhood disadvantage matters. In more disadvantaged neighborhoods, Black boys have greater odds of receiving multiple forms of racial socialization from their parents compared to girls.

In sum, findings indicate that neighborhoods and schools as well as child and family characteristics shape whether parents of Black children engage in racial socialization during the early school years. Overall, parents are less likely to engage in racial socialization in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and if their children attend public and predominantly Black schools. However, once child, family and school characteristics are controlled, the neighborhood disadvantage coefficient does not remain significant suggesting that part of the relationship between neighborhood conditions and racial socialization is due to differences in these other factors. Children in higher SES and married families as well as girls are more likely to receive messages of racial socialization. However, parents are more likely to engage in each type of racial socialization and in more practices with boys if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and if they attend rural or suburban schools compared to girls.

Table 7

Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Number of Racial Socialization Practices Parents Engage in with Black Children (N=2,446)

	Number of Socialization Practices			
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Neighborhood disadvantage	.83**			.89
	(.06)			(.07)
School Characteristics				
Public		.62***		.83[+]
		(.12)		(.13)
Urban		1.25*		1.22*
		(.09)		(.09)
Black school		.75*		.87
		(.11)		(.13)
Child and Family Characteristics				
Male			.82*	.82*
			(.08)	(.08)
Family SES			1.59***	1.50***
			(.07)	(.07)
Single mother			.84*	.86
			(.08)	(.08)
Mother's age			1.00	1.00
			(.004)	(.004)
# siblings			1.06	1.06
			(.06)	(.06)
Interactions				
Neighborhood disadvantage X Male				1.36**
				(.10)
Urban school X Male				.59**
				(.17)
Cut 1	-2.22	-2.77	-2.41	-2.56
Cut 2	-.98	-1.52	-1.15	-1.30
Cut 3	.20	-.34	.07	-.08
R^2	.003	.01	.02	.02

[+]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Racial Socialization and Academic Achievement, Behavior and Socioemotional Development

Tables 8 through 14 present the results of the multivariate regression analyses of the association between racial socialization and children's academic achievement, behavior and socioemotional development at the end of kindergarten and the end of first grade. All models of student outcomes include controls for neighborhood disadvantage, school characteristics, male and family characteristics. Models 1 through 5 add each form of racial socialization independently to the model predicting student outcomes in kindergarten and in first grade (Models 6 through 10).

Reading achievement. Table 8 presents the results from the regression analyses of reading achievement in kindergarten (Models 1-5) and first grade (Models 6-10). On average, Black children who live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods as well as those who attend public school have lower reading achievement in kindergarten and first grade compared to their peers who live in less disadvantaged neighborhoods and attend private school, respectively. With respect to individual and family characteristics, Black boys have significantly lower reading test scores compared to girls and children from single mother households also have lower reading achievement compared children from two-parent

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households, respectively. Additionally, Black children in higher SES families have higher reading scores than their peers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

All measures of parent's engagement in racial socialization are significantly related to Black children's reading achievement in kindergarten and first grade, with the exception of participation in cultural events, controlling for neighborhood, school, family characteristics and student's sex. Black children whose parents engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion with them have significantly higher reading achievement compared to children whose parents do not engage in these practices. Parental engagement in any form of racial socialization also results in higher reading achievement among Black children in kindergarten and first grade (Models 4 and 9). The results in Model 5 and Model 10 also indicate that children benefit when parents engage in multiple forms of racial socialization practices. That is, children whose parents engage in more socialization practices have higher reading achievement at the end of kindergarten and first grade compared to children whose parents engage in fewer, if any, types of racial socialization.

Table 8
Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Black Children's Reading Achievement in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

	Reading Achievement									
	Kindergarten					1st Grade				
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	1.36**					2.85**				
	(.49)					(.94)				
Religion		1.42*					2.19*			
		(.56)					(1.06)			
Cultural Events			.45					.51		
			(.50)					(.78)		
Any Racial Socialization				1.54*					2.58*	
				(.69)					(1.32)	
# Socialization Practices					.60**					1.03*
					(.23)					(.40)
Neighborhood disadvantage	-1.11**	-1.11**	-1.13***	-1.12***	-1.10***	-2.32***	-2.33***	-2.37***	-2.35	-2.32***
	(.48)	(.29)	(.29)	(.29)	(.29)	(.49)	(.49)	(.50)	(.49)	(.49)
Public School	-4.19***	-4.19***	-4.25***	-4.22***	-4.19***	-3.71**	-3.57**	-3.60**	-3.70**	-3.64**
	(.88)	(.88)	(.88)	(.88)	(.88)	(1.37)	(1.37)	(1.37)	(1.37)	(1.37)
Urban School	-1.19*	-1.10*	-1.14*	-1.13*	-1.18*	-.93	-1.10	-.92	-.97	-.98
	(.44)	(.44)	(.45)	(.44)	(.44)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)
Black School	1.02	1.02	1.01	1.02	1.04	.83	.91	.89	.86	.88
	(.70)	(.71)	(.71)	(.70)	(.71)	(1.21)	(1.22)	(1.22)	(1.22)	(1.22)
Male	-1.44**	-1.50**	-1.50**	-1.49**	-1.45**	-4.16***	-4.30***	-4.31***	-4.29***	-4.22***
	(.43)	(.43)	(.43)	(.43)	(.43)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)	(.74)
Family SES	2.92***	2.92***	2.95***	2.95***	2.88***	5.13***	5.17***	5.23***	5.21***	5.07***
	(.38)	(.38)	(.39)	(.38)	(.39)	(.59)	(.60)	(.60)	(.59)	(.60)
Single mother	-1.24*	-1.22*	-1.27*	-1.23*	-1.22*	-2.20*	-2.19*	-2.27*	-2.21*	-2.19*
	(.49)	(.50)	(.50)	(.50)	(.49)	(.90)	(.90)	(.91)	(.91)	(.90)
Mother's age	.08*	.07*	.07*	.07*	.07*	.05	.04	.05	.04	.04
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.05)
# siblings	-.93***	-.93***	-.93***	-.92***	-.94***	-1.54***	-1.53***	-1.53***	-1.52***	-1.55***
	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)	(.27)	(.27)	(.27)	(.27)	(.27)
Constant	38.71	38.69	39.55	38.41	38.49	67.20	67.77	69.21	67.16	67.22
R^2	.13	.13	.13	.13	.13	.12	.13	.12	.12	.13

[+]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Math achievement. Table 9 presents the results of the multivariate regression analyses predicting math achievement among Black children in kindergarten and first grade. Similar to the results for reading, Black children who live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and attend public schools have significantly lower reading test scores, controlling for family socioeconomic status and other family characteristics. Like reading, Black children whose parent's engage in discussions of racial heritage with them and religion have significantly higher math achievement at the end of the first two years of school. This is also true for parents' engagement in any form of racial socialization and their engagement in more practices. Participation in cultural events is significantly associated with higher math achievement among Black children but only at the end of first grade.

Learning-related behavior. Thus far, the results indicate that racial socialization practices has a significant and positive association with Black children's academic achievement during the first two years of formal schooling, controlling for child, family, neighborhood and school characteristics. The remaining tables (Tables 10 through Table 14) present the results from the multivariate regression analyses predicting the association between racial socialization and children's behavior and socioemotional development.

Table 10 shows the results for children's approaches to learning behavior in kindergarten and first grade. Neighborhood disadvantage, public and urban schools are not associated with fewer learning related behaviors in kindergarten. However, neighborhood disadvantage is related to poorer approaches to learning in first grade. Interestingly, Black children in elementary schools that are comprised of at least 25 percent Black students actually have better learning-related behaviors compared to students in lower Black schools. Black males have significantly lower learning behaviors and students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds have better approaches to learning in kindergarten and first grade.

Racial socialization practices are significantly and positively related to Black children's learning-related behaviors in kindergarten, controlling for neighborhood, school, and child and family characteristics. However, only discussions about religion are significantly associated with better approaches to learning during first grade.

Table 9
Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Black Children's
Math Achievement in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

	Math Achievement									
			Kindergarten					1st Grade		
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	1.06*					1.78**				
	(.42)					(.60)				
Religion		.96[+]					1.73*			
		(.51)					(.76)			
Cultural Events			.59					1.47*		
			(.41)					(.60)		
Any Racial Socialization				1.55*					2.31*	
				(.64)					(.94)	
# Socialization Practices					.50**					.98**
					(.19)					(.29)
Neighborhood disadvantage	-1.01***	-1.01***	-1.02***	-1.01***	-1.00***	-1.84***	-1.85***	-1.86***	-1.85***	-1.83***
	(.26)	(.27)	(.27)	(.26)	(.26)	(.41)	(.41)	(.41)	(.41)	(.41)
Public	-2.55***	-2.55***	-2.59***	-2.56***	-2.54***	-1.36	-1.36	-1.42	-1.38	-1.33
	(.65)	(.64)	(.64)	(.64)	(.65)	(.93)	(.93)	(.93)	(.93)	(.93)
Urban	-.55	-.48	-.53	-.52	-.55	-.85	-.74	-.84	-.79	-.86
	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	(.54)	(.54)	(.55)	(.54)	(.55)
Black school	.14	.13	.13	.14	.16	-.23	-.23	-.22	-.23	-.19
	(.57)	(.57)	(.57)	(.57)	(.57)	(.86)	(.86)	(.86)	(.86)	(.86)
Male	-.16	-.20	-.20	-.19	-.16	-.41	-.49	-.47	-.48	-.41
	(.36)	(.36)	(.36)	(.36)	(.36)	(.54)	(.54)	(.54)	(.54)	(.54)
Family SES	2.30***	2.30***	2.30***	2.31***	2.25***	2.95***	2.95***	2.90***	2.97***	2.84***
	(.30)	(.30)	(.30)	(.30)	(.30)	(.42)	(.42)	(.42)	(.42)	(.42)
Single mother	-.29	-.27	-.30	-.27	-.27	-.23	-.21	-.25	-.21	-.19
	(.42)	(.42)	(.42)	(.43)	(.42)	(.62)	(.62)	(.62)	(.62)	(.61)
Mother's age	.04	.03	.04	.04	.04	.01	.002	.01	.00	.002
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)
# siblings	-.49***	-.48***	-.49***	-.48***	-.49***	-.60**	-.59**	-.61**	-.58**	-.61**
	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.19)	(.20)	(.19)	(.20)	(.19)
Constant	28.68	28.78	29.19	28.13	28.42	49.32	49.38	49.87	48.66	48.58
R^2	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10

[+]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Table 10

Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Teacher Reports of Black Children's Approaches to Learning Behavior in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

	Approaches to Learning									
	Kindergarten					1st Grade				
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	.08*					.05				
	(.03)					(.05)				
Religion		.14**					.11*			
		(.04)					(.05)			
Cultural Events			.07*					.01		
			(.03)					(.03)		
Any Racial Socialization				.19***					.09	
				(.05)					(.06)	
# Socialization Practices					.05**					.03
					(.02)					(.02)
Neighborhood disadvantage	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Public	-.03	-.02	-.04	-.04	-.03	-.10[+]	-.10[+]	-.11[+]	-.10[+]	-.10[+]
	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
Urban	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.004	-.001	-.002	-.003	-.005
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Black school	.12	.13	.13	.13	.13	.13**	.13**	.13**	.13**	.13**
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Male	-.31***	-.31***	-.31***	-.31***	-.30***	-.26***	-.26***	-.26***	-.26***	-.26***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Family SES	.11***	.11***	.11***	.11***	.10***	.13***	.13***	.13***	.13***	.13***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)	(.03)
Single mother	-.07*	-.07*	-.07*	-.07*	-.07*	-.06	-.06	-.06	-.06	-.06
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Mother's age	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
# siblings	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	3.06	3.01	3.08	2.95	3.00	2.92	2.87	2.95	2.87	2.90
R^2	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07

[+]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Self-control. Table 11 presents the results of the multivariate regression analyses predicting teacher reports of children's self-control in kindergarten and first grade. Overall, Black children from less disadvantaged neighborhoods have better self-control in first grade. Black boys are also significantly more likely than Black girls to have lower self-control in both kindergarten and first grade. All five measures of racial socialization are positively associated with self-control but the only coefficient that reaches significance is between Black children whose parents practice any of the forms of racial socialization and those who do not.

Interpersonal behavior. Table 12 presents the results of the multivariate regression analyses predicting teacher reports of students' interpersonal behavior in kindergarten and first grade. Results from the first grade indicate that teachers rated children who live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods, attend public school, and schools with fewer Black students as having worse interpersonal behavior compared to children in less disadvantaged neighborhoods, private school, and schools with a larger percentage of Black students, respectively. Findings also show that boys and children in single parent households have worse interpersonal behavior compared to girls and children in two-parent households, respectively. Black children from higher SES families were rated by their teachers as having better interpersonal behaviors than children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

All five socialization measures were significantly associated with better interpersonal behavior in kindergarten. In first grade, Black children whose parent's discuss racial heritage with them and those parents who engage in a greater number of socialization practices have significantly better interpersonal behavior.

Externalizing behavior problems. Table 13 presents the results of the multivariate regression analyses predicting children's externalizing behavior problems in kindergarten and first grade. Black children in more disadvantaged neighborhoods are rated by their teachers as having greater externalizing behavior problems. Black boys were also rated by their teachers as having worse externalizing behavior problems in the first two years of school. Unlike the previous outcomes, racial socialization practices were not significantly related to differences in externalizing behavior problems, controlling for neighborhood, school, child and family characteristics.

Table 11
Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Teacher Reports of Black Children's Self-control in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

	Self-control Behavior									
	Kindergarten					1st Grade				
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	.05 (.03)					.05 (.04)				
Religion		.07+ (.04)					.05 (.05)			
Cultural Events			.01 (.03)					-.01 (.03)		
Any Racial Socialization				.10* (.05)					.06 (.05)	
# Socialization Practices					.02 (.01)					.01 (.02)
Neighborhood disadvantage	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.06** (.02)	-.06** (.02)	-.06** (.02)	-.06** (.02)	-.06** (.02)
Public	.09* (.05)	.09* (.05)	.09 (.05)	.09* (.05)	.09* (.05)	-.06 (.05)	-.06 (.05)	.07 (.05)	.07 (.05)	.07 (.05)
Urban	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Black school	.04 (.04)	.004 (.04)	.04 (.04)	.04 (.04)	.04 (.04)	.03 (.04)	.03 (.04)	.03 (.04)	.03 (.04)	.03 (.04)
Male	-.20*** (.03)	-.21*** (.03)	-.21*** (.03)	-.21*** (.03)	-.20*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)
Family SES	.04* (.02)	.04* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.04* (.02)	.04* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)
Single mother	-.07* (.03)	-.07* (.03)	-.07* (.03)	-.07* (.03)	-.07* (.03)	-.05 (.04)	-.05 (.04)	-.05 (.04)	-.05 (.04)	-.05 (.04)
Mother's age	.00 (.002)	.00 (.002)	.00 (.002)	.00 (.002)	.00 (.002)	.001 (.002)	.001 (.002)	.001 (.002)	.001 (.002)	.001 (.002)
# siblings	-.02 (.01)	-.02 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.02 (.01)	-.003 (.01)	-.003 (.01)	-.003 (.01)	-.003 (.01)	-.003 (.01)
Constant	2.98	2.97	3.01	2.93	2.97	3.11	3.10	3.15	3.09	3.11
R^2	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

+$p<.10$. *$p<.05$. **$p<.01$. ***$p<.001$.

Table 12

Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Teacher Reports of Black Children's Interpersonal Behavior in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

					Interpersonal Behavior					
			Kindergarten					1st Grade		
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	.05$^+$					.07$^+$				
	(.03)					(.03)				
Religion		.09*					.06			
		(.04)					(.05)			
Cultural Events			.05$^+$					.02		
			(.03)					(.03)		
Any Racial Socialization				.12*					.05	
				(.05)					(.05)	
# Socialization Practices					.04*					.03$^+$
					(.01)					(.02)
Neighborhood	-.03	-.02	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.06**	-.06**	-.06**	-.06**	-.06**
disadvantage	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Public	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.13*	-.13*	-.13*	-.13*	-.13*
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)
Urban	-.02	-.01	-.02	-.02	-.02	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Black school	.06	.06	.06	.06	.07	.08*	.08*	.08*	.08*	.08*
	(.04)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Male	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***	-.22***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Family SES	.04*	.05*	.04*	.02*	.04*	.10***	.10***	.10***	.10***	.10***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Single mother	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	-.06	-.06	-.06	-.06	-.06
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Mother's age	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	-.00	.001	.001	.001	-.001	.001
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
# siblings	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	3.06	3.03	3.08	3.00	3.03	3.08	3.09	3.12	3.09	3.08
R^2	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05

$^+$p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Table 13
Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Teacher Reports of Black Children's Externalizing Behavior in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

			Externalizing Behavior							
			Kindergarten					1st Grade		
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	-.04					-.04				
	(.04)					(.04)				
Religion		.03					.02			
		(.04)					(.05)			
Cultural Events			.02					.01		
			(.03)					(.03)		
Any Racial Socialization				-.01					-.01	
				(.05)					(.05)	
# Socialization Practices					.002					-.002
					(.02)					(.02)
Neighborhood disadvantage	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.05*	.05*	.05*	.05*	.05*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Public	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
Urban	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.00
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Black school	-.12	-.12	-.12	-.12	-.12	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
Male	.27***	.27***	.27***	.27***	.27***	.26***	.26***	.26***	.26***	.26***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Family SES	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*	-.05*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Single mother	.06	.06	.06	.06	.06	.07	.07	.07	.07	.07
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Mother's age	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
# siblings	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	1.81	1.76	1.77	1.79	1.78	1.65	1.59	1.61	1.63	1.62
R^2	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

[+]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Internalizing behavior problems. Table 14 presents the results of the multivariate regression analyses teacher reports of children's internalizing behavior problems in kindergarten and first grade. Results from the baseline model indicate that boys exhibit greater internalizing behavior problems than girls as rated by their teachers. With respect to racial socialization, there are significant negative associations between all of the racial socialization measures and internalizing behaviors in kindergarten, with the exception of cultural events. That is, Black children whose parents engage in racial socialization practices have fewer internalizing behavior problems.

Differential relationship between racial socialization and outcomes for Black boys and girls. Table 15 presents the results of the significant interaction effects between student's sex and racial socialization on achievement, behavior and socioemotional development. In kindergarten, racial socialization seems to be more beneficial for Black girls' achievement compared to Black boys. Black girls whose parents engage in any form of socialization had higher reading and math achievement than boys. Girls also have higher math achievement when their parents engaged in discussions of racial heritage and religion and in more socialization practices with them compared to boys.

In sum, the results indicate that multiple measures of racial socialization practices are related to Black students' academic achievement during the first two years of formal schooling, even after controlling for child, family, neighborhood and school characteristics. Black boys and girls whose parents engaged in discussions of racial heritage and religion, in any form of racial socialization, and in more socialization practices, have higher reading and math achievement than their peers whose parents did not engage or engaged in fewer practices. Similar to academic achievement, racial socialization also has a unique influence on students' behavior and socioemotional development, including learning-related, interpersonal and internalizing behavior problems. The results also indicate that the association between racial socialization and early outcomes in school may differ for Black boys and girls. Specifically, Black girls seemed to benefit more in terms of mathematics achievement and reading from racial socialization practices than boys.

Table 14

Multivariate Regression Analysis Predicting the Influence of Parents' Engagement in Various Racial Socialization Practices on Teacher Reports of Black Children's Internalizing Behavior in Kindergarten and First Grade (N=2,446)

	Internalizing Behavior									
	Kindergarten					1st Grade				
Variables	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**	**Model 10**
Racial Heritage	-.07*					-.03				
	(.03)					(.03)				
Religion		-.07^{+}					-.01			
		(.03)					(.04)			
Cultural Events			-.03					-.01		
			(.02)					(.03)		
Any Racial Socialization				-.11*					-.02	
				(.05)					(.05)	
# Socialization Practices					-.03*					-.01
					(.01)					(.01)
Neighborhood disadvantage	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Public	-.003	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Urban	.05*	.05*	.05*	.05*	.05*	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Black school	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	.002	.003	.002	.002	.002
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Male	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.06*	.06*	.06*	.06*	.06*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Family SES	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Single mother	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Mother's age	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
# siblings	.02*	.02*	.02*	.02*	.02*	.04***	.04***	.04***	.04***	.04***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	1.48	1.48	1.45	1.53	1.49	1.58	1.56	1.56	1.58	1.58
R^2	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01

$^{+}$p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Table 15
Moderating Effects of Student Sex and Racial Socialization on Academic Achievement and Behavior

	Reading Achievement (Model 1)	Math Achievement (Model 2)	Interpersonal (Model 3)
Male X Racial Heritage		-1.35[+]	
		(.81)	
Male X Religion		-1.69[+]	-.13[+]
		(.99)	(.08)
Male X Any Practice of racial socialization	-2.39[+]	-2.65*	
	(1.34)	(1.26)	
Male X # Racial Socialization practices		-.60[+]	
		(.36)	

Note: All models control for child, family background, and neighborhood and school characteristics.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study sought to extend our current understanding of racial socialization in Black families in three ways. First, this study sought to examine factors that shape whether parents of Black children engage in racial socialization. In addition to child and family characteristics, I also examined neighborhood and school characteristics in an effort to better understand how these contexts may have a unique influence on parental engagement. Further, I examined whether these contexts moderate the relationship between child's sex and racial socialization. Second, this study sought to examine whether racial socialization has a significant influence on children's academic achievement, behavior, and socioemotional development during the first two years of formal schooling. Finally, I examined whether the influence of racial socialization differed for boys and girls. In this chapter I present a discussion of the key findings from this study. I conclude with a discussion of limitations, future directions for research, and implications of findings.

Who Engages in Racial Socialization?

    Child and family characteristics. Based on prior research I hypothesized that middle-class and married families would be more likely to engage in racial socialization and that this would also be true for older mothers and parents of females. Indeed, findings from this study suggest that family SES, marital status, mother's age, and child sex influence whether parents engage in proactive socialization practices. In particular, higher SES families are more likely to engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion, participate in cultural events, and engage in any form of socialization, and in more types of socialization, compared to parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. There are several reasons that may explain this finding. First, higher SES parents may be able to provide more resources, such as books. Because children in this study are very young, parents may use visual aids to help them engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion rather than regular conversations that they might engage in with older children. Use of visual aids may be useful in helping parents to "paint a picture" of what they want children to understand. Also, parents may be able to show children how their situation relates to a character in the story. For instance, when engaging in discussions of racial heritage parents may read age-appropriate books that tell the stories of successful Black people who accomplished something great like Martin Luther King or Rosa Parks. Parents may, in turn, use this as a way to encourage children to strive to be great. Parents may use children's Bibles to discuss religion as a coping strategy. Unlike the actual Bible, this type uses age-appropriate words and pictures to teach children about God and all that He can do. Children's Bibles, in comparison to the typical Bible, tell stories of happenings in the actual Bible. In regard to participation in cultural events, again higher SES parents are more likely to have the necessary finances for such participation. Prior research suggests that middle-class parents who were intentional in their engagement in racial socialization involved their children in organizations and activities that allowed them to develop a positive sense of self and of their

racial group (Lacy, 2007; Toliver, 1998). For example, families may join a Jack and Jill organization or other groups whose goal is to promote success while also ensuring that children know their heritage.

Still, another explanation relates to parents' occupation. Higher SES parents are more likely to work in more prestigious jobs compared to parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who are more likely to work in the service sector. Thus, high SES parents may work in environments in which they are one of a few, if not the only, Black person in the office. As indicated by Toliver (1998), upper middle-class parents in corporate America experience a great deal of racism on the job as well as in their predominantly White neighborhoods. In response to their own experiences, high SES parents make an extra effort to ensure that children are able to navigate environments in which they too are one of a few, if not the only, Black person. Parents seek to ensure that children understand their racial heritage, promote messages of religious coping and prepare children for bias (Hughes & Johnson, 1999; Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987; Toliver, 1998). This study does not measure protective socialization practices such as preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust because they are not available in the ECLS-K dataset.

Results also indicate that marital status and mother's age influence parents' engagement in racial socialization. Specifically, findings show that two-parent families and older mothers are more likely to engage in any form of socialization and to discuss religion with young children compared to single and younger mothers, respectively. Similar to family SES, two-parent households may be able to provide more resources that help children understand religion and how it can be useful in their lives. This may also be true for older mothers who are likely to have more work experience. Also, for older mothers, prior experiences may further explain why they are more likely to engage in religious discussions. Older parents may have come of age during the time in which Black people were fighting for equality. For many, the belief that God would work everything out and protect them, was key to being able to withstand and overcome the challenges they faced. Thus, it is possible that older parents may rely more on their religious beliefs as a way to cope and in turn, want their children to do the same.

At the child level, findings indicate that parents are less likely to engage in racial socialization with boys. This finding is consistent with prior research that has also found that parents are more likely to promote messages of proactive socialization with girls while promoting messages of protective socialization (e.g., preparation for bias) with boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). However, these studies do not consider how parental engagement may be further influenced by contextual factors, which will be discussed later.

Neighborhoods and schools. Prior research on the factors that influence parents' engagement in racial socialization has often focused on child and family characteristics with less being paid to the role that neighborhoods and schools play in this process. To examine this limitation, I include measures of neighborhood disadvantage, school type (public or private), school location (urban, rural, or suburban), and

school racial composition. Overall, findings indicate that neighborhood and school contexts have a significant influence on whether parents engage in racial socialization. Specifically, results show that parents in more disadvantaged neighborhoods are less likely to engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion, participate in cultural events and engage in any form of socialization. They also engage in fewer socialization practices compared to parents in less disadvantaged neighborhoods. It may be that the socialization measures in this study do not capture the types of racial socialization practiced in disadvantaged neighborhoods. In one of the only studies to examine the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and racial socialization Caughy and colleagues (2006) found that parents were more likely to promote messages of mistrust and racial barriers (e.g., prep for bias) if they lived in more disadvantaged neighborhoods. Although this study does not include these types of measures, it is possible to examine whether individual and neighborhood characteristics intersect to explain parents' transmission of proactive socialization messages in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Results indicate that parents are more likely to engage in racial socialization with boys compared to girls if they live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods. This finding is in contrast to prior research that suggest that parents engage in proactive socialization practices more with girls (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). These studies, however, do not examine neighborhood characteristics and thus, do not provide the entire picture. Parents may engage more with boys in disadvantaged neighborhoods because they perceive them to be at increased risk of negative outcomes compared to girls. These neighborhoods are often characterized by high incarceration rates of boys as well as by increased participation in antisocial behaviors (e.g., gangs, drugs) among boys (Anderson, 2008). As a result, parents may engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion and participate in cultural events more with boys in hopes that they will not "travel down the same road" as other boys in the neighborhood have done.

Two other key findings also emerge to further our understanding of the factors that influence parents' engagement in racial socialization. First, school characteristics do influence parents' engagement in racial socialization. Results from this study show that parents are significantly less likely to engage in racial socialization if their child attends public or predominantly Black schools compared to parents whose children attend private and predominantly White schools, respectively. These findings are consistent with prior research that suggests that parents are less likely to engage in racial socialization when children are surrounded by people who look like them whereas they report intentional engagement when children's environments are less Black (Lacy, 2007; Tatum, 1987; Toliver, 1998). Parents may perceive the school environment to be unfair to their children as a result of their skin color. Still, another explanation is that parents engage more when schools encourage engagement. For example, children may attend private schools that are religious in nature. Unlike public schools, religion is a key part of the curriculum.

Second, child sex and school location intersect to further explain parents' engagement in racial socialization. Specifically, results show that parents are more likely to engage in racial socialization with girls compared to boys if they attend an urban school. These schools are often characterized by lower achievement compared to rural and suburban schools (Lleras, 2008; U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Thus, it is possible that parents engage in racial socialization as a way to buffer this effect. To explain why parents are more likely to engage with girls it is important to consider parents' expectations. Research suggests that parents have higher educational expectations for girls than boys (Wood, Kaplan, & McLoyd, 2007). Therefore, parents may be more likely to read books with girls and engage in other activities that fosters high achievement such as discussions of racial heritage and religion.

Racial Socialization and Academic Achievement

An equally important goal of this study was to examine whether racial socialization results in higher achievement among young children. Overall, findings from this study indicate that racial socialization does matter and has a significant influence on children's reading and math achievement during the first two years of school. Indeed, parents who engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion as well as in any form of socialization and more socialization practices pays off for their children. These findings are consistent with those from the few studies that have also focused on young children (Brown et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2003). As already discussed parents are likely to use books when engaging in these practices. Thus, at the same time parents are promoting a positive sense of self they are also enhancing children's vocabulary and reading comprehension. Overall, racial socialization appears to benefit both boys and girls.

For math achievement, however, results indicate that girls actually benefit more from racial socialization than boys in kindergarten. Specifically, girls whose parents engage in discussions of racial heritage and religion, in any form of socialization and in more practices have higher math achievement test scores compared to boys whose parents engage. Why racial socialization influences children's math achievement, particularly girls' achievement, may be less obvious than for reading. However, it is possible that engagement may boost girls' self-efficacy. As they are learning about the great accomplishments of Black people and about the challenges faced by people in the Bible and how they were able to overcome, it is possible that these stories foster a belief in them that they too can succeed and do well in school. While math may be a difficult subject for Black children and girls in particular, racial socialization may empower them to persist whereas children whose parents do not engage may give up on challenging tasks. By the time children reach first grade, boys and girls seem to benefit equally from racial socialization.

Racial Socialization and Student Behavior

Similar to reading achievement, few researchers have focused on the relationship between racial socialization and young children's behavior (Caughy et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 2002). In Caughy et al. (2002), findings indicated that children had fewer externalizing and internalizing behavior problems if

parents engaged in racial socialization. These findings are partially supported in this study. Parents' engagement in racial socialization does matter for children's internalizing behavior, but significant results are not found for externalizing behavior. Further, results show that parents' engagement also has a significant and positive influence on children's approaches to learning and interpersonal behaviors in kindergarten. That is, children whose parents engage in socialization are better able to stay on task, more eager to learn, pay more attention in class, and get along better with their peers as reported by their teachers.

Interestingly, findings indicate that participation in cultural events also influence children's approaches to learning and interpersonal behaviors. This aspect of socialization is not significant for reading achievement. Parents' engagement in this type of racial socialization might include attending festivals, dining at restaurants where traditional foods are served, visiting museums, etc. Participation in these activities require children to be attentive and open to learning new things. Since these activities take place outside of the home, children must also interact with other people who may not look like them. The behaviors practiced in these activities are the same as those that are expected in the classroom. By the time children reach first grade, the influence of racial socialization on children's behavior and socioemotional development is diminished.

Limitations

This study adds to the literature on racial socialization with Black children by highlighting the potential influence of neighborhoods and schools on parents' engagement and in turn, its influence on children's academic achievement and behavior during the first two years of formal schooling. However, there are some limitations. First, this study uses three questions to tap into dimensions of racial socialization. These questions focus on whether parents engage in socialization only. Although results indicate significant and positive influences on children's educational outcomes I can only speculate about the content of parents' messages. Second, this study focuses on proactive socialization practices. Therefore, it is not possible to examine whether protective socialization messages matter for children's achievement and behavior as well. Also, proactive and protective socialization practices may interact and have a greater influence on children's outcomes than shown here. Finally, although this study examines neighborhood and school characteristics, it is possible that other aspects of these environments may also influence parents' engagement in racial socialization. Examples include social cohesion among residents and school curriculum.

Directions for Future Research

Based on findings from this study, future research should continue to examine how neighborhoods and schools as well as other contexts (e.g., parents' workplace) influence parents' engagement in racial socialization practices and in turn, its influence on young children's outcomes. Future research should also investigate how these macro-level characteristics intersect with individual and family characteristics in order to further our understanding of racial socialization in Black families. More research is also needed on the

longitudinal effects of racial socialization on children's outcomes. In addition to measuring outcomes over time, studies should also include measures of socialization at different time points.

In sum, racial socialization matters for young, Black children's academic achievement and behavior. Thus, it is possible that culturally relevant parenting practices may be more useful in enhancing, or improving, Black children's school experiences early on. Findings from this study also shed light on the role that neighborhoods and schools play in shaping whether parents engage in racial socialization, which points to the importance of positive home-school-community partnerships. These environments work together to influence parenting practices and in turn, children's outcomes.

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