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The Continuum of Ethno-Racial Socialization: Learning About Culture and Race in Middle-Class Latina/o Families

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The Continuum of Ethno-Racial Socialization:
Learning About Culture and Race in Middle-Class Latina/o Families

by

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

This thesis examines the discursive messages and specific practices that Latino families use to transmit messages about culture, race, and racism. Scholars have not fully explored the complexity and range of practices and discourses that are involved in Latinos' ethno-racial socialization. The use of the phrase "ethno-racial socialization" is important because it combines the concepts of racial socialization and ethnic socialization in an effort to account for the lived experiences of Latinos who mostly think of themselves as a racial group, are treated as one race, and consequently discuss race with family members. This research explores this process using twelve in-depth, semi-structured interviews with seven U.S. born children of immigrants between the ages of 18-30 and five of their parents (3 immigrant, 1 migrant, and 1 U.S. born). The immigrant families were middle-class and had at least one parent that was born in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, or Puerto Rico.

To theoretically ground the project, I draw on Annette Lareau's concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth, which are two major frames to describe how middle-class and lower-class families socialize their family members. I apply this framework to strategies of ethno-racial socialization and develop through the concepts of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth, which, I argue, respectively correspond to 'explicit' and 'implicit' socialization approaches to conveying messages about culture, race, and racism. I argue that ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth stand in opposite ends of a continuum of approaches to

instilling messages related to race and ethnicity. In some cases, the strategies can be mutually reinforcing because a practice that can be considered ethno-racial concerted cultivation can create opportunities for the accomplishment of natural growth to occur (and vice versa). Intra-familial differences in how family members socialize their children mean that they receive diverse and at times contradictory messages about culture and race from different family members such as parents and extended family members. The differences in how family members use ethno-racial socialization strategies are further heightened due to the experiences of the family member (such as their maintenance or rejection of immigrant culture and experiences with racial discrimination or lack thereof) and family structure (such as the varying messages children receive in single-parent households with extended family members living in the home, two-parent households, and households with transnational family ties).

The young adults who were consistently exposed to encouraging and empowering messages that implicitly or explicitly emphasized a sense of commitment, belonging, and identity to the ethno-racial group experienced the most positive outcomes such as: racial literacy, preparation for bias, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, access to co-ethnic networks, cosmopolitanism, social flexibility, and social capital (in the form of familial capital). The young adults who did not receive consistent messages, who received messages that promoted anti-blackness, or received messages that erased the importance of their immigrant family's culture experienced some of the following outcomes: limited racial literacy, ambiguous ethno-racial identity, limited Spanish skills, limited access to co-ethnic networks, and parent-child conflict.

Overall, this research illustrates how ethno-racial socialization in Latina/o families does not easily fit into one discrete model of socialization, but rather is a complex, multi-layered interplay of mechanisms that draw on both ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the

accomplishment of natural growth approaches. This interplay also brings sometimes conflict due to the various and, at times, opposing messages that children receive from different family members.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I feel like I never had that education of, like, ‘this is what it means to be Dominican’ because I don’t really think she [mother] was interested in instilling that in us. Because, in her mind, I don’t think it was good enough. That’s not what she wanted for her kids. She wanted her kids to have the American life. The American ideals.

During a three-hour interview I conducted with Grace, a light-skinned college student, she recounted how her mother did not teach her Dominican culture growing up. Instead, her mother urged her to Americanize and become White. Being Latina/o can be a highly racialized and stigmatized identity that some desire to erase while others reassert when they face racial and ethnic discrimination or exclusion (Rumbaut 2008). However, parents can help children navigate these processes through socialization practices that engage children in the meaning of race and ethnicity in their lives. This thesis examines the diverse and complex strategies and specific cultural practices Latina/o families, including parents and extended kin, often engage in to teach their children about culture, race, and racism. The two guiding research questions are:

1. How are children in Latino families brought up to be aware of or learn about their cultural and racial backgrounds?
2. To what extent are Lareau’s concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth useful in conceptualizing ethno-racial socialization and child-rearing strategies used in Latina/o families regarding culture and race?

This study responds to two ongoing and unresolved debates in the research on race, ethnicity, family, and immigration. The first is regarding the conceptual divide between existing

sociological understandings of race and ethnicity and where Latinos fit within these categories. While Latinos have been classified as an ethnic group by the U.S Census Bureau (Oboler 1995), some scholars argue that Latinos are a racialized ethnic group because they are treated differently than Whites and Blacks (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2007; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Flores-Gonzalez, Aranda, and Vaquera 2014; Golash-Boza 2006; O'Brien 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012; Vaquera and Kao 2006). Burton et al. (2010:445) define racialization as “the assignment of racial meaning to real, perceived, or ascribed differences among individuals or groups.” Cultural markers such as language, accent, residence, first and last names, and country of origin are used to racially mark Latinos (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2007; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Flores-Gonzalez, Aranda, and Vaquera 2014; Golash-Boza 2006; Grosfoguel 2004; O'Brien 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012; Vaquera and Kao 2006). Grosfoguel (2004) argues that Latinos are a racialized ethnicity because they experience racist stereotyping and he calls for scholars to combine, rather than separate, the constructs of race and ethnicity.

Scholars have both drawn distinctions between and combined the conceptualizations of racial and ethnic socialization for Latinos, reflecting the ongoing debate on how to define the constructs of race and ethnicity and how Latinos fit within them (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, and Hordge-Freeman 2010; Hughes, Rodriguez, and Smith 2006). Racial socialization is defined as implicit and explicit messages and strategies used by parents to teach children awareness of racial barriers, coping mechanisms for dealing with racism and race-related discrimination, and encouragement of interracial relationships (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010). Ethnic socialization is defined as “explicit and implicit messages regarding intragroup messages about what it means to a member of a particular ethnic

group” (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010:359). This research bridges the conceptual divide between racial socialization and ethnic socialization by examining how both racial and ethnic messages and markers jointly matter to Latinos, as a racialized ethnic group. My research is situated within the body of literature that argues that Latinos experience both racial and ethnic socialization. Combining these two forms of socialization incorporates the lived experiences of Latinos who mostly think of themselves as a racial group, are treated as one race, and discuss race with family members.

This research speaks to a second ongoing debate in the sociological research on familial childrearing and socialization, which engages with Lareau’s conceptual framework of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth as mechanisms for socialization. While this framework has been extensively tested and applied to many settings (such as in Cheadle and Amato (2010), Chin and Phillips (2004), Dunham and Wilson (2007), Royster (2003), and numerous other studies), I propose that we can employ Lareau’s conceptual framework of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth to Latino families in terms of their ethno-racial socialization practices. It is important to note that Lareau’s model never intended to serve as an analysis of ethno-racial socialization, as she explicitly makes a claim that her model explains class differences in a defined set of family practices (specifically, the organization of daily life, language use, social connections, and interventions in institutions). However, her construction of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth as conceptual ideas are still useful for analyzing explicit and implicit socialization in Latino families. I apply this framework to strategies of ethno-racial socialization through the concepts of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth, which, I argue, respectively correspond to ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’ socialization approaches. I define ethno-racial

concerted cultivation as deliberate and explicit efforts made by family members to teach children about their racial and ethnic background that can result in advantages that can be considered forms of cultural capital. The accomplishment of ethno-racial natural growth is when family members made no deliberate effort to teach children about their racial and ethnic backgrounds, but they did so through implicit, everyday practices. Using her framework as a general guide, this project represents an exploratory effort to examine the extent to which ethno-racial socialization can be better understood by engaging with the frames of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. By drawing on Lareau's conceptual framework of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth in this thesis, this study can explore how to categorize a wide range of practices reflecting ethno-racial socialization and remain in dialogue with current arguments about mechanisms by which socialization transpires in ethnic and racial minority families.

Latinos offer a window into racial experiences beyond the historical black-white color line in the United States. While research on familial socialization among Latinos has focused on how families transmit cultural messages to their children, there is considerably less research that discusses how ethnic minority families talk about ethnicity and race, or the racialization of their ethnicities to their children (Brown et al. 2007; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Grosfoguel 2004; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Lesane-Brown, Brown, Tanner-Smith, and Bruce 2010; Quintana and Vera 1999; Umaña-Taylor and Guimond 2010). Latinos challenge the dichotomy of the black-white racial color line because Latinos self-identify and are viewed by others as being both within and outside of the traditional color divide in the United States (Roth 2012). Therefore, using Latinos as a sample in this research contributes to the literature that tries to go beyond the black-white dichotomy by

examining how race shapes the messages Latino families transmit to their children who range in phenotype, and investigating how Latino families understand and negotiate race and racism.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Socialization is defined as the process through which individuals learn to think about, interact with, and understand meanings and symbols, each other, a group, or society (Ritzer and Goodman 2003). The way that individuals learn about social roles and how to interact with them is through agents of socialization (Marshall 1995). Agents of socialization include family, schools, peers, mass media and technology, public opinion, and religion (Flory, Edwards, and Christerson 2010; Wunder 2010). The family is often viewed as the primary agent of socialization and considered the most important agent of socialization because it is where socialization is experienced for the first time (Marshall 1995; Wunder 2007).

In this section, I discuss the concepts of racial and ethnic socialization. Then, I describe the problems with conceptualizing racial and ethnic socialization as separate processes and how racialized ethnic minorities, such as Latinos, further complicate and problematize these conceptualizations. Second, I discuss the four main messages racial and ethnic minority parents transmit to their children: preparation for bias (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), promotion of mistrust (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), egalitarianism (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), and cultural socialization (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011). Next, I briefly describe the factors that contribute to differences in how parents socialize their children such as parent's gender, child's gender, immigrant generational statuses of parents, and country of origin of

parents. Lastly, I describe the positive outcomes of having been taught about your race and ethnicity such as: high academic performance (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006), high self-esteem (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006), psychosocial well-being (Hughes et al. 2006), and commitment to ethnic identity and group (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013).

Where Do They Fit? Conceptualizing Ethnic and Racial Socialization for Latinos

Racial and ethnic socialization are situated within the field of family socialization because children's understandings about and attitudes towards their own racial/ethnic group and outsider groups are formed by family members through the processes of being taught about race and ethnicity (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, and Ezell 2007). The conceptualizations of racial and ethnic socialization, however, differ. Although racial socialization occurs within families of all races, racial socialization has been used to describe the messages and strategies parents use to teach their children about race, such as instilling awareness of racial barriers, coping mechanisms for dealing with racism and race-related discrimination, and encouragement of interracial relationships (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010). On the other hand, ethnic socialization has been used to describe how parents teach their children about their culture (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010). Some scholars argue that while both concepts share similar processes, these processes are distinct because they deal with learning about two different social constructs: race and ethnicity (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Hughes et al. 2006). However, the definitions and uses of racial and ethnic socialization are inconsistent, overlapping, and conflicting, which reflects the lack of agreement in how to define the concepts of race and ethnicity and how Latinos fit in this debate. Racial socialization has typically been used to describe African Americans while ethnic socialization refers to the experiences of

immigrant groups, primarily Latinos and Asians (Hughes et al. 2006). The term ethnic socialization has been used for immigrant groups because the literature has focused on children's retention of cultural identity and affiliation in the context of pressure to assimilate into the dominant society (Chavez-Reyes 2010; González, Umaña-Taylor, and Bámaca 2006; Hughes et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, Updegraff 2013). Yet, ethnic socialization can refer to teaching and celebrating African American cultural values, practices, history, and pride (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Phinney and Rotheram 1987; McAdoo and McAdoo 1985). Likewise, both conceptualizations have been used in research on Latinos. There are several studies that discuss how racial socialization occurs within ethnic minority groups because these families transmit racial messages to their children (Brown et al. 2007; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Lesane-Brown et al. 2010; Quintana and Vera 1999; Umaña-Taylor and Guimond 2010). The contradictions between racial and ethnic socialization make sense because the terms are embedded within the concepts of race and ethnicity, which likewise lack consistency in their definitions and usage when applied to Latinos.

Latinos have been grouped together and officially classified as an ethnicity primarily because Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America share a common legacy of once having been colonized by Spain (Oboler 1995). The United States government used this shared history to categorize individuals in the Census as belonging to the same ethnic group (Oboler 1995). However, classifying Latinos as only an ethnicity does not take into account the extant literature stating that Latinos should be considered a racialized ethnic group because Latinos are treated as a racial minority group in the United States by way of discriminatory practices (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2007; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Flores-Gonzalez,

Aranda, and Vaquera 2014; Golash-Boza 2006; Grosfoguel 2004; O'Brien 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012; Vaquera and Kao 2006). Grosfoguel (2004) states that Latinos are a racialized ethnicity because they experience racist stereotypes due to their history of being colonized subjects in the dominant Euro-American context of the United States. Consequently, many Latinos think of their culture as a race and the culture that Latino families are transmitting is viewed as 'Hispanic/Latino,' akin to but distinct from the racial categories of 'white' and 'black' but at the same time overlapping with such categories since Latinos/as encompass a multi-racial population (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2007; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Flores-Gonzalez, Aranda, and Vaquera 2014; Golash-Boza 2006; O'Brien 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012; Vaquera and Kao 2006). Scholars such as Aranda and Rebollo-Gil (2004), Chavez-Reyes (2010), Golash-Boza (2006), Rodriguez (2000), Roth (2012) and Vaquera and Kao (2006) argue that non-traditional cultural markers such as language, accent, residence, first and last names, and country of origin racially mark Latinos as distinct from Whites and Blacks, and outside of the Black-White color line. Traditional racial markers are physical or biological features that signal if a person is or is not White, such as phenotype (Roth 2012). Traditional racial markers are framed within the Black-White racial color line and do not encompass how culture is also racialized (Roth 2012). At the same time, Afro-Latinos may experience discrimination based on both cultural markers and skin color. In light of research that argues that Latinos are a racialized ethnic group (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2007; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Flores-Gonzalez, Aranda, and Vaquera 2014; Golash-Boza 2006; Grosfoguel 2004; O'Brien 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012; Vaquera and Kao 2006), I use the term ethno-racial socialization in this thesis in order to situate Latinos' experiences with familial socialization within the literature that combines racial and ethnic

socialization in order to account for the racialization that Latinos experience. While scholars have made distinctions between race and ethnicity, Latinos view race and ethnicity as a combination of what scholars have separated into two different constructs: race (skin color) and ethnicity (culture, family origins and socialization, and nationality) (Rodriguez 2000). The term ethno-racial socialization aims to reflect how many Latinos understand the concepts of race and ethnicity and their own racial and ethnic identities (Flores-Gonzalez, Aranda, and Vaquera 2014).

Chavez-Reyes (2010), Hughes (2003), and Joseph and Hunter (2011) state that more empirical research is needed on how racial socialization occurs within ethnic minority families. This research contributes to the literature by exploring where Latinos fit in the literature on racial and ethnic socialization. This research is important because current research that categorizes Latinos as experiencing only ethnic socialization is not capturing how Latino families experience race. This research engages in a larger academic conversation regarding the ever-changing meaning of race and complexities found in the experiences of race for racialized ethnic groups. Furthermore, this research contributes to our understanding of how Latinos are challenging our understandings of race, what role race has in the messages Latino families transmit to their children, and how Latino families negotiate race.

Patterns of Ethno-Racial Socialization

In this section, I discuss the patterns in the messages that ethnic minority families transmit to their children, what these messages are, and who is more likely to receive and transmit these messages. I also discuss the current dominant trends related to patterns of socialization in minority families including the content of messages, agents of socialization, and the factors that moderate the content and frequency of these messages. Scholars have identified the following four messages that ethnic and racial minority parents teach to their children about

their racial and ethnic groups: preparation for bias (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), promotion of mistrust (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), egalitarianism (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011), and cultural socialization (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011)

Messages regarding *preparation for bias* inform racial and ethnic minorities in terms of how to understand potential discrimination and racism that they may encounter and provide coping mechanisms for dealing with these situations (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt et al. 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013). For example, Hughes (2003) found that African American parents conveyed these kinds of messages more frequently than Dominican parents. Puerto Rican families were the group that least frequently communicated these messages to their children. Along the same lines, *promotion of mistrust* is slightly similar to preparation for bias wherein children receive messages to be distrustful of out-group members, but coping mechanisms for dealing with discrimination are not taught (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011). One of the major contributions of Joseph and Hunter's work (2011) is that while previous studies conceptualized Whites as out-group members, they found that Haitians parents told their children to distrust African Americans.

Egalitarianism (also referred to as *mainstream socialization* and *silence about race*) consists of teaching children skills and abilities that will allow them to assimilate in the mainstream, dominant culture rather than teaching them about their own minority culture (Brown and Lesane-Brown 2006; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and

Hunter 2011). Hughes et al. (2006) state that egalitarianism is sometimes a color-blind approach that encourages children to not notice race, such as encouraging them to not choose friends based on race or for racial and ethnic diversity. Joseph and Hunter (2011) found that Haitian adolescents received and negotiated conflicting messages from multiple agents of socialization. For example, parents encouraged the adoption of a Haitian identity while instructors and students at school delivered mainstream messages about the importance of adopting American culture (Joseph and Hunter 2011).

In contrast, *cultural socialization* or *ethnic socialization* is defined as messages that directly or indirectly teach children about their cultural customs, pride, traditions, or heritage (Brown et al. 2010; Brown et al. 2007; Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt, Simons, and Gibbons 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011). For example, Brown et al. (2007) found that the child's race and gender, parent's education level, perceived warmth of parent-child relationship, number of minorities at the child's school, and cultural event participation mattered to how frequently parents talked to their children about their racial and ethnic backgrounds. Scholars have defined two ways in which parents engage in familial ethnic socialization: covert and overt (Umaña-Taylor 2006; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006). Covert familial ethnic socialization refers to when parents do not deliberately teach their children about ethnicity, but unintentionally teach them through everyday life. Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian (2006) use the example of home décor from parent's native country as an example of covert familial ethnic socialization. In contrast, overt familial ethnic socialization is when family members deliberately teach children about their culture, such as requiring children to read books about parent's native country. These modes of socialization correspond to the explicit and implicit forms that I analyze in this thesis.

In addition to the cultural and racial messages minority parents teach their children, there are additional factors that explain differences in the extent to which parents socialize their children, such as: children's gender (Brown et al. 2007; Hughes et al. 2006), generational status of parents (Hughes et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013), and country of origin of the parents (Hughes et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006). Brown et al. (2010) found that African American caregivers reported that they ethnically socialized female adolescents more than male adolescents. Gonzalez, Umaña-Taylor, and Bamaca (2006) discuss the role of Latina mothers in providing their adolescent males with higher levels of ethnic socialization compared to Latino fathers and adolescent females, respectively. Umaña-Taylor and Guimond (2010) found that adolescent males reported higher levels of familial ethnic socialization and perceived experiencing more discrimination compared to adolescent females, possibly due to differences in the developmental processes of ethnic identity.

Brown et al. (2007) argue that non-white, older boys are more likely to be racially and ethnically socialized compared to Whites, younger children, and girls due to parents anticipating that their sons will experience more discrimination than their daughters. Brown et al. (2007) also state that parents who have higher education and/or possess material resources and parents who have experiences that have emphasized their racial or ethnic differences are more likely to engage in practices that racially and ethnically socialize their children compared to parents with lower educational attainment or economic resources and parents who have had little experience being viewed as ethnically or racially different. Brown et al. (2007) postulate that parents with more economic and cultural resources are more likely to teach children about their ethnic/ racial heritage.

Hughes et al. (2006) discuss how parents' generational statuses matter to ethnic socialization with recent immigrants being more likely to engage in practices that convey ethnic culture to their children than later generation immigrants because socialization can occur covertly as families practice cultural customs from their native countries. Similarly, Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff (2013) discuss how parents primarily drive ethnic socialization if they are foreign-born; however, if parents are U.S. born, the children primarily drive ethnic socialization. They found that parents' generational status moderated the direction of ethnic socialization. Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian (2006) find that Puerto Rican mothers shared similar ways of ethnically socializing their children across generations compared to Mexican mothers of different generations who varied in how they socialized their children. Puerto Rican mothers of all generations engaged in the same practices and emphasized the same values, suggesting that the ability for Puerto Rican mothers to more easily return to the island allows for cultural practices to be maintained across generations (Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006). On the other hand, Mexican mothers varied in what practices they used to teach their children about culture, suggesting that the level of incorporation and the bicultural ethnic identity of U.S. Mexican mothers matter to how they teach their children about culture (Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006).

Overall, these findings tell us that characteristics of both the parents and the children matter to whether, how, and the extent to which Latino parents engage in practices that racially and ethnically socialize their children. Given this body of research, this study takes an intersectional and multidimensional approach by asking participants how each of these factors might have mattered to the discursive strategies used to teach about race and ethnicity and the practices to which they were exposed.

Theoretical Framework

In this section, I first describe Lareau's study that identified the concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Then, I explain how I use Lareau's conceptual framework in my thesis to contribute to our understanding of how and the extent to which ethno-racial socialization in Latino families transmits cultural capital that is advantageous in mainstream society.

In *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race and Family Life*, Lareau ([2003] 2011) conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study of twelve black and white families from different social classes (poor, working class, and middle-class). The data was collected from in-home and classroom observations of children who were nine and ten years old and interviews with their parents. Based on her findings, Lareau developed the concepts of concerted cultivation (used by high income families) and the accomplishment of natural growth (used by low income families) to describe two styles of parenting.

Concerted cultivation is the deliberate effort made by parents to nurture children's talents, thinking, and social skills (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011). Examples of concerted cultivation include when a parent enrolls a child in organized activities (i.e. organized clubs, sports, musical groups, etc.) and engages a child in language use to develop verbal and reasoning skills (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011). Lareau ([2003] 2011) argues that concerted cultivation occurs in middle-class families as a way to intentionally develop language use, reasoning, and an understanding of how to interact within social institutions. Middle-class parents enroll children in these organized activities and develop language abilities because they think these activities will give their children the skills to succeed in life. The parents who practiced concerted cultivation engaged in lengthy discussions with their children. The children were encouraged to question adults, which helped the child to develop critical thinking skills. The children who

experienced this parenting style had weak extended kinship ties. Moreover, they often interacted with children their own age. The drawbacks of concerted cultivation include the following: exhaustion due to the hectic pace of daily life, a sense of entitlement, insubordinate behavior towards authority figures, inability to relax, inability to manage time on their own, early loss of children's innocence, and dependence on parents (Lareau [2003] 2011).

The other style of parenting, accomplishment of natural growth, is when children's development is unstructured (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011). The accomplishment of natural growth is characterized by parents caring for their children but taking a hands-off approach to childrearing. Parents provide children with love, food, and safety but do not enroll their children in organized activities (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011). Daily life in these families consists of children directing their own leisure time, which usually consists of children spending time with family members and friends of different age groups who lived nearby. Parents communicate with their children through giving orders or commands and children are not asked for their opinion. The children are not taught to question authority figures or adults. Moreover, there is a conflict between how children are taught to behave by parents and how schools expect children to behave. Mainstream institutions like schools encourage parents to raise their children utilizing a concerted cultivation approach. For example, schools expect parents to spend time developing children's educational interests, critical thinking, reasoning, and problem solving skills, and play an active role in children's school life. Consequently, working class and poor families learn to distrust and feel constrained by their interactions with authority figures at social institutions such as school because they do not know how to work with the rules and expectations of the institution. The benefits of the accomplishment of natural growth approach are that children learn clear and firm boundaries between parents and children, how to manage their own leisure and

play time, and maintain close ties with their extended family members. On the other hand, children who experience the accomplishment of natural growth lack the development of cultural capital regarding how to interact with mainstream institutions.

Although there are benefits and drawbacks to both styles of parenting, concerted cultivation has been viewed as a way of providing children with skills that translate into cultural capital. Cultural capital is a concept coined by Bourdieu that describes nonmaterial and nonfinancial goods, such as skills and knowledge, which can be converted into economic capital or will allow individuals to increase their social status (Appelrouth and Desfor Edles 2012; Bourdieu 1986; Lareau [2003] 2011). Lareau (2011:5) argues that concerted cultivation creates “transmission of differential advantages to children” because this socialization strategy gives children cultural capital that will allow them to meet the middle-class normative expectations of mainstream society (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011; Lareau and Horvat 1999). For example, Lareau [2003] 2011) states that parents who practiced concerted cultivation tended to encourage their children to behave assertively towards adults by questioning and challenging adults’ actions and behaviors. Consequently, their children received confidence in social interactions with authority figures and employed their verbal skills, which are forms of cultural capital because confidence and eloquence can help them attain a job by setting themselves apart during a job interview (Lareau [2003] 2011).

In this thesis, I explore whether Latinos develop skills and knowledge learned through ethno-racial socialization that can be translated into cultural capital that can be used to increase their social status. While I use Bourdieu’s broader concept of cultural capital throughout the thesis, I engage the most with his concept of embodied capital, which is one of three types of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Embodied capital refers to aspects of style, behavior,

communication, language, knowledge, preferences, etc. that are typically gained through familial socialization but can also be learned later in life (Bourdieu 1986). In my data, I find that the main forms of cultural capital that the young adult participants gained as result of their ethno-racial socialization were: racial literacy, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, cosmopolitanism, and social flexibility.

Lareau's conceptual framework of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth has become a widely accepted frame through which differences in child-rearing practices are analyzed (e.g. Cheadle and Amato 2010; Chin and Phillips 2004; Dunham and Wilson 2007; Royster 2003). With regard to race, Lareau ([2003] 2011) found that parenting patterns differed by class but no important differences were identified in terms of race when comparing black and white families (Lareau 2002, [2003] 2011). Dunham and Wilson (2007) and Royster's (2003) research on black and white families challenge the idea that race is not as important as class because they found that Blacks and Whites differed in outcomes despite belonging to the same social classes and experiencing similar forms of socialization. Reich (2005) talks about how definitions of family and childrearing differ by race, class, and gender. Moreover, Chin and Phillips (2004) argue that Lareau overestimates between-class differences and underestimates within-class differences. They state that parenting styles differed due to income levels and job-related flexibility rather than the class-based cultural logics (Chin and Phillips 2004). Despite these critiques, Lareau's conceptual framework has provided new directions in child-rearing research, and I draw on her work to expand this even further by exploring the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities that fall outside of the groups she studied. In other words, I propose that some elements of Lareau's framework can be extended to inform the mechanisms by which ethno-racial socialization transpires within families. This is

important as Cheadle and Amato (2010) argue that immigrant groups are likely to rear their children based on different cultural logics than those that are dominant in U.S. institutions because immigrants possess different cultural schemas than U.S. born.

Thus, in this project, I incorporate Lareau's ideas by more broadly integrating her conceptualizations of explicit (concerted cultivation) and implicit (natural growth) mechanisms to inform the process of ethno-racial socialization and their relationships to outcomes, such as the development of cultural capital. I apply this framework to strategies of ethno-racial socialization that encompass ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the ethno-racial accomplishment of natural growth, which, I argue, respectively correspond to 'explicit' and 'implicit' socialization approaches. As such, I define ethno-racial concerted cultivation as deliberate and explicit efforts made by family members to teach children about their racial and ethnic backgrounds that can result in outcomes that include advantages that can be considered forms of cultural capital. The accomplishment of natural growth is when family members made no deliberate effort to teach children about their racial and ethnic backgrounds, but they do so nonetheless through implicit, everyday practices. To ground my examination of ethno-racial socialization in Latino families, I first focus on family as a primary agent of socialization (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Lareau [2003] 2011; Marshall 1995). Second, I illustrate how Latino families may exist on a continuum in the extent to which they engage in practices that align more with ethno-racial concerted cultivation or the accomplishment of natural growth. Ultimately, I illustrate that each family conveys different types of ethno-racial teaching to their children drawing from both mechanisms. In this way, I build on Lareau's [2003] 2011) framework to illustrate how Latinos' unique racialized ethnicity foregrounds a combination of complex, mutually reinforcing, and at times conflicting socialization practices.

The third and final way I draw from Lareau's conceptual framework is that I investigate to what extent families transmit cultural capital that is valuable in mainstream society as they teach their children about their status as ethno-racial minorities. The strategies that families use result in diverse outcomes, among which some are directly related to perceived positive outcomes for their family members, and can often involve the transmission of valuable knowledge to members in the form of cultural capital. I extend this framework slightly by exploring other outcomes, in addition to cultural capital, that the young adults in this study attained through the varied forms of ethno-racial socialization they experienced. Research on the subject has focused primarily on the positive outcomes of having been taught about being a member of an ethno-racial minority group (Chavez-Reyes 2010). Scholars report that racial and/or ethnic minorities who have been taught about their minority status possess the following: high academic performance (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006), high self-esteem (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006), psychosocial well-being (Hughes et al. 2006), and commitment to ethnic identity and group (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013). Since there is an association between experiencing ethnic and racial socialization and better outcomes for minority children, this research aims to identify how ethno-racial socialization may transmit valuable skills and knowledge.

Twine's (2004, 2010) work on racial literacy provides one way in which ethno-racial socialization can develop the ability to identify racism and understand how to respond to it. Exposure to messages that teach children about their racial/ethnic background allow for children to develop reasoning skills about the racial and ethnic dimensions of social interaction and provides cultural capital because it gives them the ability to identify, understand, and confront

racist encounters in anti-racist ways (Twine 2004, 2010). Additionally, I discuss the extent to which family members develop children's bilingual or multilingual skills. This is important because these skills can be highly valued in the job market and result in more opportunities for social mobility.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

This study is based on twelve in-depth, semi-structured interviews with seven U.S. born children of immigrants and five of their parents. I chose interviews as my data collection method because interviews are able to capture data about the complexities of social life (Johnson 2001; Tracy 2013), including lived experiences, racial/ethnic identities, and ethno-racial socialization practices. A semi-structured, open-ended format allows for the flexibility of altering a question or adding new questions during the interview session that better relate to those experiences (Johnson 2001; Neuman [1991] 2006; Tracy 2013). In this chapter, I define the sample, explain the recruitment procedures, outline the interview protocol, and detail data analysis procedures. Lastly, I discuss my positionality and provide a brief overview of the families in the study.

SAMPLE

My sample consisted of two different groups of respondents: (1) 18-30 year old young adult U.S. born children in immigrant families¹ with at least one parent born in Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic; and, (2) their immigrant, migrant (Puerto Rican), or U.S. born parents. The first group consisted of individuals in young adulthood for several reasons. While socialization occurs throughout the life course (Arnett 1995), young adulthood (also referred to as *emerging adulthood* or *the transition to adulthood*) is a time when individuals have the greatest freedom over identity exploration and are actively examining and developing their

¹ I define immigrant families as families with at least one parent born outside of the United States. In this sample, five young adults had 2 immigrant parents, one had 1 immigrant parent and 1 U.S. born parent, and one had 1 immigrant parent and 1 migrant parent.

identities (Arnett 1995; Arnett 2000). Young adulthood is a pivotal time when individuals are becoming independent from their parents (Arnett 2000, 2001; Scheer and Palkovitz 1994), have more stable commitments to identities (Joseph and Hunter 2011), and can better reflect on their childhood experiences, particularly their experiences with race and discrimination (Hughes and Johnson 2001). Chavez-Reyes (2010) states that there is a need for research on racial and ethnic socialization for young adults. With the median age of Latinos in the United States as 27 (Motel and Patten 2012), this non-representative study aims to examine the patterns in how participants interpret their childhood experiences of ethno-racial socialization, ethno-racial identities, and experiences with racialization. While research on familial socialization has focused on adolescents, interviewing young adults contributes to the literature by understanding how familial socialization matters to commitments and identity in adulthood (Fuligni 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013). Whereas familial socialization was the focus of the interviews, it is important to note, given the age group in this sample, that I asked participants about peer groups to understand how peers mattered in racial and ethnic socialization throughout their childhood. Overall, the young adults stated that family members were the primary way they learned about their own race and ethnicity in their childhood.

The second group consists of parents of the 18-30 year olds. I interviewed a total of 5 parents. The recruitment flyer stated, "I would like to interview you and at least one of your parents, guardians, or another person that helped raise you." This wording was intentionally used in order to capture kinship ties from non-traditional family structures (see Appendix A for Recruitment Flyer). Despite this effort, parents were the only ones who chose to be interviewed. However, I asked participants about the roles of extended family members had in teaching about race and ethnicity. Further, all participants in this study discussed how their extended families

living both domestically and abroad helped them to learn about their culture and race, which is discussed throughout the thesis.

In recruitment flyers and emails, I excluded the words “Hispanic” and “Latino.” This was purposefully done in order to allow the inclusion of participants who may not identify as Hispanic/Latino even though they would be institutionally and socially classified as such. I chose participants with ancestry from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean because these countries have similar histories, populations, cultures, and understandings of race (Comas-Diaz 1996; Duany 1998; Roth 2012; Seda Bonilla 1980). Moreover, these countries have Afro-Latino populations. Comas-Diaz (1996) defines Afro-Latinos as people who are perceived as Black by others. I was interested in speaking with Afro-Latinos who often self-identify as Latino but are viewed and treated as Black in the United States (Comas-Diaz 1996; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2012). The slave trade was well developed in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic and the extensive racial mixing that occurred between the African slaves, Spanish colonizers, and the Taínos (the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean), resulted in a racially diverse population and an alternative system of racial classification compared to the United States (Roth 2012). Afro-Latinos present an opportunity to examine how Latino families teach their children about race in a context where other people in the United States might perceive their children to be Black and, therefore, would experience the stigma of blackness from other Latinos and non-Latinos. Although none of my participants self-identified as Afro-Latinos, four of the 12 participants reported that they are frequently perceived as Black and, consequently, can be viewed as Afro-Latinos even though they do not self-identify as such. Last, although Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by birthright due to Puerto Rico’s political status as a U.S. Commonwealth, they are included in this sample because scholars have argued that they share similar experiences to immigrants since they are

colonial racial subjects (Aranda 2007; Grosfoguel 2004) that move across geopolitical (Grosfoguel 1997) and cultural borders (Duany 2002).

Given the small sample size of this thesis, I chose to focus on middle-class Latinos in order to be able to make comparisons between families. Middle-class was operationalized following a simplified version of Lareau's (1987, 2002, [2003] 2011) operationalization. In Lareau's study (2011:365), middle class children were "those who live in households in which at least one parent is employed in a position that either entails substantial managerial authority or that centrally draw upon highly complex, educationally certified (i.e. college-level) skills." Lareau asked numerous questions about the kind of job parents did and then classified the families into social classes. I simplified the operationalization for the recruitment flyer by stating at least that one parent must have earned a college degree. One parent who owned his own businesses was also included in the study because he held a managerial position.

RECRUITMENT

Once the study was approved by the university's IRB (see Appendix B for IRB Approval Letter), I began to widely distribute the recruitment flyer and study description in universities and colleges and in community organizations in the southeast region of the United States. My recruitment focused on the 18-30 year olds in immigrant or immigrant-origin families at local colleges and universities in West and Southwest Florida, through which I gained access to some of their parents. Yet, I was able to recruit one parent first and then their young adult child through one of the universities. A call for participants was sent out through flyers, emails, classroom presentations, Facebook advertisements, and word of mouth. The call for participants described that I was a Master's student who was looking for participants for a Master's thesis study on becoming aware of, learning, and teaching about cultural backgrounds. I attached my

recruitment flyer to the study description. At the end of each interview, I employed the snowball method where I asked participants to provide contact information for any other people they knew who might be interested in participating in my study. Recruitment was tracked in an excel spreadsheet and is described below.

Recruitment Efforts at Universities and Colleges

Flyers were posted in bulletin boards in each building, libraries, departmental offices, student centers, and other appropriate areas. I publicized the study in an electronic newsletter that is sent to all students and staff members and on LCD screens in the student center of a university. I sent emails containing my call for participants to faculty, staff, and graduate students. I asked them if they could forward my recruitment flyer that was attached to the email and blurb about the study to students in their classes, to colleagues in other departments, and to people they knew in the West and Southwest Florida area. Additionally, I asked if they could spare five minutes at the beginning of their classes for me to share a little bit about the study with their students. Three instructors/faculty invited me to go to their classes to recruit participants (1 Sociology and 2 Philosophy). For my presentation in these three classes, I reviewed the study blurb and asked students to advertise the study with their friends. I brought flyers with me and asked them to pick one up after class if they were interested in participating or if they knew someone who might qualify.

I sent emails to Sociology department affiliated faculty, department chairs, undergraduate directors and office managers in a university and asked them to forward the email to their departments. These techniques enabled me to reach students taking classes in departments outside of Sociology, such as Mental Health and Law, Latin American studies, Global Studies, Criminology, Public Affairs, Communications, Women and Gender Studies, Africana Studies,

Accounting, Finance, Marketing, Information Systems Decision Sciences, Mathematics and Statistics, and Business Management and Organization. Additionally, my personal connections with other graduate students and professors who teach undergraduate and graduate classes enabled me to reach students in departments outside of Sociology such as Anthropology, Philosophy, English, Education, Psychology, Integrative Biology, Religious Studies, History, Library and Informational Sciences, Public Health, Education Leadership and Policy, and Global Studies. Personal contacts forwarded my call to university committees. As previously mentioned, the majority of those contacted replied to me and confirmed that they sent it out to the students and colleagues.

Furthermore, I contacted university-related student clubs and Facebook groups to advertise my study. I asked if I could attend their upcoming meeting to advertise the study. However, all of the club leaders offered to advertise my study themselves in their meeting. The student organizations also posted my flyer on their Facebook pages and websites. Overall, I obtained my participants through the following means: 2 through flyers, 1 through department emails, 2 through personal contacts, 1 from university-related clubs, and 6 through snowball sampling.

Recruitment Efforts in the Surrounding Community

I sent my flyer to multiple community organizations through my contacts with community organizers in the Hillsborough, Pasco, and Sarasota counties. The flyer was sent to the listservs of the following community organizations: Tomorrow Matters! (Regional sustainability); separate listservs for the communicating between Social Services in Hillsborough, Pasco, and Pinellas Counties, Hillsborough Health Care Coalition, One Tampa Bay (social justice group), Latino Coalition of Hillsborough County; Hispanic Services, Hispanic

Alliance of Tampa Bay, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Raíces En Tampa, Latino radio station - Radio Más Que Música, Dominican Association of Tampa, and Latin Times Media. While these recruitment efforts in the surrounding community allowed me to reach potential participants outside of colleges and universities, they did not yield any participants.

INTERVIEWS

Twelve interviews were conducted from November 2014 to January 2015 and took place in libraries (4), empty classrooms on a university campus (2), over the phone (4), in a private office (1), or through Skype (1). Interviews lasted 1.5-4 hours and were audio recorded and then transcribed. The average interview length was three hours and did not differ based on whether it was a young adult or parent interview. The questions in the interview guide ranged from family's migration history, ethnic and racial socialization practices, racial and ethnic identities, and experiences with racism and discrimination. Each participant was assigned a pseudonym using the 2015 Atlantic Hurricane names (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration 2014) as a random name generator. In an effort to create a non-hierarchical interview structure, I let participants know that they could ask me the same questions that I asked them. I requested that they wait until the end of the interview to ask me any questions so as to not distract them or myself from what they were saying. The interviews were conversational to reflect an active interview style, which involves the researcher being critically engaged in the interview to probe during unclear answers or to follow interesting leads (Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

The questions in the interview guide were both self-created and drawn from other sources, specifically Aranda and Vaquera (2013), Gurin, Peng, Lopez, and Nagda (1999), Hordge-Freeman (2012), Joseph and Hunter (2011), Portes and Rumbaut (1991-2006), and Roach (2006) (see Appendix C for the interview guide). I chose to not use a pre-existing

interview tool because existing interview guides asked questions specifically directed towards the scholar's research question and were not always applicable to my research questions or sample population. Following Charmaz (2014), the interview guide was structured so that the interview should begin, develop, and end as a typical, everyday conversation. Emotionally charged topics, such as experiences with racism and discrimination, were placed in the middle of the interview session (Charmaz 2014). Since it was important to me to capture Latino/a experiences beyond my own personal ones (I identify as Latina), I asked Latino/a family and friends (including those who I grew up with and those I met in college and graduate school) to review the interview guides. I asked them if there were any questions or topics that were missing from the interview guides that would help me to better understand the experiences of Latinos. Questions in the interview guide were reviewed and revised and new questions, if needed, were added throughout the data collection process.

Before the interviews began, I obtained consent using a verbal consent script (see Appendix D). Verbal consent was preferred instead of asking participants to sign an informed consent document for two reasons. The first reason is that the informed consent document would have been the only document linking the participants to their personal information, which poses a risk to confidentiality. Participation in this study should not be linked to the participants because they shared personal stories and information. I asked participants to share their own migration history or their families' histories and their memories of what life was like in their native countries or territories. Some of my participants were of Cuban and Dominican ancestries. Given the history of brutal dictatorships in both Cuba and the Dominican Republic, people may be skeptical of having their names signed on documentation. A verbal approval approach served as a way for me to make participants more comfortable with participating and sharing their

stories with me. The second reason for employing a verbal consent strategy was that it allowed me to interview parents or young adult children who did not live in the Southwest Florida area. I was able to obtain verbal consent of their participation through phone or Skype interviews. For interviews conducted through the phone or Skype, a copy of the consent script was emailed or mailed prior to the interview. The verbal consent script and family member interview guide were translated into Spanish in case any participants felt more comfortable speaking in Spanish than in English. I translated these documents into Spanish. Two bilingual friends proofread the translations. As required by the IRB, an IRB-certified translator certified the Spanish translations as accurate translations of the English documents and back-translated them into English.

DATA ANALYSIS

To analyze the interviews, I employed inductive and deductive coding strategies. After the interviews, I wrote memos consisting of two parts based on Charmaz (2014). In the first part, I took an inductive approach where I summarized the themes of the interview that the participants brought up. In the second part, I took a deductive approach where I related the themes and topics of the interviews to the research questions. Coding was an iterative process that occurred throughout data collection, transcription, and analysis. I organized and coded data using a data matrix in an excel spreadsheet. Codes consisted of conceptual themes related to race, ethnicity, ethno-racial identities, and ethno-racial socialization strategies. Coding was not mutually exclusive and excerpts of transcriptions were assigned to various themes. An undergraduate research assistant, who is Latina with Mexican parents, helped me transcribe my interviews. We met monthly to talk about how the transcription process was going, discuss research methods and interviewing techniques, and explore the themes of the interviews she had recently transcribed. Since this thesis employed a deductive approach in the sense that it had a

theoretical framework prior to interviewing participants, I used the meetings with my research assistant as an additional technique to include a more inductive approach to the data analysis. We discussed themes that emerged directly from each interview and made connections between the themes, thereby adding an important inductive analysis to the study. Every transcript was analyzed for concepts and themes that related to the research questions. A data matrix was constructed using an excel spreadsheet that contained these analytic themes. Multiple matrices were created to make connections across themes based on similarities or differences between participants' comments and/or experiences.

RESEARCHER'S POSITIONALITY

As a young adult Latina who is a child of immigrants from Colombia and Ecuador, it was important for me to critically examine my positionality. Rather than viewing interviews as a space where neutrality should be maintained, I was actively reflexive about how the participants and I were both shaping how meaning was constructed within the interview (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Overall, I tried to use the similarities I had with the participants to my advantage when building rapport. I also attempted to mitigate how my own positionality might keep me from seeing certain themes in the data that I might have taken for granted.

After reading the recruitment flyer, participants knew I was studying to get my Master's degree in Sociology and that my thesis was on becoming aware of, learning about, and teaching about cultural backgrounds. I updated any publicly available biographical information on websites (such as my departmental profile and personal website) to reflect this wording of my thesis topic. Roth (2012) talks about characteristics of culture like first and last names that mark you as being a racial and/or ethnic minority. My Latino-sounding first and last names and the topic of my thesis likely revealed to potential participants that I am Hispanic/Latina like them.

Due to my light skin-tone, the way others perceive my racial and ethnic identity is fluid. Some people have told me that they immediately thought I was a light-skinned Latina. Others have expressed shock when I tell them that I am Latina. I have been told that I look White, Italian, Jewish, and Lebanese. Most commonly, I am told that I look White, specifically Italian, due to my light skin and straight, dark brown hair. Due to my racial and ethnic ambiguity, I decided to disclose to my participants before the study that I am Hispanic/Latina and a child of immigrants like them in order to build rapport and earn insider status. I let them know that I was interested in conducting this research due to my positionality and to represent more Latino/a voices and experiences in academic research. This may have helped to build trust in me as a researcher who would not misrepresent their experiences. I made sure to state that I was “Hispanic/Latina” rather than specify my parents’ countries of origin. I did this in order to (1) prevent a divide between the participants and I due to strong prejudgments, national ties, or national conflict between countries; and, (2) create a non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher and participants.

My age was another factor that contributes to my positionality. I was 26 at the time of the interviews and in the same age group as the young adult participants. On the other hand, family members were twice my age. Consequently, the interviews with the young adults felt more like everyday conversations with friends than the interviews with parents. Likewise, my sex as a female and gender as a woman could have contributed to participants’ openness with me.

Overall, it appeared as though participants were comfortable with me. I attempted to build rapport by making jokes before the interview. Throughout the interviews, the participants and I joked with one another, reminisced about good food, and spoke in Spanish. A few participants were comfortable making disparaging remarks about “Americans”, a term all of

them used to describe Whites. With Dominican participants, I intentionally said “DR” for most of the interview in order to indicate that I knew the common way that the Dominican Republic is shortened. Some participants casually cursed throughout the interview. One participant disclosed that there was domestic abuse in the home. I wanted to handle this topic as sensitively as I could while also being sure to probe. I did not want to trigger any traumatic memories for her. Rather, I allowed her to disclose to me whatever details she felt comfortable telling me. I asked probing questions that I felt were relevant to the study, such as how the abuse shaped the parent-child relationship. Overall, it seems as though participants were comfortable with me and thought of me as an insider and peer rather than a distant researcher.

Although I am Latina like many of my participants, I am not fully an insider with my participants because I am not Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Cuban. My mother is from Colombia and my father from Ecuador. Moreover, I come from a working class family and did not have the lifestyle or privileges that many of the families had such as frequent trips abroad and tutors in school. I feel as though these differences were important factors that allowed me to see themes that would be too familiar to other researchers of the same nation origin or social class. Due to heterogeneity between racial/ethnic groups (Brubaker 2002), being a member of the same racial or ethnic group does not ensure that there will be a mutual understanding between the researcher and participant. Moreover, it can pose a risk for the researcher when they assume to already understand the participant and/or assumes that their own experiences reflect the experiences of their participants. To prevent this, I made sure to probe to clarify statements participants made that contained unclear, assumed, or unexplained information.

OVERVIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS

I interviewed seven young adults and five parents (see Appendix E for Participant Demographics). The familial countries of origins of the young adults were as follows: 4 Dominicans, 2 Cubans, and 1 Puerto Rican. I interviewed four mother-daughter pairs, one father-daughter pair, and two young adults (Grace and Danny) without a paired family member². Ten of the 12 participants were women and two were men. For the five parents I interviewed, three were immigrants, one from Puerto Rico, and one was born in the U.S. mainland. All young adults were born in the U.S. mainland. Ten of the 12 participants self-identified their race as Hispanic/Latino. The Rodriguez family, Claudette (mother) and Kate (daughter), were the two participants who did not self-identify their race as Hispanic/Latino. Claudette classified her race as White and her ethnicity as Hispanic. Her daughter, Kate, considers herself mixed race (Black and White) and multi-ethnic (Puerto Rican and Trinidadian) because Kate's father is a Black immigrant from Trinidad. Four of the 12 participants (all of Dominican ancestry) reported that they are regularly perceived as Black and, consequently, can be regarded as Afro-Latinos even though they do not self-identify as such (Comas-Diaz 1996). Instead, they prefer to self-identify as Hispanic/Latino. The ages of the young adults ranged from 20 to 29 years old. The ages of the parents ranged from 45-62 years old. Regarding the highest levels of education completed among the parents, one was a high school graduate³, two had earned Associates Degrees, and two had graduate degrees. Of the five parents interviewed, two were Medical Coders, one was an Attorney, one was a Graduate Student, Minister, and Teacher, and one was a Contractor. Three

² Grace's mother was not emotionally ready for an interview since her mother (Grace's grandmother) recently passed. From October 2014 to January 2015, I repeatedly contacted Danny through e-mail, texts, and voicemails to ask if I could interview a family member. He could not be reached.

³ The high school graduate, Fred, owned his own business and qualifies as middle-class because he held a managerial position (Lareau 1987, 2002, [2003] 2011).

young adults grew up in two parent homes while four grew up in single parent households with extended family members living in the home.

All parents in my sample overcame tremendous obstacles throughout their lives. Some parents were wealthy in their native countries and faced downward mobility when they arrived to the United States. Other parents lived in poverty or in orphanages before and after their arrival. Despite these challenges, four of the parents went on to attain a college degree and one started their own business. All of them considered education to be very important and expected their children to attend college. Nevertheless, parents differed in the degree to which they were involved in their children's school life. Some parents actively participating in activities in school, from attending PTA meetings and chaperoning school field trips to proofreading papers in college. Other parents allowed their children to be in charge of school life. All of the parent-child interviews were consistent with one another and I was able to draw the same conclusion about the socialization styles for each interview.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTINUUM OF ETHNO-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

In this chapter, I review the two major frames typically discussed in socialization literature related to the explicit and implicit forms of socialization and relate them to Lareau's concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. I define ethno-racial concerted cultivation as deliberate and explicit efforts made by family members to teach children about their racial and ethnic background that can result in various consequences, among them advantages that can be considered forms of cultural capital. The ethno-racial accomplishment of natural growth is when family members made no deliberate effort to teach children about their racial and ethnic backgrounds, but they did so nonetheless through implicit, everyday practices.

I provide examples of how families engage in practices that fit into these two categories, sometimes drawing from both simultaneously. As such, I argue that the ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth stand in opposite ends of a continuum of ethno-racial socialization instead of describing two distinctive socialization strategies. Families engage in a combination of both strategies that at times blurs the distinctions between the two (hence the continuum approach). Furthermore, the strategies, in certain instances, can be mutually reinforcing because a practice that can be considered ethno-racial concerted cultivation can create opportunities for the accomplishment of natural growth to occur (and vice versa). Ethno-racial socialization is a complex interplay of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth approaches that sometimes conflict due to the various and, at times, opposing messages that children receive from different family members. I examine the

extent to which ethno-racial socialization involves certain activities that are explicitly cultivated and may transmit ethno-racial knowledge through more implicit means. Likewise, I explore how everyday, implicit practices can present opportunities for ethno-racial concerted cultivation to occur.

The following chapter is divided into three sections. The first section explains how ethno-racial socialization can be conceptualized on a continuum and can, in some instances, be a mutually reinforcing process. The second section discusses how this process unfolds due to complexities that make up ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth approaches. Intra-familial differences mean that children receive diverse and at times contradictory messages from different family members such as parents and extended family members. These differences are further heightened due to the experiences of the family member (such as their maintenance or rejection of immigrant culture and experiences with racial discrimination or lack thereof) and family structure (such as the varying messages children receive in single-parent households with extended family members living in the home, two-parent households, and households with transnational family ties). The third section explores how different forms of socialization result in outcomes that include certain advantages that can be considered forms of cultural capital. The young adults who were consistently exposed to encouraging and empowering messages that implicitly or explicitly emphasized a sense of commitment, belonging, and identity to the ethno-racial group experienced the most positive outcomes, such as: racial literacy, preparation for bias, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, access to co-ethnic networks, cosmopolitanism, social flexibility, and social capital (in the form of familial capital). The young adults who did not receive consistent positive messages or who received messages that promoted anti-blackness or muted the importance of immigrant culture

experienced some of the following outcomes: limited racial literacy, ambiguous ethno-racial identity, limited Spanish skills, limited access to co-ethnic networks, and parent-child conflict. What matters the most, in terms of cultural capital, is if the young adults consistently gained information that affirmed membership to the ethno-racial group, rather than if the messages were conveyed through ethno-racial concerted cultivation or the accomplishment of natural growth.

THE CONTINUUM OF ETHNO-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Ethno-racial socialization can be conceptualized on a continuum and, at times, can be a mutually reinforcing process involving mechanisms of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Ethno-racial socialization involves certain activities that are explicitly cultivated and may transmit ethno-racial knowledge through both explicit and implicit means. Likewise, mechanisms of implicit socialization, or the accomplishment of natural growth, can create opportunities for children to be exposed to ethno-racial concerted cultivation. I focus on four participants to illustrate the continuum effect: the Hernandez Family- Mindy (mother) and Erika (daughter), Danny (young adult), and Grace (young adult).

Erika is a 27-year-old graduate student who grew up in Miami with a Cuban mother, Mindy, and a Belgian father. Mindy is a 62-year-old attorney from Cuba who arrived to the United States in 1961 when she was 9. Mindy and her ex-husband taught Erika about her cultural background through the use of stories about what life was like in parents' native countries, exposure to traditional Cuban and Belgian foods, listening to Cuban music, dancing to salsa music, and spending time with family members from parents' native countries. When talking about teaching her children about Cuban culture, Mindy states:

I intentionally wanted them to know about Cuba. You know, I left when I was 9 and so I didn't grow up in Cuba, really. But I mean I intentionally taught them about Cuba and showed them books about Cuba and told them stories. Or the stories that I remember about my great grandfather and stories about the family... I wanted them to be proud of

their culture. Definitely. For sure. I definitely wanted them to know something about Cuba... I wanted them to know about their culture. To know the family. I wanted them to grow up and know Cubans because I didn't really know Cubans...

Mindy did not know much about Cuba because she left when she was nine. Mindy's mother died soon after they arrived to the United States and she and her brother grew up in an orphanage. For Mindy, the stories about Cuba were a crucial part of how she intentionally taught her daughter Erika about not only Cuban culture but also family history. Storytelling served as a way to preserve family stories that Mindy remembered about Cuba. Her desire to share these memories and foster cultural pride are important reasons why Mindy intentionally taught her children about their ethno-racial background.

In addition to explicitly socializing her children by telling stories about what life in Cuba was like, Mindy explicitly moved her children to Miami because it allowed for them to learn about culture through implicit, interactive experiences. Our conversation about teaching culture continued:

Maria: I wonder... were you ever worried about your children possibly not knowing about their culture? Because you moved to the United States so young and their dad is from Belgium. So... when they were really young, were you ever worried about that?

Mindy: yeah, I was worried about that. Yeah, I mean if we were to stay in New Orleans, they wouldn't have known about the Cuban culture. Yeah, that's true. They wouldn't have known about the culture because you can't- culture is something you live. It's not something that you're taught, you know. Culture is something you live day by day. You can't teach culture, you know. Culture is like a language, you know. You can't teach a language in a day. You can't teach culture in a week or in a two week's vacation. You cannot teach culture in a two week's vacation. You live it every day, you know? So, it's like... yeah, if we would have stayed in New Orleans, they would have never known about the culture. Never. Without a doubt.

Mindy expressed feeling worried that her children would never know about Cuban culture if they remained in New Orleans. She uprooted her family in order to make the move to Miami to expose her children to their culture. Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) describe that ethnic and

racial socialization occurs through explicit and implicit practices. An example they provide of explicit socialization is verbal directives about what it means to be a member of the ethnic group. In comparison, implicit messages are defined as “modeled behaviors, exposure to opportunities, and interactive experiences” (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007:1075). Since Miami is a majority-minority city with the largest population of Cubans outside of the island (Aranda, Hughes, and Sabogal 2014), the move to Miami provided exposure to Cuban culture, people, and history through everyday interactions. Furthermore, Mindy expresses that culture is not something that you can teach. Rather, she made an explicit effort to move Erika to a majority Cuban community, Miami, that allowed for Erika to learn about culture through implicit, lived experiences. Mindy’s example shows how ethno-racial socialization can be a mutually reinforcing process because acts of ethno-racial concerted cultivation, such as strategically moving the family to Miami, lead to other opportunities for implicit socialization practices that align with the accomplishment of natural growth approach.

Similarly, Danny is a 21-year-old, Dominican college student who self-described his skin color as “light skinned caramel.” Danny lived in a single-parent home with his mother, grandmother, and other family members intermittently living in the home. Danny’s mother and grandmother relied on the natural growth approach regarding passing on Dominican culture. When I asked what kind of role his family members played in teaching him about Dominican culture, Danny said:

I guess they would just do and not think about those things. My grandmother- She watched a lot of soap operas and Telemundo and things like that. My mom- I feel like she was just straight in American culture. She would go to work, come home, and then you know, we ate Dominican food. So, our food was always Dominican. It was *arroz con pollo*. You know, *habichuelas*. It was *sancocho*. It was like the food was always like a good indication that this is a Dominican household.... So I think that was a big part probably of the Dominican experience in the household. Other than that I think, I don't know.... It was never strictly Dominican. Um, so I think probably food was a big

experience, then the way my family just kind of went about their lives and stuff was Dominican.

While Danny perceived that Dominican food was a strong element of how he experienced Dominican culture, this type of socialization is best analyzed as the accomplishment of natural growth because, based on his interview, his mother and grandmother did not deliberately teach about culture. Since I was only able to interview Danny, it is possible that his mother or grandmother may have perceived it differently. Conversely, the other parent-child pairs in my sample agreed on how ethno-racial socialization occurred in the household, suggesting that there may not have been significant differences in how parents understood the effects of their childrearing practices.

When comparing his mother's, grandmother's, and father's styles of socialization, Danny recalled:

It wasn't like, I don't know, watching a TV movie and then it was like grandmother like "everyone settle around the table, we're going to tell you the story of ethnicity" [sic] or whatever. It was always like occasional. I'll think of something and then I'm like "wait a minute, wait, wait" and it's always about the family. So, it was always kind of like "when you and dad met..." and they would talk about it and there was always these Dominican details that would come up. Um, like the way certain words were used, or whatever. Uh, Trujillo, we talked about Trujillo. I think my dad probably made a better effort at that. 'Cause I would visit him [in the Dominican Republic] every summer. It was like usually a month and while he was driving around, he was always showing me everything about Dominican culture. He would take me to all my cousins house and then while we were driving he's like "look at that statue, that's Maximo Gomez" and then we're driving he's like "see that beach? That's where they shot Trujillo" and then he was always telling me these details about like, I guess, Dominican culture and stuff like that.

Danny perceives that information about culture from his mother and grandmother would occur sporadically while describing life stories. In the quote above, he says that he would specifically ask about family stories and the Dominican details would emerge as part of the narratives. His mother and grandmother simply lived their lives and did not engage in concerted efforts to teach

him about culture. Therefore, these socialization practices can be best interpreted as the accomplishment of natural growth because they are implicit and arise in the course of daily life.

In contrast, his father explicitly and implicitly taught Danny Dominican culture by introducing him to extended family members (which could allow him to learn cultural idiosyncrasies and gain a sense of belonging within the family) and taking him to visit historical sites in the Dominican Republic and explaining the history of those sites. Danny's experiences show how ethno-racial socialization can be a mutually reinforcing process because behaviors that can be interpreted as natural growth (implicit, interactive experiences like visiting family members) can occur alongside and open opportunities for ethno-racial concerted cultivation to occur (imparting Dominican history while taking Danny to visit historically meaningful sites).

When I asked how the visits to the Dominican Republic helped him to learn about his cultural background, Danny responded:

Whenever I go to the Dominican Republic... my dad, for that month, he had like an itinerary and then we would follow it. It was where he was like, "alright, we're going to do this, and this, and this today. And tomorrow we're gonna go this, this, and that." And this was like... he would always plan out the week. And so, "for these three days I have uh, something going on with my job here, here, and here so I'm gonna have to leave you at your cousin blah, blah, blah's house. You're going to stay there for those three days and I'll come back and pick you up. We're going to go to the river here. We're going to do this and that." It wasn't like you'd wake up in the morning and you're kinda there lazily till twelve. It was like we wake up at seven. Okay, at eight, we're having breakfast at this place. At nine, we're at my dad's job where his secretary's at so I see how they work. And then we leave there in like an hour and then we would go to visit my aunt over here. It was like, this just a constant fuckin' wave of like an absorption.

During Danny's trips to the Dominican Republic, Danny's father would create a structured schedule of events that would intentionally expose Danny to Dominican culture and family. In Lareau's ([2003] 2011) study, the parents who practiced concerted cultivation deliberately developed children's talents, opinions, and skills by scheduling multiple leisure activities.

Danny's father practiced the same kind of childrearing in regards to teaching Danny about his

ethnic background. Furthermore, Danny explains how intense the experience of ethno-racial concerted cultivation was during his annual visits to the Dominican Republic each summer. He spent about a month every year in the Dominican Republic where he experienced deep cultural immersion, as illustrated by the above quote.

It is important to note that Danny's transnational family structure ties allowed for ethno-racial concerted cultivation to occur during these month-long visits to the Dominican Republic every year. Visiting his father every summer was an implicit activity that was a routine part of co-parenting in his divorced, transnational family structure. Yet, these visits exposed him to socialization practices that can be analyzed as ethno-racial concerted cultivation and provided a space for Danny to be exposed to explicit efforts to pass along Dominican culture on behalf of his father. Furthermore, they show parents can provide different messages to their children about race and ethnicity. In Danny's case, his parents' socialization strategies varied, and these differences are also linked to his family's divorced, transnational structure and his father's desire to maintain Dominican culture.

Grace is a light-skinned 26-year-old Dominican college student who grew up in a single-parent household with her mother and grandmother. Grace said that becoming White was one of her mother's reasons and goals for moving to the United States. Grace's mother and grandmother engaged in practices that align with ethno-racial concerted cultivation, but not necessarily meant to foster their Dominican origins, but instead, they cultivated and valued whiteness because they wanted Grace to assimilate into white, American culture rather than learn about Dominican culture. Grace's mother and grandmother taught her that assimilating into whiteness was more important than learning about Dominican culture. Grace said:

When she [her mother] immigrated to this country, she left and never looked back. So, I feel like that [teaching about Dominican culture] was never really her intention. She

wanted to come to this country and Americanize herself. She wanted to be better herself. She wanted her kids to try better. So, I feel like I never had that education of like, this is what it means to be Dominican, because I don't really think she was interested in instilling that in us. Because, in her mind, I don't think it was good enough. That's not what she wanted for her kids. She wanted her kids to have the American life. The American ideals. The American hopes and dreams that would get them essentially what she envisioned for herself. So everything [regarding Dominican culture] we got, we got indirectly. Or like secondhand. Or we had to look for it ourselves.

Grace's experience illustrate the concept of mainstream socialization, which consists of family members not teaching children about their minority culture in order for them to assimilate into the mainstream, dominant white American culture (Brown and Lesane-Brown 2006; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011).

To further illustrate how her mother and grandmother practiced ethno-racial concerted cultivation of whiteness, Grace revealed her perception that her mother and grandmother were racist towards dark skinned Dominicans and dark skinned Latinos. Her family's racist ideas can be viewed as rooted in Dominican history. Under the rule of the Dominican dictator, Rafael Trujillo, Dominican history and its people were whitewashed and an anti-Haitian and anti-Black discourse was created (Duany 1998). Her mother's family members were farm owners in the Dominican Republic who benefited from Trujillo's regime. According to Grace, her grandmother supported him. Grace said:

Most of my family are [sic] racist. They might try to hide it. They might try to underplay it. But it's absolute racism. I grew up with the women in my family always telling me, "Make sure you marry White! You want your kids to have good hair. You want to, you know, better the race, better yourself. You know, White people are going places. If you marry a Dominican, chances are that it could be good or it could be bad but chances are that you'll stay the same. If you marry White, you're marrying up. If you're marrying Jewish, you're marrying the best!" It's crazy. I don't know where they get these things from. Marrying down would obviously be marrying Black. Which, surprisingly enough, is what I'm attracted to. My mother did not take that very well.

According to Grace's interview, her family engaged in ethno-racial concerted cultivation that emphasized whitening herself (as such becoming American and marrying Whites) as a way to

attain upward mobility in the U.S. social hierarchy. Moreover, their efforts to whiten are legacies of Trujillo's racial project to whiten the Dominican Republic and erase *negritude* within the country (Duany 1998). Grace reported that although she self-identifies as Hispanic, her mother and grandmother racially identify as white and do not identify as Hispanic because "it would mean we're [Grace's mother and grandmother] the same as Mexicans and we're not because they're darker than us." Grace's experiences illustrate ethno-racial concerted cultivation into whiteness because of the efforts her mother and grandmother made to racially distance themselves from people with black or dark-skinned features, including other Latinos. It is important to note that Grace actively critiqued her family's racist ideas and states that she ignored their statements and does not believe in them.

While her family deliberately did not teach about Dominican culture in the home in order to instill whiteness, her mother and grandmother exposed Grace to Dominican culture through implicit means by eating traditional foods, celebrating cultural holidays like *Semana Santa* and *Noche Buena*, speaking Spanish at home, living in the Dominican Republic for three years, and frequently visiting family members in the Dominican Republic after returning to the United States. Speaking about why her mother cooked Dominican foods, Grace said:

As a Dominican, that's all she knew. Her mother taught her. So it wasn't like she was going to cook us meatloaf. She didn't know what that was... I feel like it was not even like intentionally, it's just that's what it was going to be. That she herself was Dominican born and raised and this is how you care for your family. This is the type of meals that you made. This is the type of food that you provided, you know?

Even though her mother and grandmother practiced ethno-racial concerted cultivation of whiteness, they still practiced elements of Dominican culture because it was part of their everyday life. Similarly, Grace grew up speaking in Spanish because it was the language her mother and grandmother were most comfortable speaking. She reported fluency in Spanish.

While Grace was not explicitly socialized into Dominican culture in her home, she was still exposed to the culture through implicit, everyday experiences. Furthermore, she visited the Dominican Republic every year during *Semana Santa* and even lived in the Dominican Republic for three years. The cultural immersion she experienced during her time in the Dominican Republic connected her to Dominican family and culture. It is important to note that Grace's transnational kin taught her about Dominican culture in both explicit and implicit ways.

Describing her visits to the Dominican Republic, Grace said:

We'd do family stuff and go to the family ranch and hang out and go to the beach house and do all those things, but they sure would take me to the National District. It's like an historic district where Trujillo built his palace and all that. I saw those monuments and all those things first hand. Christopher Columbus, his monument. Where he landed on the island, things like that.

Based on Grace's interview, she believed that her mother sent her to the Dominican Republic as a way for her to connect with her family, but not as an explicit strategy for her to learn about culture. Their kinship ties in the Dominican Republic taught culture to Grace both intentionally (by teaching her about Dominican history) and implicitly (through interactive socialization practices and cultural immersion) (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007). Grace's narratives show how ethno-racial socialization suggests a mutually reinforcing continuum because family members can explicitly cultivate the dominant culture in the U.S. that values and instills whiteness. Still, the ethno-racial accomplishment of natural growth strategies can create opportunities for children to be exposed to more explicit ethno-racial concerted cultivation that results in opposing messages, such as in the case of taking children to visit family members (an accomplishment of natural growth approach) who teach about culture explicitly (ethno-racial concerted cultivation of Dominican culture) despite Grace's mother and grandmother's promotion of Americanization. Similarly, implicit socialization practices can unintentionally

socialize children about culture such as learning Spanish and Dominican culture through everyday interactions and consistent cultural and language immersion, at the same time that opposing messages are explicitly conveyed by kin—such as emphasizing whiteness.

Overall, the Hernandez Family - Mindy (mother) and Erika (daughter) as well as Danny and Grace each provide us with examples of how one kind of socialization approach can create opportunities for children to be exposed to other approaches to socialization—sometimes reinforcing the same messages, and at other times, conveying different messages. Moreover, they provide empirical evidence that illustrates how ethno-racial socialization can be conceptualized on a continuum and in some cases as a mutually reinforcing process involving the interplay of mechanisms of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth.

THE COMPLEXITIES OF ETHNO-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION: INTRA-FAMILIAL DIFFERENCES AND MIXED RACE AND ETHNICITY FAMILIES

Ethno-racial socialization practices lie on a continuum due to the complexities in how children are taught about race and ethnicity. Intra-familial differences in how family members socialize children can also result in competing and, at times, conflicting socialization messages among family members as we saw in Grace's case. Parents may differ in how they teach about race and ethnicity, with one parent emphasizing ethno-racial concerted cultivation while the other relying more on ethno-racial natural growth. Furthermore, parents may vary in what they convey about race and ethnicity, such as talking about ethnicity, but not race (and vice versa). Lastly, extended family members can teach about race and ethnicity in ways that conflict with how the parents teach. Intra-familial differences are further heightened due to the experiences of particular family members (such as their maintenance or rejection of immigrant culture and experiences with racial discrimination or lack thereof) and family structure (such as the different messages children receive in single-parent households with extended family members living in

the home, two-parent households, and households with transnational family ties). Overall, the intra-familial differences in socialization patterns illustrate how ethno-racial socialization amounts to a process that relies on both mechanisms that is further complicated in mixed race and ethnicity families.

Different Socialization Strategies among Parents

In this section, I extend the conversation that began in the first section of this chapter with the Hernandez Family, Mindy (mother) and Erika (daughter), and Danny (young adult only) regarding how parents can provide different, and sometimes conflicting, messages to their children about race and ethnicity. I illustrate how children experience multiple forms of socialization practices, which support the argument that ethno-racial socialization relies on both ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth.

Previously, I described how Danny's mother and grandmother approached socialization through a natural growth style when conveying Dominican culture to Danny while his father practiced ethno-racial concerted cultivation during Danny's month-long stays in the Dominican Republic every summer. Danny received different messages from his parents due to his family's divorced, transnational structure and his father's maintenance of Dominican culture. I want to extend this conversation about Danny's family by noting that his parents drew on different mechanisms of socialization due to their dissimilarities in the extent to which they maintained immigrant culture and their divorced, transnational family structure. This is important to note because intra-familial differences show how ethno-racial socialization is a complex interplay of socialization practices, which resembles a continuum of socialization practices. Danny's family relied on different strategies to convey multiple messages about culture and race instead of utilizing just one strategy.

Conveying different messages about race and culture was also observed in mixed race/ethnic couples. Mindy and her ex-husband were a mixed ethno-racial couple and Erika was exposed to two different races, ethnicities, and languages. Erika suggests that the outcomes of different messages conveyed through ethno-racial socialization (one from her mother, the other from her father) could have been in competition with each other because her father did not like Cuban culture. Erika perceived that her father believed that Mindy (her mother) changed when the family moved to Miami. Erika believed that this change created a distance between her parents and was part of the reason why her parents separated. When I asked Erika if there were any challenges at home due to having immigrant parents, we had the following conversation:

Erika: Umm... I guess the fact that my parents are from different cultures poses a challenge.

Maria: Why is that?

Erika: umm... you know Cubans are so outgoing and... my dad is not. So that probably... so... um... yeah. My dad always kind of regrets that we moved to Miami. Yeah.

Maria: Why is that?

Erika: He doesn't like Cubans and like my... I guess my mom didn't really connect [with him] so much... like my mom was meeting less Cubans because she had been living in New Orleans for 30 years when they had me. So... so he was always like "she changed so much" when we moved to Miami and my parents are separated. They've been separated for like 10 years. So yeah... he doesn't... he doesn't really like the culture in... the Cuban culture.

It is important to note that, according to Erika, her parents differed in how they perceived Cuban culture. Previously, I described how Mindy saw Cuban culture as an important aspect of family history that should be preserved. Erika perceived that her Belgian father did not like Cuban culture. This quote raises questions as to whether Erika's father was happy that his children were learning about Cuban culture, how he felt about Erika's strong Cuban identity, and the extent to which the practices of ethno-racial socialization that he engaged in when it came to his own culture were in reaction to Mindy's Cuban socialization practices. I did not talk to Erika's father and, consequently, cannot draw conclusions on the reasons why he socialized his daughter into

Belgian culture. For the sake of discussion, I would like to explore the possibility that her father's socialization practices were a way to counteract Mindy's socialization practices to foster a Cuban identity. Mindy and her ex-husband were instilling Erika with competing socialization messages. Mindy imparted an ethnic minority identity while her ex-husband encouraged a white, albeit immigrant, identity. Given that Erika reported that she perceived that her father is racist and that he disliked Cuban culture, her father's efforts to teach her about Belgian culture and French could have been concerted efforts to construct a white European identity. It is important to know that Erika views herself as both Cuban and Belgian and did not report feelings of confusion over who she was. Therefore, the competing socialization practices in the home did not create confusion or uncertainty about her identity. Regardless of whether her father's socialization practices were in response to Mindy's, both parents' practices lend support to the argument that ethno-racial socialization can be a complicated process with implications for children's ethno-racial identities in mixed couples. Ethno-racial socialization also represents a feedback loop with the practices of one parent mattering to how the other parent socializes his/her children.

Different Socialization Strategies from One Parent

The Rodriguez family, Claudette (mother) and Kate (daughter), and the Ramirez Family, Rose (mother) and Ana (daughter), were two families in which one parent practiced both explicit and implicit socialization practices for different topics, relying on both ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Kate is a 22-year-old teacher who grew up in Hillsborough County and self-identifies as mixed race (Black and White) and multi-cultural (Trinidadian and Latina). Regarding her phenotype, she stated, "Being Hispanic American... I think I fit that stereotype easily." Rodriguez (1997:1) describes the stereotypical Latina/o look as "slightly tan, with dark hair and eyes." Kate perhaps was referring to this image of what a

Hispanic looks like stereotypically. She was raised in a two-parent home with her Puerto Rican mother, 52-year-old Claudette, and Trinidadian father. Claudette is a graduate student, minister, and teacher. The other mother-daughter pair consists of Rose and Ana. Ana is a Black looking 20-year-old Dominican college student who grew up in Orlando. She lived in a single-parent household with her 45-year-old mother, Rose, and two brothers. Rose's mother intermittently lived with them throughout Ana's childhood.

Claudette expressed to me that she did not intentionally teach Kate and her other daughter about their Puerto Rican background because she emphasized that it is something you live. Claudette said, "It [teaching about culture] wasn't conscious. It just happened. Culture isn't separate from anything else. And it isn't a teaching. It's a living." When I asked if she was ever concerned about her children not knowing about their cultures, she responded:

Nuh-uh. I just never... No. I wanted them to know about family, because I didn't have family. I didn't think about culture, but I thought about family and what Latin's pride more than anything? Family. And what is that? Culture! That's part of your culture- to value family, music, food, being close, interdependent. That's all culture. That's what makes up culture. And none of this was conscious. I don't think- I don't believe people make decisions like that. I don't think so. I don't think it's conscious. Yeah...like maybe people say like, "oh, I want to make sure that my children know where they came from!" Well, of course they're going to know where they came from. If you value it, you're going to live it.

Claudette emphasized that culture is something that is implicitly, rather than explicitly, taught to children through everyday life. Overall, Claudette relied on the accomplishment of natural growth approach to socializing her children about her Puerto Rican culture. While Claudette did not explicitly teach about ethnicity and culture, she reported talking about race with Kate.

Claudette said that she and her ex-husband would talk about race with their children "all the time." When I asked under what circumstances did the conversations about race come up, Claudette said, "Just regular living." The conversations about race were a part of everyday life in the Rodriguez household. When I asked why they were important, she replied, "Because [her ex-

husband's] parents were Black and [her ex-husband] was Black and, you know, all of that was important to us. Always important. Still is." Some of the ways in which they engaged in ethno-racial concerted cultivation to socialize their children were through conversations about the discrimination they experienced and about being mixed-race, critiquing the news reports that overly reported crimes committed by people of color, and enrolling their children in a racial justice summer camp.

Even though conversations about race were an implicit part of everyday life in the Rodriguez family (the accomplishment of natural growth), the parents behaved in ways that explicitly taught about race (ethno-racial concerted cultivation). Their decision about their children's enrollment in a magnet school was connected to their interest in providing them with a racially diverse environment. Claudette and her ex-husband instilled racial literacy in their children by enrolling them in a diversity summer camp in the area. Twine (2010:8) defines racial literacy as "discursive, material, and cultural practices in which parents train themselves and their children to recognize, name, challenge, and manage various forms of everyday racism." Twine (2004, 2010) states that developing racial literacy is a form of developing anti-racism in children.

Claudette and her husband were interested in discussing race because they experienced numerous micro-aggressions and discrimination throughout their lives. As a result, they became heavily involved in this diversity summer camp. Claudette continued:

I mean, they [Kate and her sister] were eleven and twelve and they were talking about it [race]. In a more thoughtful manner than just "oh, look this indignity happened" or "that injustice happened." In an activist way. "Let's do something and change this."

Claudette stated that she and her ex-husband discussed the topic of race in the household, but decided to enroll their children in a diversity camp so that they could learn how to act in anti-

racist ways that would change race relations, rather than simply being able to identify racism and not know how to do anything about it. This is an example of preparation for bias, which is when parents teach their children about discrimination and instill coping strategies for how to deal with those encounters (Joseph and Hunter 2011). Moreover, it was a way in which Kate and her sister learned racial literacy because they learned how to identify, understand, and safely confront racist encounters (Twine 2004, 2010). Kate later became a peer leader at the camp. Claudette and her ex-husband's socialization efforts were both implicit (through conversations that occurred in everyday life) and explicit (through enrollment in a racial justice camp). These examples show how children can receive the same socialization messages on a single topic but through different socialization mechanisms, which blurs the distinction between the practices and reveals the nuanced continuum of ethno-racial socialization as consisting of ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth.

Kate wanted to enroll in a more racially diverse magnet school, which further developed her racial literacy through exposing her to a racially diverse context (Hagerman 2013; Twine 2004, 2010). On the topic of the magnet school, we had the following conversation:

Claudette: My younger daughter chose to go an inner city school rather than go to the honors program at the White high school where we lived at the White area here in Tampa. So, they're very different.

Maria: Why did she choose to do that?

Claudette: I think for the diversity reason and she wanted- there was a magnet program. She wanted the magnet program. She's really book smart, too. She's a teacher. But she wanted the diversity, you know. 'Cause my older girl's friends are all blonde, you know, middle class and upper middle class white people and [Kate's] are all ethnic. All her friends are ethnic and all brown.

Kate grew up in predominantly white areas in Tampa but was interested in learning more about her race and ethnicity so her parents allowed her to enroll in a racially diverse magnet school.

This quote illustrates two important concepts. First, Claudette describes how there were different

organized activities for each child, illustrating how socialization practices can differ within one family. Second, some of these differing socialization practices were guided by children's desires, rather than driven by the parents (Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013). Throughout the interview, Claudette said that she exposed her mixed-race daughter, Kate, to diversity issues because Kate was more interested in this topic than her older daughter. Hagerman (2013) found that white upper-middle-class parents exposed children to different racial contexts. The parents who deliberately enrolled their children in racially and ethnically diverse schools allowed children to gain the ability to identify and perceive racism (Hagerman 2013).

While Claudette reported that she and her ex-husband both taught about race and ethnicity, this family shows how parents can use different strategies depending on the message that they are hoping to convey. Claudette not only conveyed implicit messages about the topic of culture but they also conveyed explicit and implicit messages about the topic of race. Given that Claudette instilled racial literacy in her children but practiced natural growth regarding ethnicity, I was particularly interested in understanding why this disparity occurred. Upon reflecting on why she spoke to her children about race but not ethnicity, Claudette said, "It wasn't talked about, the Latin culture, but we talked about the blackness because the blackness always stood out because of racism." The clear understandings of how Blacks experience race in the United States matter to how parents socialized their children. Regarding their conversations about race, Claudette said, "Our conversations were always White-Black." Therefore, her statement suggests that it is because her children are both black and Latino that she engages in explicit ethno-racial socialization. In other words, if Kate were not perceived as mixed-race or Afro-Latina, Claudette may not have engaged in ethno-racial concerted cultivation.

The frequent and explicit conversations about black identity and experiences were rooted in how Claudette understands race, racism, and her racial identity. When I asked her how she defines race, Claudette said, “In anthropology, there’s Black, White, and Asian. There’s three! I mean, that’s what I was taught a billion years ago. Outside of that, what other race is there? Black, White, and Asian.” For Claudette, she believes that there are only three races and Hispanic/Latino is not one of them. Furthermore, Claudette states that racism is not something that happens to Latinos because she does not view Latinos as a race. Claudette and Kate both view race and ethnicity as separate constructs. Claudette defines ethnicity “by region. Region and country, I think of it that way. Like heritage. And each person defines his or her own ethnicity.” Kate defines ethnicity as “shared heritage... having ancestry from the same geographic location.” Claudette considers her race as White and her ethnicity as Puerto Rican. Likewise, Kate self-identifies her race as Black and her ethnicity as Hispanic. Claudette and Kate are the only participants in this study who classify race and ethnicity as separate constructs. When I asked Claudette if she has ever experienced racism or discrimination, after describing a discriminatory experience she had, Claudette clarified that she understands the experience as prejudice and not racism:

I would call that prejudice; I don't call that racism because I'm not... I think of racism like Black on Black or White on Black. You know, when it happens to a majority- I'm majority colored. It's more like prejudice- ethnic prejudice, religious prejudice, language prejudice, social status prejudice. It's not race.

In this quote, she clarifies that racism is what members of racial groups experience. Since the mixed family considers black a race and understands that Blacks experience discrimination and racism, they prepared Kate to confront bias even though she is not perceived as Black. Since Latinos have a racially ambiguous status, a potential consequence is that parents may not adequately prepare children for ethno-racism because they may not realize that discrimination

happens against both white and black Latinos. Being a mixed ethno-racial family who experienced racial discrimination and prejudice were important factors for why there were disparities between socialization practices related to race versus ethnicity.

Similar to Claudette and her ex-husband, Rose and her ex-husband did not teach Ana about Dominican culture intentionally. Rose did not intentionally expose her children to Dominican culture because as she reports, “I really didn't teach them much about the culture but... I don't really know much myself.” She continued, “...political [events], I don't know. The education system, I don't know. Yeah, it's just that I think I don't know.” Rose was born in the United States from two Dominican immigrant parents who arrived to the country in 1965. She stated that she would not be able to teach her children much about Dominican culture anyway because she does not know much about it herself since she grew up in the United States. Yet, she describes a few instances where she explicitly discussed the importance of adopting certain cultural behaviors with Ana. Rose said, “I would tell her, ‘You have to dance with Dominicans. You have to know how to dance.’ So, I think... they felt like there was some things that they did need to know - where the island was, things we eat, and their music, and [being] humanitarian.” Overall, Rose stated that, “They [her children] got what they know, pretty much... on their own.” While Ana’s father was born in the Dominican Republic, she did not grow up with him because her parents are divorced. Rose largely lived her life and her children learned about Dominican culture on their own. She stated that there were some aspects of Dominican culture that her children learned “on their own”, or implicitly, because her children asked her questions about Dominican culture. Ana’s experiences lend support for Rumbaut’s (2004) argument that generational groupings should be divided into smaller categories in order to account for the different experiences immigrants and their children have based on ethnic identity, national

loyalties, language practices, etc. Although Ana can be classified as second generation because she has at least one immigrant parent, she grew up with her Dominican American mother who was raised in the United States and had few transnational, physical, and emotional attachments to the Dominican Republic compared to parents who arrived at a later age and are still connected to Dominican culture. According to Rumbaut's (2004) proposed new generational groupings, Ana would be considered 2.5 generation because she has one foreign-born parent and one U.S.-born parent. Overall, their experiences show how the lack of maintenance of immigrant culture matters for the ability of family members to teach about ethnicity, which can result in a generational loss of ethnicity.

Rose engaged in conversations about race with her children as a way to prepare them for discrimination. Rose said, "We talk about how people are treated or the injustices. And I know that racism taunts Hispanics as well... but I think there's just so much more against the black community in this country, and how sad that is, and how unfair it is." She specifically mentioned how she talks to her son about race, "One of my boys is very dark and so, we also always talk about that, too... just being careful, and not being offensive to anyone of any race.... He's started getting a little older and driving." Rose prepared her son to face discrimination. For Ana, she recalled a moment when her mother taught her how to respond to stereotyping. When I asked when and how the topic of race would come up in her family, Ana replied:

[Race] was part of the talk of transitioning [to middle school]. 'Cause we kind of had a talk- like, there was a before-middle-school-talk and a before-high-school-talk and a before-college-talk. I think it was just like embedded in the topic for middle school.... Like, if someone says something, not to be offended. Or, like, people have their own opinions of things and like, you know, not to get angry if they said something about Hispanics or like, you know, or like if we get confused to ask them. Like if we hear, "oh, I heard Hispanics do this" or something, you know, to like ask. Don't just assume that they're right.

Overall, Rose prepared her children on how to respond if they were to encounter discrimination. Messages regarding preparation for bias inform minorities regarding potential discrimination and racism they may encounter and provide coping mechanisms for dealing with these situations (Brown, Linver, and Evans 2010; Burt et al. 2012; Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff 2013). While Rose engaged in preparation for bias, Ana told me that her father would tell her to avoid dating Haitians. In other words, Ana was exposed to one parent, Rose, who practiced both ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth socialization practices for different topics. Furthermore, she was exposed to different racial messages from her mother and father. Ana's parents were separated and her father lived in New York, away from Ana who lived in Central Florida. When I asked what she learned about racism from her family, Ana said:

Not much. I learned racism through my family only through D.R, 'cause you know they share the island with Haiti and there's a lot of racism there, and um... so I knew a lot about that, like my dad would talk about that. He's never wanted me to date a Haitian.

Overall, the racial messages that Ana experienced from her father can be categorized as the promotion of mistrust, which is when children receive messages to be distrustful of out-group members (Chavez-Reyes 2010; Hughes et al. 2006; Joseph and Hunter 2011). Rose and her ex-husband show how children can be exposed to different messages from their parents, such as Rose who prepares Ana on how to respond to discrimination while her ex-husband promotes mistrust of out-group members, specifically Haitians.

Conflicting Socialization Strategies among Extended Family Members and Parents

Extended family members can teach children about race and culture in ways that conflict with how parents teach about it. I argue that family members practice ethno-racial socialization drawing on multiple mechanisms to transmit information about race and ethnicity. I discuss the

experiences of Grace (young adult only) and the Iglesias family, Ida (mother) and Teresa (daughter), to illustrate this argument.

Previously, I discussed how Grace's mother and grandmother engaged in practices of ethno-racial concerted cultivation to instill whiteness. Yet, frequent trips to and living in the Dominican Republic fostered a strong ethno-racial identity through connections with extended family members who practiced ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth when it came to Dominican culture. Even though Grace's mother and grandmother emphasized whiteness, they maintained Dominican culture through nurturing transnational familial ties. The unintentional maintenance of some aspects of Dominican culture and the transnational family structure allowed space for Grace to experience ethno-racial concerted cultivation when she visited and lived in the Dominican Republic. For example, her extended family in the Dominican Republic taught Grace about culture explicitly (by teaching her about Dominican history) and implicitly (through interactive socialization practices and cultural immersion). I want to extend the conversation to emphasize the role of extended family members in exposing Grace to socialization practices that differed from what she experienced at home with her mother and grandmother. Since the larger family structure comprised of her mother, grandmother, and extended family members practiced multiple and conflicting forms of ethno-racial socialization, it is difficult to categorize Grace's experiences within the binary of explicit and implicit socialization, reinforcing the approach taken in this thesis, treating mechanisms of ethno-racial socialization as a continuum of practices that can encompass both approaches. Thus, Grace's experiences are best analyzed by understanding ethno-racial socialization as a continuum of explicit and implicit practices.

Teresa is a 21-year-old Dominican college student and the daughter of two Dominican parents. Her 57-year-old mother, Ida, arrived to the United States in 1974 at age 16. Ida is a Medical Coder and her ex-husband, Teresa's father, is a medical doctor who lives in the Dominican Republic. Teresa lived in a single-parent household with her mother and her older brother. Ida's maintenance of Dominican culture and the Iglesias family's transnational family ties helped Teresa obtain information about her Dominican culture through implicit means. Teresa frequently visited the Dominican Republic to see her father and the family even lived in the Dominican Republic for five years during Teresa's childhood. Her mother Ida is connected to her Dominican culture because she maintained the same lifestyle she had when she lived in the Dominican Republic. For example, Ida spoke Spanish in the home, cooked traditional Dominican meals, and spent time with Dominican and other Latino friends and family. Ida explained, "Even though we live here [in the United States], our way of living is more like Dominican life in the sense that I do basically most of the things that I did there like washing by hand, like doing the home cooking instead of a lot of out-cooking." Although Ida arrived to the United States at the age of 16, she continued to live life like she did in the Dominican Republic. To provide another example of how Dominican culture was experienced in the home, Teresa said, "We don't cook American food at my house. I mean if I'm the only one then maybe I'll cook like Mac n' Cheese or Ramen but my mom, no. She doesn't even know how to cook American food." The maintenance of immigrant culture among her family members explains why Teresa knows Dominican culture. Throughout the interview, she discusses how she simply lived the Dominican culture and did not try to intentionally teach her children Dominican culture. Ida said, "It's something that I just do normally. It's not something that I'm just planning to do." Joseph and Hunter (2011) conceptualize cultural socialization as transmitting messages

about culture through deliberate or implicit strategies. Furthermore, Hughes et al. (2006) discuss how ethnic and racial socialization occur through implicit and explicit exposure to music, stories, native language, and ethnic foods. Ida's maintenance of Dominican culture in the United States enabled Teresa to nevertheless gain an understanding of her culture through lived experiences, even without her mother deliberately teaching her about the culture. The acquisition of culture resulted in benefits for Teresa such as bilingualism, a strong sense of self, familial capital, and access to co-ethnic networks, which are all discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

Ida's practices can be characterized as following the accomplishment of natural growth approach regarding culture and race when they lived in both the United States and the Dominican Republic. Yet, Teresa's grandmother (Ida's mother), who intermittently lived in the home with Ida and Teresa, promoted anti-blackness. In other words, Teresa's grandmother behaved in ways that can be described as concerted cultivated of anti-blackness. In terms of racial socialization, Ida does not discuss the topic of race intentionally with her children even though others frequently perceive Ida and Teresa as Black. She said, "It's not something that we really pay much attention, even though it's there and we know it's there, but it's not that we focus on that." When I asked Teresa what she learned about racism from her family, she said,

I guess what I've learned was from experiencing it or from seeing it and then asking about it. They didn't really teach us, you know, that there were people that would discriminate against us. They just kind of let it- not necessarily happen to us- but if we saw it or if we experienced it like I did in elementary school, then they would tell us like I said before, you know, that no one was above anybody else.

Teresa's parents discussed race with her when she brought up the topic, such as after she experienced discrimination. Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, Updegraff (2013) state that the majority of the literature on ethnic socialization focuses on how the family drives socialization. Yet, this

example shows yet another layer of the complexity of ethno-racial socialization: how children can and do initiate socialization practices. One of the limitations of a youth-driven approach is that children may not feel comfortable with bringing up the topic in conversation and they might feel embarrassed to say that they have experienced discrimination. They may not even know how to identify if race, racism, and discrimination are not talked about in the home (Twine 2004, 2010). For example, Teresa specifically mentions how she experienced discrimination in elementary school in the Dominican Republic for being darker skinned. Yet, she later told me that she did not tell her parents what she was going through at that time and instead relied on her friend who was likewise being picked on for being dark.

While, according to Teresa, conversations with her parents on race were sporadic and initiated after experiencing discrimination, she told me that her grandmother promoted anti-blackness. Ida and her ex-husband frequently disputed her mother's statements. Teresa told me how her grandmother, who lived in the household, told her that light-skinned people are better than dark-skinned people and encouraged her to date light-skinned men. Teresa reported that her grandmother even considered herself ugly because she had more African features compared to the rest of the family. She said that her parents, on the other hand, resisted her grandmother's racist viewpoints. The racist ideas that were reportedly perpetuated by Teresa's grandmother are situated within the Dominican Republic's history with race relations and government attempts to whiten the population. According to Teresa, her grandmother supported the Trujillo regime's anti-black policies while her parents opposed them. Regarding their conflicting views on Trujillo, we had the following conversation,

Teresa: My grandmother said he had the right idea, but my parents were like "No! No, he didn't."

Maria: What does she mean by "right idea?"

Teresa: That he would put really, really dark skinned people and that he would make them procreate with really, really light skinned people to make the race lighter and to pretty much eradicate the dark skinned people. She still has that lingering idea that light skinned people are a little bit superior than the darker skinned people. Like when I first brought my ex-boyfriend to the house [she] was, “Oh- they’re going to have great hair and lighter skin!” ‘Cause he’s Ecuadorian so he’s lighter skinned and he has nice hair and I’m like, “Grandma! That’s not the only thing! That’s not why I’m dating him!” But she still has that lingering- she’s not a racist- but she still has that lingering [idea] like, you know, the white race is the better race. My parents have always been like, “No, that’s definitely not true. Everyone is the same.”

While the Trujillo dictatorship occurred from 1930-1961, his legacy of promoting anti-black (specifically anti-Haitian) discourse and *blanqueamiento*, or whitening, practices still remain (Reiter and Simmons 2012). One whitening practice was the encouragement of supposed *mestizaje* through intermarriage with light-skinned people that reified white supremacy because the goal was to whiten Dominicans (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014). Additionally, these examples show how conflicting forms of socialization can occur within the family.

The narratives about Teresa’s grandmother demonstrate how the family is a site where racial hierarchies and ideologies are actively negotiated, resisted, and perpetuated (Hordge-Freeman 2013). For instance, even though Teresa vividly describes her grandmother’s racist ideology, she still insists that her grandmother is “not a racist,” which reflects the effort family members make to justify or minimize the racism or racist comments of others (Hordge-Freeman 2015). When I asked if her grandmother was light-skinned, Teresa said,

The thing is with her is that she was discriminated within her own family for being the dark one, even though she’s not even dark. She has more of the like “African features.” Like, she has wide hips and a big butt and a really big nose and those are classified as “the black features.” She was the darkest-skinned toned of her sisters and they would always make fun of her for being “the ugly one.” So she always grew up with that and in her mind she was the ugly sister, and she even says it. She’s like “oh yeah, I was the ugly one within my sisters.” And so, she grew up actually believing that and believing it’s because she was of darker skin and she’s not even that dark-skinned. She was just darker than her sisters. Um, so she grew up with that mentality so that’s why I don’t really blame her for having that mentality ‘cause her sisters and her family and her mom always like instilled that into her.

Teresa perceives that her grandmother's promotion of anti-black discourse was because she internalized the self-hatred she learned through her own family's racial socialization. Hordge-Freeman (2013) demonstrates how racial hierarchies are actively negotiated within Afro-Brazilian families by showcasing how family members treat children differently based on phenotype. To provide a few examples, she discusses how parents rejected children with black-looking features by kicking them out of their homes, limiting access to education, and physically and emotionally abusing them (Hordge-Freeman 2013). Likewise, she shows how light-skinned children experienced both preferential and negative treatment from family members, such as a mother enthusiastically showing off her light-skinned newborn to another mother physically abusing their lighter-skinned daughter because she was jealous of her phenotype (Hordge-Freeman 2013). For Teresa's grandmother, the internalization of racial hierarchies, specifically the devaluation of black features and the valuation of white features, began when she was a child. Consequently, her grandmother's comments are even more impactful when anti-blackness is reproduced within the family of Afro-Latinos because it can result in negative consequences impacting one's sense of self-worth, sense of belonging, and diminishing the overall quality of familial relationships (Hordge-Freeman 2013; 2015).

Overall, the Iglesias family shows how children can be exposed to conflicting messages from extended family when compared to those of their parents. Although Teresa benefitted from her parents' attempt to counteract her grandmother's ethno-racial concerted cultivation practices of anti-blackness, this example calls into question how racial identities are negotiated in family contexts where anti-black and/or colorblind discourses are employed, in spite of family members having experienced discrimination.

CONSEQUENCES

This third and final section in this chapter explores how the different forms of ethno-racial socialization and the combination of mechanisms that are deployed are related to positive outcomes and other consequences for Latino young adults. In my data, I find that the main forms of cultural capital these young adults were equipped with as result of their ethno-racial socialization were: racial literacy, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, cosmopolitanism, and social flexibility. They also gained social capital in the form of access to co-ethnic networks and familial capital. I define cultural capital as nonmaterial and nonfinancial goods, such as skills and knowledge, which can be converted into economic capital or will allow individuals to increase their social status (Appelrouth and Desfor Edles 2012; Bourdieu 1986; Lareau [2003] 2011). At the same time, I describe each of these forms of capital and discuss how some participants received other outcomes instead, such as limited racial literacy, ambiguous ethno-racial identity, limited Spanish skills, limited access to co-ethnic networks, and greater parent-child conflict. I argue that the young adults gained more positive outcomes when they were consistently exposed to messages about race and ethnicity that promoted their ethno-racial backgrounds. The young adults who were most consistently exposed to encouraging and empowering messages about their culture and race (such as those that taught children how to identify racism or instilled ethno-racial pride) had more positive outcomes than those who were not, regardless of how family members conveyed messages. What matters the most is if the young adults gained information about culture and race that encouraged a sense of commitment, belonging, and identity to the ethno-racial group in a consistent manner rather than the mechanism of transmission. Young adults experienced more benefits if they learned about their culture and race, even if family members did not engage in practices that would explicitly cultivate it. The exposure to culture

and race through implicit strategies can still provide positive outcomes as long as this exposure is consistent.

Racial Literacy

Racial literacy is a form of cultural capital because it teaches children how to identify, navigate, cope with, and safely challenge racism in everyday interactions (Twine 2004, 2010). This form of cultural capital gives children: 1) special knowledge about how to identify the sources of their discriminatory experiences; and, 2) skills and strategies that can help them navigate day-to-day interactions with discrimination and microaggressions. The ability to identify the source of their discriminatory experiences is crucial for Latinos since some people do not consider Latinos a race and, consequently, could come to the false assumption that they cannot be discriminated against in theory, even though Latinos do experience racism in practice (Feagin and Cobas 2014). Furthermore, the knowledge and strategies for how to handle discrimination can result in more positive social interactions, which can ultimately help them navigate difficult situations in various settings such as the workplace, possibly increasing their social status.

When I asked Kate if she has experienced discrimination, she told me numerous stories about racism she has faced throughout her life. Kate is a tan, mixed race (Black and White) and multi-cultural (Trinidadian and Puerto Rican) young adult who was explicitly and implicitly taught about race throughout her life. When I asked her how she reacted in racist situations, Kate stated, “By communicating. Like sometimes one-on-one conversations, speaking with administration.... Organizing protests with other minority organizations on campus, writing editorials for the school newspaper.” Kate possesses cultural capital in the form of racial literacy because she has knowledge about how to identify racism and skills for how to challenge racist remarks in anti-racist ways. As a teacher, racial literacy can set her apart in the job market

because she possesses communication skills that will allow her to socially navigate difficult conversation on the topics of race, ethnicity, racism, and discrimination. Since color-blindness rhetoric is the norm among Whites (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014), racial literacy could help her in the classroom and with her colleagues because she can identify and address these topics that are often difficult for Whites to discuss openly and appropriately. Her racial literacy can serve as a tool that could increase her social status by setting her apart from other teachers who might shy away from these discussions. Avoiding discussions on diversity issues can leave tension among colleagues and can serve to further marginalize students of color in the classroom. Moreover, her skills of racial literacy are especially important because she has mostly students of color in her classes. Kate actively talks to her students about the discrimination and “negative assumptions” she has faced, which gives students someone to look up to who has succeeded in spite of these challenges. Kate said that she has these conversations so that “they [her students] won’t be surprised when they are the only black student or Hispanic student in their college class. Like, it won’t be the first time they experienced something where like the class said something really racist, like in a class discussion, and no one noticed except you.” Kate prepares her students of color for what they will likely face when they enter white dominated social institutions. Furthermore, she uses a teaching model called Math for Social Justice where students learn academic skills through discussions of social issues. Kate can set herself apart from other teachers by helping students of all races gain racial literacy themselves, if they have not yet learned it within their own experiences with familial ethno-racial socialization.

While Claudette and her ex-husband developed Kate’s racial literacy through their frequent and consistent conversations about race, Wanda, Danny, and Ana had little to no discussions on the topic of race. When their parents did discuss the topic, they discussed it using

colorblind rhetoric. Subsequently, they each had limited proficiency in racial literacy. Wanda can identify discriminatory remarks but does not challenge them. Danny cannot identify racism and blames himself for people treating him differently by suggesting that he might come off as “obnoxious.” Ana is not sure if she has ever experienced discrimination. In the subsequent paragraphs, I explain how they had limited racial literacy and hypothesize how this might negatively affect their social mobility.

Wanda’s father, Fred, use cultural racist frames in his discourse, a component of a colorblind racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014). He thinks that individual values, rather than race, matter more to how individuals are treated by others. Developed by Bonilla-Silva ([2006] 2014), cultural racism is one of the four frames that Whites use to understand information about race. When asked, “*In what ways do you think physical appearance shapes how people might view someone?*” Fred said:

I’m not so sure that it’s physical appearance as much as the personality or the... what’s the word I wanna use... just the way that they act. I know, I know for a fact that the recent Cubans that have come in the last few years are rougher around the edges than the ones that came like my grandparents back in the ‘60s. They seem to be louder. They seem to be less educated. So, I don’t think that I judge them by what they physically appear like but I do judge them by their actions and their personalities.

Fred differentiates between recent Cuban immigrants, who are poorer and darker skinned, and the affluent immigrants who arrived in the 1960s like his family. His distinctions highlight the divisions between Cubans based on class status (Aranda et al. 2014) and reflect culturally racist forms of colorblind discourse. For Fred, individual level factors such as behavior and personality matter more than physical appearance. The focus on individual characteristics is the same discourse that Whites use to perpetuate color-blind racial ideology and erase the effects of systemic racism and discrimination that minorities continues to experience in the United States (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014). Fred discussed how his household lacked explicit conversations

about race, which can serve to reproduce existing racial hierarchies and ideologies (Hughes et al. 2006). However, in this quote, Fred is overtly reproducing colorblind racist ideology that ultimately serves to benefit Whites and those who are white passing. Feagin and Cobas (2014) argue that middle-class Latinos can internalize and reproduce the white racial frame by expressing anti-immigrant and anti-black statements. Fred echoes the same color-blind discourse and understanding of race relations as Whites do, which allows him to distance himself from racialized groups. Fred's colorblind approach to discussing race and ethnicity had implications for Wanda's responses to racist discourse. Although Wanda reported that she did not experience discrimination herself, she told me stories about how her extended family members would make overtly racist and discriminatory comments about other races. When I asked her, "*So, when your family members might say something discriminatory in some way, how do you react?*", Wanda responded:

I mean, I don't fight it because I don't think that I'm going to change them or anything and I know they're not thinking about it at this level. So like, if you're in a one-on-one conversation and someone actually asked my opinion, I would say it, but otherwise, if I hear them saying a joke at a party or something, I just like roll my eyes and go the other way. So, I'm not going to single-handedly change the views of an entire culture. It's not going to happen.

She never experienced discrimination herself but had the ability to perceive racist comments among her family towards other groups. However, she does not respond or challenge someone when they made discriminatory comments because she does not feel as though she can change an entire culture. She has a sense of powerlessness and indifference about changing racist ideologies. While she could identify racist discourse, she remained silent not because she did not know what to say, but because she felt it was not worth it.

For the sake of discussion, I would like to hypothesize how her lack of antiracist actions could affect her current position as an instructor. If she remains silent when students make

discriminatory remarks in the classroom, white domination and supremacy could go unchallenged and can serve to alienate her students of color in the classroom. Since she is an authority figure in the classroom, she could be further normalizing white supremacy in moments when racist remarks go uncontested. Additionally, she could potentially receive lower teaching evaluations from her students who feel uncomfortable in the classroom, which may affect her ability to obtain a higher position within her place of work. In such a scenario, limited racial literacy could hinder her prospects of enhancing cultural capital.

Ana and Danny are both Afro-Latina/os and LatiNegra/os who have limited racial literacy. Comas-Dias (1996) discusses how LatiNegra/os are more likely to internalize racism when they are not taught how to deal with the racism they experience for possessing black features, such as Danny who blamed himself when he was the object of racist comments. In his interview, Danny described numerous situations where coworkers were making racist jokes about black people. Yet, he was not sure if he had experienced any discrimination or racism. He even blames his personality for these experiences. When I asked Danny if he had ever encountered racism or discrimination in his life, he responded:

Not really. I feel like the racism people experienced from like twenty years back is like super fuckin' terrifying, or whatever, um, but I think nowadays racism, I think people are more tolerate and so if I experience something that seems like racism I can't even identify whether it was racism. I feel like it's either, like It's sort of like institutional racism that like people who don't realize they're being racist when they say these things and you're kind of like, "is that racist?" you know? It's very, it's a lot murkier now. Um... you can never see the angle people are coming at, so I don't, I'm not- I don't even know if I ever experienced racism. Yeah.

In this quote, Danny discusses how he is unable to identify whether certain interactions can be labeled as racism. We continued our discussion of his experiences with discrimination. He said,

I remember an incident and I think this might have been racism but I can't, like I never know of myself because I feel like part of me is kind of like obnoxious a little bit, so you can never know if people just don't like you or if it's because of your race.

Similarly, Ana said that she might have been discriminated against at one time but just did not know it:

I don't think I've ever, knock on wood, experienced something where I'm like "okay they're being racist- you know- towards me." I mean I hope to not ever [experience racism]. I hope my kids never, you know? But to be honest, I really don't know, 'cause my friends always make fun of me cause they're like "you think everyone nice and you think everyone is a good person." So really someone could have been racist to be and I was just "oh they're having a bad day." Honestly, I have no idea, I don't know, maybe, maybe not.

The general lack of conversations about intra-group race and ethnicity in Danny's family did not develop his racial literacy on how to respond to racist remarks at work, specifically the ability to perceive and respond to everyday encounters with racism and discrimination (Twine 2004, 2010).

Even though her mother prepared her on how to react if she faced stereotyping, Ana is not sure that she can identify racism. Her mother, Rose, is also perceived as Black and stated that she is not sure if she has experienced racism or discrimination either. Rose said, "Honestly, not really. I haven't. I don't know. I feel that I really have inexperience or, like I said, or haven't noticed... [Discrimination is] not on the top of my list, I'd say, of concern." When speculating as to why she might have not experience discrimination, Rose said, "Times have changed so much and any company, any neighborhood, is trying so much to teach about diversity and different cultures and stuff that I don't feel it's as much of an issue any more." Like Fred, Rose uses colorblind rhetoric, specifically the minimization of racism (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014), to state that racism is not much of a problem that people of color face anymore. While it is possible that Ana and Rose may have never faced discrimination, Ana and Rose could lack racial literacy like Danny does, which would impede their ability to identify racism and determine whether they are being discriminated against. An inability to identify, and subsequently, contest discrimination

could theoretically affect their family's socio-economic status if such discrimination occurs in the workplace. Thus, not being proficient in racial literacy can have negative consequences when it comes to one's ability to advocate for oneself in situations where discrimination is hindering their prospects for social mobility.

Ana and Danny have both seen people treat them differently than others and wonder if it was due to their race. Their lack of racial literacy could potentially affect not only their economic capital, but also their own sense of self if they blame themselves for being poorly treated by others. This carries implications for understanding Latinos' mental health and low job and life satisfaction, which would hinder their ability to perform in their future occupations. Overall, the young adults who had conversations about race gained the skills of racial literacy, which allowed them to be better adept at handling racist remarks and discrimination on the job.

Racial/Ethnic Identity

The strength of one's racial/ethnic identity was another outcome for the young adult participants. The participants who were consistently exposed to positive messages about their culture were more likely to develop strong ethno-racial identities. Teresa and Kate were two young adult participants who consistently learned about culture and race, respectively. They both developed ethno-racial identities that they used as a way to assert themselves when they experienced challenges to their identities. Teresa and Kate benefitted from strong racial and ethnic identities, which has been shown to buffer people of color from racial/ethnic-related stress (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, and Umaña-Taylor 2012). Chavez-Reyes (2010) states that a strong ethnic identity serves to protect racial and ethnic minorities against discrimination because they learn to value culture and attain self-esteem through possessing a unique identity.

Teresa learned about her culture and race through implicit means because her family maintained a Dominican lifestyle in their home. Moreover, they lived in the Dominican Republic for five years, where she learned about Dominican culture and history through cultural immersion. While her family members did not explicitly teach her about Dominican culture, she gained benefits of having a strong ethnic identity. When I asked Teresa if it was important for her to learn about her cultural background, we had the following conversation:

Teresa: Yes, it was definitely important to me because, you know, obviously, I look different. So, I want to know where exactly where I came from and exactly all of my values and all of my cultural background and it was definitely important for me to learn.”

Maria: What is different from what?

Teresa: Different from the typical American. ‘Cause Americans are either Caucasian or they’re Black and I’m kind of like in the middle. Like, my hair is different... I’m not White and I’m not Black. I’m Dominican. So, it was important for me to know how to place myself and if people ask me questions about my culture, I’m able to answer it.

Teresa has a strong Dominican identity, which she asserts when she is confronted with a black/white U.S racial schema (Roth 2012) that she does not fit into. When I asked Teresa if she ever presents herself in different ways, she said:

No. No. ...I always try... when I meet someone new, to mention the fact that I’m Dominican somehow. Like, if something comes up, I’ll try to relate it to the fact that I’m Dominican so that they know. Because I’m very proud of my culture and where I’m from and I would like someone new to know that about me. It’s a very important trait that I have.

She has a strong commitment to her Dominican identity, is very proud of being Dominican, and shares that she is Dominican with people she meets because it is an important part of who she is. Having a strong sense of self may allow her to navigate the dual stigmatization that she might experience due to being phenotypically black and Latina (Joseph and Hunter 2011). Furthermore, asserting an immigrant identity may allow her to racially distance herself from Black Americans in a way that protects her from negative stereotyping (Levitt 2001). Grosfoguel (2004) argues that an assertion of a non-black or non-Puerto identity is a strategy some Latinos use to avoid

being racialized and stereotyped as colonial/racial subjects. At the same time, these distinctions can be problematic when they lead to intergroup conflict based on where one falls in the racial order and can ultimately reify racial hierarchies. Furthermore, Latinos who racially distance themselves from Blacks lose the opportunity to join cross-race coalitions and support networks to collectively challenge racism.

Claudette recalled a story when Kate, who is mixed-race and multi-cultural, was in third or fourth grade when Kate's black best friend, Stevie, saw her father for the first time. Claudette said, "Stevie said to [Kate], 'That's not your dad! He's Black and you're not Black.' And [Kate] pimp handed him; she set him straight." Claudette continued, "When [Kate] came home saying Stevie said that.... we had spent years talking about it before Stevie mentioned that.... It was just something we talked about." Claudette and her husband prepared Kate to encounter challenges to her black identity and to be able to know how to respond if she experienced discrimination for being mixed race. The conversations Claudette and her ex-husband had with their children about race are additional examples of how they helped Kate prepare for bias.

In contrast to Teresa and Kate's strong racial/ethnic identities, Danny had an ambiguous identity. He was not consistently taught about race and culture. Consequently, he has gone on self-directed searches for racial/ethnic histories and identities. While Danny's mother and grandmother practiced the accomplishment of natural growth specifically regarding Dominican culture, Danny's mother practiced explicit racial socialization when she taught Danny to not self-identify as Black. When I asked Danny what was his earliest recollection of thinking that he was Dominican, we had the following conversation:

Danny: I feel like in second grade or something one time asking my mom like, "Mom, am I Black?" Like, I remember asking her that she was like, "What? No! You're Dominican!" I feel like, that might be the first, like the earliest. I was like, "so Dominican is Hispanic?" Like, I think that was like the first time I understood it and grasped it. I

think before then I just kind of knew that or I feel like I just assumed this is the culture, this is just my culture, this is who I am I guess. But I never saw Dominican as anything I guess until then I was kind of questioning “Wait a minute, am I Black?” like, you know what I mean? Um, so I think if I were to say the earliest memory that I came to understand or something it was probably that one, when my mom was telling me, “You’re Dominican, what are you talking about?”

Maria: How old were you?

Danny: I think I was like in second grade or something, so...uh, I don't know.

Maria: Were other people calling you Black?

Danny: No, no one was calling me Black. I was just like, I just looked at my skin color and was like, “Wait a minute, am I Black?” ‘Cause mom was pretty dark, too. And then when I come back from the Dominican Republic, I always end up looking darker than when I went... I guess it was that moment where it was...it was one of those quick thoughts that you end up like googling but this time I googled it with my mom. Like, what’s the answer? I’m feeling lucky. (Mutual laughter)

Danny recalled a specific moment where he asked his mother if he was Black after looking at his and his mother’s skin color. His mother responded that he was not Black and asserted that he was Dominican. It is important to note that this was one of the few conversations about race that he had with his mother and grandmother. This conversation highlights three important concepts. First, the denial of black ancestry despite possessing phenotypically black features illustrates the historical denial of the African ancestries in the Dominican Republic (Comas-Diaz 1996; Torres-Saillant 1998, 2000). Second, Danny’s quote illustrates how Latinos racially distance themselves from Blacks and assert what Roth (2012) calls a nationality schema where national origins serve as a proxy for race. Third, both quotes demonstrate how Latinos view themselves as racially different from Blacks. Comas-Dias (1996) states that when Latinos who have phenotypically African features are not taught about or are taught to deny their African ancestry, they experience numerous drawbacks. Some of the drawbacks are identity conflicts between how they are perceived and how they self-identity, enduring racism without being taught how to cope with it, and internalizing racism (Comas-Diaz 1996; Hordge-Freeman 2015). Danny experienced these drawbacks due to being exposed to ethno-racial concerted cultivation by way of direct messages

implored him to disregard his African ancestry. Since there were few conversations about race and ethnicity in his residential home, his identity was ambiguous and he engaged in an intensive search for ethno-racial identity and history on his own.

Multilingualism and Access to Co-Ethnic Communities

Language skills, such as bilingualism or multilingualism, are another outcome of having been consistently exposed to implicit or explicit messages about culture and race. Erika and Teresa both were exposed to culture through natural growth, but still became bilingual. On the other hand, Ana and Danny are only partially fluent in Spanish because messages about culture were not a part of their everyday lives due to living with Americanized parents. Danny only received explicit messages about culture once a year, which made it difficult for him to talk to his father and other family members who lived in the Dominican Republic. Similarly, Ana spoke in English and Spanglish with her parents, but reported that she cannot speak Spanish. Zhou and Bankston (1994) state that monolingual immigrants and children report higher rates of family conflict and a loss of parental authority. Portes and Hao (2002) state that fluent bilingualism, which is an indicator of selective acculturation, provides children of immigrants with the best outcomes such as less family conflict, cultural maintenance, cognitive flexibility, and more.

The experience of being multilingual and having access to a co-ethnic community allowed Erika to not only develop her cultural identity, but also earn money by tutoring newly arrived immigrant children. She is a French and English tutor. Despite not having taken a formal Spanish class, Erika's language skills have allowed her to earn money and even travel abroad.

Erika states:

I've gotten a lot of jobs out of it [her language skills] because I've tutored families who have recently immigrated to the U.S. More like rich Colombians and stuff... a lot of rich Colombians in Miami. I've tutored the kids in English because I speak Spanish but they

want to learn English. So I've made a business out of that in Miami because I speak Spanish but they want somebody who's really fluent in English to be helping their students in school.

For Erika, her Spanish language skills provided her access to a community network of Latinos, specifically the newly arrived Colombian families that hired her to tutor their children. She continues to work as a Spanish and French tutor and has earned money by working as a tour guide in a study abroad program in Spain. In short, her bilingualism is a form of cultural capital.

When describing these jobs, Erika says:

This summer, I was actually leading a group of high school students through Spain and I got the job just because I have a high level in Spanish, even though I've never taken a Spanish class in my life. I actually teach French though. I was tutoring in here [in a study room at the library] before you came.

Zhou and Bankston (1994) state that co-ethnic community networks provide social capital that can assist immigrant youth in academic achievement. Erika's language skills not only provided economic capital for her, but they also offered access to co-ethnic networks that helped the immigrant children she was tutoring improve their English language skills and their grades in school. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that closely connected co-ethnic communities provide social capital to immigrant families across all social classes by providing ethnic networks that can serve as resources to confront challenges. Waters and Kasinitz (2010) discuss how second generation Puerto Ricans in New York fare worse than the second generation Chinese because Puerto Ricans experience discrimination in the communities in which they live and in their place of employment and experience return migration to the island. The Puerto Rican youth experience a negative context of reception and possess less ethnic ties to the community, which in turn results in low educational and occupational attainment (Waters and Kasinitz 2010). Due to her language abilities, Erika and Teresa have access to social capital in the form of co-ethnic

community networks, which they can use for economic gain through language tutoring like Erika did.

Teresa spoke Spanish at home because her parents and grandmother were most comfortable speaking it. Regarding her Spanish language skills, Teresa said, “I would say I’m very proficient [in Spanish] because I can speak it, write it, and read it. I would say maybe one level less than English. Pretty much the same.” I asked Teresa if her family wanted her to learn Spanish because it was important to them or was if it was just the language they spoke in. She replied:

It was more of a nonchalant [sic] and also my grandmother, she doesn't speak English, and when I was born, since both of my parents worked, I was with her all the time, so she would speak Spanish to me and I would speak Spanish to her because there was nothing else that I could speak.

Her mother agreed that Spanish was spoken in the home and that her mother being in the house partially contributed to why they spoke Spanish in the home. Ida said, “We speak Spanish everyday. In the house, we speak Spanish. My mother doesn't speak English, so we need to speak Spanish here.” In addition to Teresa’s parents being more comfortable speaking in Spanish, Teresa and her brother learned Spanish in order to communicate with their grandmother. Later on in the interview, Ida elaborated on the role her mother had in teaching her children Spanish. Ida said:

She doesn't speak English, so she keeps us with speaking the language, so my children learned Spanish through her basically because most of the time I was working. With she being home with them, they were forced to speak Spanish because she didn't know English. They needed to talk to her.

Erika and Teresa report that they have fluent Spanish skills; therefore, Erika and Teresa have access to benefits associated with fluent bilingualism, such as cognitive ability and flexibility, academic achievement, higher grades, lower dropout rates, less family conflict, and access to

community networks (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2009; Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Yosso (2005) argues that bi- and multi- lingual students of color have linguistic capital due to the cognitive and social benefits gained through the ability to communicate in more than one language. Teresa lived in the Dominican Republic for five years, which provided linguistic and cultural immersion and assisted in her Spanish language development. Yet, Teresa notes that Spanish was her first language because she grew up speaking Spanish in the home thanks to her grandmother. Foner and Dreby (2011) call for future research to explore the role of extended family, such as grandparents, in maintaining culture. Further research into their role is important because they could be instilling different forms of cultural capital in children.

Ana and Danny both acknowledge the limitations of not being fluent in Spanish. Ana said:

Language is the root of communication... there's a sense of joy being able to communicate well with like your family. 'Cause like a lot of them, they know English but they would rather talk Spanish, you know. So, if I could talk [sic] Spanish, that opens a whole new door of communication with my family. I'm sure I could learn so much more if I knew Spanish, 'cause it would be easier for them to explain things for me.

Danny avoids speaking in Spanish due to how much of a problem his limited Spanish skills were for him and his relatives when he went to the Dominican Republic. It is important to highlight how class and level of assimilation shaped the parents' ability to teach them Spanish. Since both of their mothers spoke English at home, they were not accustomed to speaking Spanish to each other. While he heard his grandmother speaking in Spanish, implicit socialization of Spanish language did not give Danny the opportunity to practice speaking in Spanish so that he could feel comfortable expressing himself in that language. Class is an important, mediating factor because families with higher income could likely afford to enroll their children in Spanish classes on the

weekends that would help compensate for the lack of Spanish spoken in the home. Even though they both lived in neighborhoods where Spanish was spoken, the neighborhood context was not enough to provide bilingual fluency for either of them, which is what provides access to benefits. For example, they would have reduced access to co-ethnic community networks due to their limited Spanish abilities.

During his trips to the Dominican Republic every summer, he could not communicate well with his relatives and his father urged him to improve his Spanish skills. When I asked him why his parents want him to learn Spanish, he replied:

I guess 'cause they know Spanish, they want me to speak Spanish. It's like an affirmation that I'm not like 100% Americanized. It's like at least I'm like 50-50 Dominican of some sort. My dad, he really encouraged me to speak Spanish. He tried to push me to read books in Spanish, learn to write in Spanish. He kept doing that like his entire life.

Danny perceived that his parents felt like knowing Spanish would allow him to maintain cultural ties to the Dominican Republic. Danny elaborated on why he perceived that learning Spanish was especially important to his father:

Well, he was born in the Dominican Republic. He was raised in the Dominican Republic. His entire family lives in the Dominican Republic. I'm his only son so he like... this is like his lineage. He cares about me so he doesn't want me to be like not Dominican because he's super 100% entrenched. Like, he knows everything about his country. He knows all the different locations. All the things that like if tourists got to see what my dad knows they would be like mind blown and they would love the country. So, I guess to him, it's really important. The culture is really important to him and it's really important because like his only son would come there every month [sic] and then I would barely talk because all I spoke was English and so he would want me to speak Spanish 'cause he wants to communicate to his son, you know?

A language divide can strain parent-child relationships compared to those who are fluent in both Spanish and English. More specifically, a language barrier can limit the sense of closeness children can feel towards their family and the emotional support that they can provide to one another.

In sum, Ana and Danny had partial Spanish abilities because they were sporadically exposed to Spanish language skills. In contrast, Erika and Teresa experienced the accomplishment of natural growth regarding language skills but still gained bilingual abilities because they were consistently exposed to the language. Erika and Teresa also have access to co-ethnic networks due to their Spanish abilities. Furthermore, they can connect with family members living abroad who only speak Spanish, which Ana and Danny struggle doing. Bi- and multi-lingualism can provide special skills that can help Erika and Teresa attain jobs because employers seek to hire people with foreign language skills. Furthermore, multilingualism can provide cognitive ability and flexibility, academic achievement, and access to community networks that could help them stand out as higher skill employees.

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is another value that families such as Mindy and her ex-husband's tried to instill in their children, in this case Erika. Their family frequently traveled abroad to Europe and Latin America, and enrolled Erika in an international school in order to instill Erika with a broader perspective of the world. Mindy states:

I think having a breadth of knowledge about different cultures does provide a benefit. First of all, this is a big world and there's [sic] a lot of different cultures. I see a lot of people who haven't travelled; they'll say "The United States, that's the best culture. This is the best country in the world!" But they've never travelled, number one. Maybe they've gone somewhere for a week or two, you know. And they don't really... I mean, you can't know a country in a week or two. I mean, you really can't. I mean the breadth of knowledge is so limited. I see that a lot. I hear that a lot.

These trips abroad provided a way for Erika to develop a broader perspective while simultaneously building connections with family abroad. Mindy further stated that when she lived in Louisiana, there was an absence of this broader outlook. For example, when she was enrolled as a student in college and law school, the student body was composed of people who were from Louisiana and whose families were from Louisiana. She reflected on how this absence

created a singular, American worldview. Mindy stated that she desired for Erika to possess a “worldlier perspective” and decided to enroll her in an international magnet high school. Mindy and her ex-husband’s middle-class status made these trips that fostered transnational ties, identity, and perspectives possible. Cosmopolitanism can be considered a form of cultural capital in that Erika will be well prepared if she seeks out a job that involves foreign travel and multilingualism. Moreover, she may be more likely to be hired for jobs that require cultural competency because of her frequent exposure to other cultures. Furthermore, her experiences in different countries could have exposed her to different approaches and ways of life, which might provide her with more creativity and cognitive flexibility.

Social Flexibility

Danny, Grace, and Kate believed that they gained the skill of social flexibility as a result of ethno-racial socialization. For Danny, he gained this skill through the mechanism of the accomplishment of natural growth because he was a member of an immigrant family. Danny said:

I think a pro about it [growing up in an immigrant family] is that you get a good understanding of like...hardship and struggle probably because you’re growing up always between two different worlds. Like, the background of your family and everything about that, that world, and then the world where you’re living at. I think people who aren’t immigrants, they don’t have that world, like, entrenched in them. So, as they grow up they kind of like, they feel strongly identified with something. But when you’re an immigrant, from an immigrant family, you don’t feel strongly identified with anything, because you always have a foot in everything. So it’s kind of like you’re- it’s way more mixed; you can’t be like a pure anything, you’re just like this mixed breed. Yeah. So, I think that’s a pro; Like being a cyborg and you can like remove this arm and make it like a flower, or something, and this one would be a, you know, a drill. It’s like you can do that, someone else can’t; they’re just a normal robot, with basic parts.

He thinks that growing up in an immigrant family provides benefits such as understanding what it is like to face hardships and possessing social flexibility due to living in two different worlds throughout one’s life. Likewise, Grace perceives that she gained social flexibility. She stated:

...for the most part, I feel like I can navigate pretty smoothly in a lot of different social circles because of it, you know because so much of my life was adapting- adapting, adapting, adapting, to, like, new situations that like I don't choke up, I don't freak out, you know? I just kind of like go with the flow and figure it out.

As someone who is mixed-race, Kate's identity as a black woman is often challenged because she does not have what some consider to be black features. However, her parents nurtured a strong racial and ethnic identity in Kate, which has allowed her to navigate multiple spaces. Kate stated:

I think I'm able to switch between cultures and I'm comfortable, especially being identifying as African American and not looking that way and not being treated like other African Americans, and being okay with that, I think I have a lot of inner confidence where I can walk in the room where I'm the only woman, I'm the only Latina, and it's not that big a deal for me and I can comfortably go into those spaces because I know what it feels like- like consistently, 'cause I was forced into those situations to not fit in. it's something that I can manage. Like, I'm used to not fitting the expectations because I was forced into those situations.

For Kate, never quite fitting into any social space has granted her the ability to switch between different cultures but still possessing a clear understanding of who she is and being comfortable with who she is. Kate continued:

I think the biggest issue at least for me is the individual advantages I got from being in a multi-racial family was like being comfortable, being the odd one out, or like not fitting in with everyone else, or not looking like everyone else, and like I think my communication skills are better because I had to switch a lot between groups.

Kate describes that there are social spaces in which she cannot racially pass as Black or White because she does not look like everyone else. However, her sense of self gives her cultural capital in the form of confidence in situations in which she cannot employ racial strategies and cannot switch the way she signals membership into different groups (Hordge-Freeman 2015; Roth 2012). The social flexibility that is learned through moving back and forth from one culture to another provides cultural capital to immigrants and their children because they have the ability to know how to present one's self differently depending on the social context, which expands

their racial and cultural repertoires of behaviors (Hordge-Freeman 2015). Social flexibility is a form of cultural capital because it provides behavioral and social strategies that people can use to adapt their perceived racial and cultural positions in different social contexts (Hordge-Freeman 2015). Social flexibility is a skill they can use in their future occupations as a way to successfully navigate mainstream and Latino social, cultural, and racial spaces.

Familial Capital

The final outcome that I identify from different forms of ethno-racial socialization was social capital in the form of familial capital. Erika has familial capital because she was consistently exposed to family members through her life. Yosso (2005) discusses that communities of color possess familial capital that is developed through nuclear and extended family members. Yosso (2005:79) defines familial capital as, “those cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition.” She argues that familial capital connects individuals to communities and their resources, provides emotional support, share lessons learned, and develops awareness of the world.

Mindy moved her children to Miami so that her children would grow up with Cuban family members and culture. Unlike the children in Lareau’s study who experienced concerted cultivation and had weak family ties, Erika possessed strong family ties due to living near family members, hosting family members during their visits to the United States, and travelling to Belgium to visit them. Growing up in Miami allowed for not only Erika to learn about her Cuban ancestry through the co-ethnic community, but it also nurtured close family ties that reinforced her Cuban ethnicity. When speaking about the neighborhood she grew up in, Erika says:

That whole block has just kind of turned into our family’s block. [My mom’s uncle] was the first one there. Then we moved in. Then, across the street, another cousin moved in. Then, down the block, another cousin moved in. So... we all had taken over that little

neighborhood and stuff. And those family members that don't live like on that block, don't live that far away. So we're all in the same area.

In addition to exposure to Belgian social connections through peers and family members living abroad, Erika was also exposed to Belgian family members in her home when they came to visit. Her mother, Mindy, states, "We had people visiting us. People would come for a month or two from Belgium. I had my nieces and nephews would come stay with us... for the summer, for the month." In addition to living near Cuban family members, Erika was frequently exposed to Belgian family members throughout her life. For Erika, familial capital serves as a resource that she pulls from throughout her life. For example, Erika could reach out to her family members for money if she wanted to start her own business. Also, she could confide in them for emotional support throughout her career and as potential caretakers when she has children. The ability to have extra caretakers if she chooses to have children could help her move up in the career ladder by freeing up her time from informal domestic labor and allowing her to invest that time in advancing her career.

In contrast, Grace shows parent-child conflict can hinder familial capital, specifically the ability to feel close to her mother due to the conflict they have over her preference for black romantic partners. Grace reported that she and her two brothers prefer to date black men and women, respectively. Since her mother promoted anti-black discourse to her children, their romantic relationships with black partners have been a source of conflict between them. Their parent-child conflict could be detrimental for the three of them because they could potentially lack emotional support, feel like they do not belong, and have stress due to the unresolved conflict (Hordge-Freeman 2015). Furthermore, the parent-child conflict could potentially create feelings of isolation and absence of belonging to a community. The conflict could hinder Grace and her brother in terms of economic attainment because it could impede their job performance

and concentration. Overall, parent-child conflict can hinder the ability to activate familial capital, specifically the ability to feel close to their mother due to the conflict they have over romantic partners.

In summary, the young adults who were consistently exposed to encouraging and empowering messages that promoted a sense of commitment, belonging, and identity to the ethno-racial group experienced the most positive outcomes, such as: racial literacy, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, access to co-ethnic networks, cosmopolitanism, social flexibility, and social capital (in the form of familial capital). The young adult participants who did not receive consistent messages or who received messages that promoted anti-black discourse or muted their immigrant and ethnic backgrounds by embracing whiteness received some of the following other outcomes: limited racial literacy, ambiguous ethno-racial identity, limited Spanish skills, limited access to co-ethnic networks, and parent-child conflict.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this chapter discussed three main themes. The first section looked at how ethno-racial socialization can be interpreted as a continuum where the different mechanisms by which messages are transmitted in some cases, can act as mutually reinforcing learning processes. In other words, ethno-racial socialization can be viewed as a process where there is a feedback loop where actions that lean towards ethno-racial concerted cultivation can foster or result in implicit practices that can be transmitted through the accomplishment of natural growth. Likewise, activities that can be interpreted as the accomplishment of natural growth can result in exposure to ethno-racial concerted cultivation by other family members. In short, the process of ethno-racial socialization is a dialectical one in which its specific mechanisms tend to be mutually

reinforcing and contingent upon each other; at the same time, these processes may be acting against each other if the messages that are being relayed are conflicting.

The second section examined how this process transpires due to complexities involving ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth in mixed ethno-racial families. Due to intra-familial differences in conveying messages about race and ethnicity, children receive a variety of messages that can be different and sometimes conflicting. Intra-familial differences can be further heightened due to the experiences of the family member (such as the degree of maintenance of immigrant culture and the specific nuances of experiences with racial discrimination) and family structure (such as the varying messages children receive in single-parent households with extended family members living in the home, two-parent households, and households with transnational family ties). These complexities highlight the importance of including extended kin in socialization research and acknowledge how transnational family structures add more nuance to the process of ethno-racial socialization.

The third section discussed how the different forms of socialization resulted in outcomes, some of which can be considered forms of cultural capital. The young adults who were most consistently exposed to positive and empowering messages about their culture and race had more outcomes that can be considered forms of cultural capital than those who were not, regardless of how family members conveyed these messages. Overall, my findings suggest that consistent exposure to positive and empowering messages about culture and race resulted in significant benefits including racial literacy, racial/ethnic identity, language skills, access to co-ethnic networks, cosmopolitanism, social flexibility, and familial capital. Each of these factors not only positively shapes participants' sense of belonging and identity formation, but also has practical implications for their preparation for work in the global economy. These benefits, which emerge

from both ethno-racial socialization and natural growth strategies, suggest that it is the content of the socialization messages, rather than the mechanism of transmission that has a lasting impact on the lives of the respondents. These findings contribute to the literature on ethno-racial socialization by demonstrating the contours and nuances within socialization practices and how the lived experiences of race and ethnicity are conveyed to children. Even though being Latina/o can be a stigmatized identity (Rumbaut 2008), these findings show how the knowledge gained through socialization efforts that promote a minority ethno-racial identity can provide benefits that provide Latinos with advantages, including tools that allow them to better face the stigmatization of this identity.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

This research has examined the mechanisms by which ethno-racial socialization transpires in Latina/o families. I have drawn from Lareau's ([2003] 2011) conceptual framework of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth and utilized these concepts to understand patterns of ethno-racial socialization in Latino families. Drawing on these mechanisms, I propose that Latinos engage in ethno-racial concerted cultivation and the ethno-racial accomplishment of natural growth and I use data from in-depth interviews to illustrate the multifaceted and at times, opposing messages that children received about culture, race, and racism within the family.

Grounded in the data, I argue that the mechanisms of ethno-racial socialization can be conceptualized to be on a continuum where the different approaches by which messages are transmitted are, at times, mutually reinforcing and dependent upon each other, and in other instances, contradictory. Ethno-racial socialization can be viewed as a dialectical process where actions that lean towards ethno-racial concerted cultivation can nurture implicit practices that can be transmitted through the accomplishment of natural growth (or vice versa). Understanding ethno-racial socialization as a mutually reinforcing continuum is a contribution to the literature on socialization because it offers a more nuanced approach that better captures the complex lived experiences of race and ethnicity. Yet, in many other instances, these approaches do not reinforce each other and, in fact, send opposing messages. Some of the complexities of these lived experiences include intra-familial differences in how and what family members communicate about race to children. Additionally, the experiences of the family member

(specifically the degree of maintenance of immigrant culture and their experiences with racial discrimination) and family structure (such as the varying messages children receive in single-parent households with extended family members living in the home, two-parent households, and households with transnational family ties) further highlight the intricacies in familial socialization, racialization, and ethnicity.

The young adults who were consistently exposed to encouraging and empowering messages that promoted a sense of commitment, belonging, and identity to the ethno-racial group experienced the most positive outcomes, such as: racial literacy (Twine 2004, 2010), racial/ethnic identity, language skills, access to co-ethnic networks, cosmopolitanism, social flexibility, and familial capital (Yosso 2005). The young adult participants who did not receive consistent messages or who received messages that promoted anti-blackness and embraced Americanization and whiteness experienced some of the following outcomes: limited racial literacy, ambiguous ethno-racial identity, limited Spanish skills, limited access to co-ethnic networks, and greater parent-child conflict. The positive outcomes that did emerge from ethno-racial socialization practices that resulted in cultural capital can benefit participants in mainstream social institutions by: 1) instilling in them the ability to understand how to identify and respond to discrimination; 2) protecting them from the negative effects of discrimination by building strong racial/ethnic identities; 3) instilling in them linguistic and cognitive abilities, 4) providing access to co-ethnic networks that can serve as resources to confront challenges; 5) increasing their understanding of the world, creativity, and cognitive flexibility through transnational ties; 6) expanding their racial and cultural repertoires of behaviors, thereby giving them the skills to successfully navigate mainstream and Latino social, cultural, and racial spaces; and, 7) fostering strong family ties which can be protective if they are good quality relationships.

Families offer a window into how race and ethnicity are constructed, interpreted, and challenged in the family. By analyzing the family, this research has illustrated the ways in which race and ethnicity is socially constructed at the micro-level. I examined how families respond to racialization processes through ethno-racial socialization. My findings show that families actively negotiate racial hierarchies and ideologies in ways that both resist and perpetuate hegemonic racial understandings. For example, Fred (in the Sanchez Family) and Rose (in the Ramirez family) both used colorblind rhetoric of cultural racism and the minimization of racism respectively (Bonilla-Silva [2006] 2014), which serve to further maintain the dominant racial ideology of colorblindness. On the other hand, Claudette (in the Rodriguez family) fostered racial literacy (Twine 2004, 2010) in Kate by engaging in conversations about race and racism with her and enrolling her in a racial diversity camp and a racially diverse school. In doing so, Claudette gave Kate tools to challenge racial hierarchies and ideologies in anti-racist ways.

According to Lareau ([2003] 2011), the families that engage in either concerted cultivation or the accomplishment of natural growth are not aware that the way they socialize their children matches or does not match the dominant ideology in mainstream social institutions. Consequently, the middle-class cultural logic is rendered invisible, even to those families who reproduce it (Lareau [2003] 2011). When children are not explicitly taught to critically examine and navigate racial hierarchies and stratification in anti-racist ways, racial and ethnic hierarchies, boundaries, and inequalities can be rendered invisible but still reproduced through implicit, everyday interactions.

There is a divide in the literature where the conceptualizations of racial and ethnic socializations are unclear with scholars both drawing distinctions between them and combining the processes for Latinos (Burton et al. 2010; Hughes et al. 2006). Hughes et al. (2006) call for

more research that looks at how racial messages matter to racialized ethnic minorities. Examining Latinos only through the lens of ethnic socialization erases the experiences of race and racialization among Latinos, such as how they negotiate racial categories, their experiences with discrimination and racism, how others treat them like a race, and how they think of themselves as a racial group. For these reasons, it is important for future research to examine the ways in which both racial and ethnic messages matter to Latinos. In a broader sense, this research speaks to the larger academic conversation regarding the dynamic and fluid social construct of race, what the lived experiences of race are, and how race shapes familial socialization practices and self-identification.

LIMITATIONS

One of the limitations of using interviews as a methodology is that these findings are not generalizable to all Latinos or other middle-class Cubans, Puerto Ricans, or Dominicans. However, generalizability was not the goal of the study. Rather, these interviews serve more as person-based studies of the patterns of how these particular participants, during that specific moment in their lives at the time of the interview, interpret their childhood experiences of ethno-racial socialization and experiences with racialization. Convenience sampling in the recruitment of students at universities and colleges is another limitation to the study. I do not know whether the participants who chose to participate in my study are different from those who did not participate. There might have been families who did not feel comfortable participating in my study due to being unfamiliar with the research process or fearing that they would disclose their parents' or their own undocumented status.

Since the children of immigrants in this study are adults, I was unable to observe how socialization practices might have been different or similar from what they report in the

interviews. Nevertheless, one of the benefits about interviewing young adults is that they are able to reflect on how they worked through their identities throughout different periods of their childhood (Hughes et al. 2006). A related limitation of this study is that two parents or extended kin were not available to be interviewed. I do not know whether both parents and other guardians have a similar or different understanding of how they taught their children about race and ethnicity.

Another shortcoming of this analysis is that I compared socialization practices between the families units and individual young adults (without a parent interview), which are not always comparable. Nonetheless, while the parents and children differed in how they remembered certain events, the parent-child units were consistent in how they reported socialization practices, suggesting that there may not have been significant differences in how parents understood their childrearing practices.

My research is consistent with the trend in the literature in which women, specifically mothers, are overrepresented in empirical research on families (Lareau 2000). Although I was able to interview one son and one father, future research should design studies that make deliberate recruitment efforts in order to capture the experiences of fathers and sons, such as designing flyers specifically calling for male participants, recruiting in social spaces where men are the majority, and asking to interview fathers when snowball sampling.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Hughes et al. (2006) state that most studies on socialization have focused on African American, Mexican/Mexican American, and Korean families and they call for more research on other racial/ethnic groups, such as White, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Japanese, and Native American families. This research contributes to the gap in the current literature on socialization practices in

Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Cuban families. Hughes et al. (2006) call for more research that draws comparisons across racial and ethnic groups. Given that there are few studies that compare socialization practices across racial/ethnic groups (such as Gonzalez 2006; Hughes 2003; Phinney and Chavira 1995), this research project could expand to include different racial/ethnic groups and examine the extent to which socialization practices differ based on each racial/ethnic group's historical and current experiences with discrimination (Grosfoguel 2004; Hughes et al. 2006; Hughes 2003).

Additionally, research in this area should examine how ethno-racial socialization occurs in non-traditional families (such as families with same-sex parents, families with disabled family members, and children who were raised by extended family members). Lastly, future research could draw on the frameworks utilized in this study to understand ethno-racial socialization in working-class Caribbean Latinos, working-and middle-class Latinos of different national origins, and other racial and ethnic groups of different social classes.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER



Are you a child of a parent born in Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic?

I am a Masters candidate in the Sociology Department and I am seeking to interview people for a USF research study on becoming aware of, learning, and teaching about cultural backgrounds. Ideally, I would like to interview you and at least one of your parents, guardians, or another person that helped raise you. However, this is flexible. You and your family member will be interviewed separately. The interviews will take 1-2 hours to complete, be audio-recorded, and be kept confidential.

The inclusion criteria for the study are as follows: must be between the ages of 18-30; must be born in the United States; must have at least one parent born in Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic; one of your parents/guardians must have earned a college degree.

If you are interested, email or call Maria Duenas at:
mariaduenas@mail.usf.edu or 954-309-3138.



Protocol No. 00018318

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APPENDIX B: IRB APPROVAL LETTER



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 • FAX(813)974-7091

11/4/2014

This letter supersedes the letter dated 10/2/2014

Maria Duenas
Sociology
4202 E. Fowler Avenue
Tampa, FL 33620

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review

IRB#: Pro00018318

Title: Bicultural Lives? An Examination of Concerted Cultivation and Accomplishment of Natural Growth in Ethno-Racial Socialization in Latino Families

Study Approval Period: 9/30/2014 to 9/30/2015

Dear Ms. Duenas:

On 9/30/2014, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents outlined below.

Approved Item(s):

Protocol Document(s):

[Duenas Protocol 9 24 14.docx](#)

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:

[Duenas Consent Script.docx](#) (** granted a waiver)

*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s). (**Waivers are not stamped)

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the documentation of informed consent as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.117(c) which states that an IRB may waive the requirement for the investigator to obtain a signed consent form for some or all subjects if it finds either: (1) That the only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality. Each subject will be asked whether the subject wants documentation linking the subject with the research, and the subject's wishes will govern; or (2) That the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D.".

John Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR YOUNG ADULTS

Background Information

Where is your family from?

When and where were you born?

Where were you raised?

Who was the first in your family to come to the U.S.?

When did they come to the U.S.?

Why did they come to the U.S.?

Describe the neighborhood or neighborhoods that you grew up in.

What languages were spoken?

Was it urban, suburban, or rural?

What was the income range of residents?

What was the racial and ethnic diversity of the area(s) you lived in?

Who was present in the home when you were growing up? Both parents, one parent, or neither parent? Any siblings? Any grandparents? Were any other people present in the home when you were growing up?

What kinds of friendships did your family encourage you to have?

Were you encouraged to have more friendships with other [Cubans, Puerto Ricans, or Dominicans] compared to friendships with people?

Were you encouraged to have more friendships with other *Hispanics or Latinos* compared to friendships with people?

Lareau Section

Can you tell me what it was like to grow up in your family?

Who was the head of the household in your family?

How did this person run the household?

Were the opinions of the children considered when making decisions in the home? Or were the parents the only ones who made decisions in the home?

How did you do in school? [Clarification: Did you do well in school?]

Was there a certain way that you and your family approached school?

[If yes:] What was the approach? Who had the idea to approach school in that way?

Did you and your family approach school with the plan that you'd go to college one day?

[If yes:] Did you participate in any activities that would prepare you for college or help you be admitted to college?

How involved was your family in your school life? Are they currently involved in your college life?

How did you spend your free time outside of school growing up?

Did you participate in any activities outside of school (for example, playing in sports teams, going to club meetings, taking music or dance classes, volunteering, or other activities)?

[If yes:]

What kinds of activities did you participate in?

Who had the idea to enroll you in these activities?

Why do you think they enrolled you in these activities?

Did the activities you participated in change as you got older? Who scheduled these activities as you got older- you or your family?

Did you want to participate in other activities but couldn't?

[If yes:] Why couldn't you?

Did you spend your free time in different ways?

[If no:]

Did you participate in activities as you got older?

Did you spend your free time in different ways throughout your childhood?

Did you want to participate in activities but couldn't?

[If yes:] Why couldn't you?

Socialization Practices

Now thinking about your cultural background... did your family teach you about your (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican) ancestry?

What is your earliest recollection of thinking that you were (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican)?

What is your earliest recollection of thinking that you were *Hispanic or Latino*?

Do you think the label Hispanic or Latino applies to you?

Do you feel Hispanic or Latino? Why or why not?

Do you think that having (a) parent(s) who (is an / are) immigrant(s) had any effect on your family?

Were there challenges at home? Can you give me an example?

At school?

In daily life?

What are the "pros"?

Do you think being Hispanic or Latino is different for women compared to men?

Who taught you what it means to be (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican)? How so? Can you give me an example?

What kind of role did other family members play in teaching you about your cultural background? Can you give me some examples?

How was culture experienced in your home growing up?

When you think of (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican) culture, what kinds of things do you think about?

I want to review some of the things families do to teach their children about their cultural background and I'd like you to let me know if you experienced these things. Not all families do every single one of these things or many families don't do any of these things. I want to understand what you experienced in your home growing up. If you did experience any of these things, would you be able to give me an example?

Did your family...

Talk about what life was like in (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic?)

[If yes:] How did they teach you? Who taught you?
Talk about important historical and cultural figures from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] How did they teach you? Who taught you?
Expose you to cultural books, music, stories, and artifacts?
Celebrate... cultural holidays?

[If yes:] How did they teach you? Who taught you?
Were (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican) traditions present in your home? How important are they? Can you give examples?

[If yes:] How did they teach you? Who taught you?
Did your family eat foods from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] Did cook meals together, go to other people's home or go to restaurants to eat these foods, or something else?

Did you speak Spanish in your home?

How did your family try to encourage or discourage your use of Spanish?

[If yes:]

How well was Spanish spoken in your home?

How well do you know Spanish? [Confirm: speaking, writing, reading, and speaking levels]

Did your family decorate the home with objects from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] Did they teach you about these objects?

Did you learn about your cultural background by spending time with family members?

[If yes:] What did you learn from them? How did you spend your time?

Did your child(ren) learn about your cultural background by spending time with your friends or your family from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] What did you learn from them?

Have you ever visited (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] How did those visits help you to learn about your cultural background?

Is there anything else that your family did that represents your (culture / cultural background)?

[If family did not do any of these things, confirm:] Did your family not specifically talk to you about your cultural background? Why?

[If they have siblings:] Did your family teach your (brother/sister) differently than you?

Do you think it was important to your family that you learn about your cultural background?

[If yes:] Why? What kinds of things did your family think were important for you to know about your culture?

[If no:] Why? What other things did your family consider to be important for you to learn?

Was it important for you to learn about your cultural background? Did you try to learn about it on your own?

Did you like hearing about your cultural background? Why or why not?

Did you ever teach your family about what it means to be (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican)?

[If yes: how?]

Did you ever teach your family about what it means to be *Latino*?

[If yes: how?]

Experiences with Racialization

Many times, when we fill out official forms, such as for drivers' licenses, or when we register at schools, we are asked to select a race and an ethnicity. When you face such a question, what race and ethnicity do you select?

[Only suggest categories similar to racial/ethnic categories in the Census (White, African American, Asian, Native American/American Indian, Other) if participant is unsure of what I am asking.]

[If they answer with Hispanic/Latino, verify:] Is being Hispanic or Latino a race?

Do you feel like the categories given in forms describe you?

When making these selections, do you find it difficult to make up your mind between categories to mark in the forms?

[If yes:] Why?

[If no:] What makes you feel certain about your choices?

How do you define race?

How do you define ethnicity?

In what ways do you think your physical appearance shapes how people view you?

[If indicates feeling "othered":] What was your earliest memory of realizing you looked different than people's ideas of an "American"?

Have you ever been discriminated against or singled out for being Latino?

[If yes:] how did you cope with this?

Have you ever encountered racism or discrimination in your life?

[If yes:] how did you react?

Did anyone in your family ever talk about the topic of race?

[If yes:] When and how would the topic come up?

What have you learned about racism from your family? From friends?

In what ways do you think having or not having an accent when speaking English shapes how someone might view you? Did your parents or other family members have an accent?

Did your family ever try to prepare you to face discrimination?

[Clarification:] For example, coping with other children calling you racist names?

[If yes:] how did your family counsel you when you experienced discrimination?

Are there times where you present yourself as Latino and times where you present yourself as less Latino (for example, when you are with family members compared to when you are at work or school)?

[If yes:]

How do you present yourself different?

How do you decide *when* to present yourself in different ways?

Did your family ever teach you about racial differences? If so, explain.

Were you ever taught that certain groups were "bad"?

Have you encountered any racial differences when you are dating or in your romantic relationships?

Cultural Capital

How do you think the things that you've heard about your cultural background affected you?
Do you think that knowing about your cultural background may have helped you in your life?

Can you give examples? Please explain how.

Do you think that knowing about your cultural background may *not* have helped you in your life?

Can you give examples? Please explain how.

Try to think of a friend who is not Hispanic or Latino and has parents who were born in the United States. When comparing your life to theirs, do you think that you experienced any benefits in your personal life because you (learned about / did not learn about) your cultural background?

When interacting with other people?

At school and college?

At work?

[If they know Spanish:]

When has knowing Spanish been a benefit to you?

Still comparing your life to a friend who is not Hispanic or Latino and has parents who were born in the United States, do you think that (not) knowing about your cultural background may have negatively affected your life in any way? Can you give examples?

When interacting with other people? Can you give examples?

At school and college? Please explain how.

At work? Please explain how

[If they know Spanish:]

When has knowing Spanish *not* been a benefit to you?

Who is the friend that you have been thinking about?

[Race? Gender? Class? Where did they meet?]

Are there any additional comments or experiences you'd like to share?

Do you have any questions for me?

FAMILY MEMBER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background Information

Where are you from?

Were you raised there?

Who was the first in your family to come to the U.S.?

When did you come to the U.S.?

Why did you come to the U.S.?

Where did you attend high school?

Did you go to college?

[If yes:]

Did you go to college in the U.S. or in (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

What do you do for a living?

How many children do you have?

[Verify:] Gender of child(ren) – “So you have X boy(s) and X girl(s)?”

Do they currently live with you?

Were you married, single, or living with a partner at the time you were raising [name of young adult participant]? What about now?

Describe the neighborhood or neighborhoods that you raised your child(ren) in.

What languages were spoken?

Was it urban, suburban, or rural?

What was the income range of residents?

What was the racial and ethnic diversity in the area?

Who was present in the home [where you raised / are currently raising] your children?

Both parents, one parent, or neither parent? Any siblings? Any grandparents? Were any other people present in the home?

What kinds of friendships did you encourage your child(ren) to have?

Did you encourage your child(ren) to have more friendships with other (Cubans, Puerto Ricans, or Dominicans) or with other *Hispanics or Latinos* compared to friendships with other people?

Why or why not?

Lareau Section

Can you tell me what it was like to raise your children in your family?

Who was the head of the household in your family?

How did [this person] run the household?

Do you think that having an immigrant parent had any effect on your family?

Were there challenges at home? Why or why not?

At school? Why or why not?

In daily life? Why or why not?

What are the “pros”?

What makes your family unique?

How did your children do in school? [Clarification: Did they do well in school?]

Was there a certain way that you and your family approached school?

[If yes:] What was the approach? Who had the idea to approach school in that way?

Did you and your family approach school with the plan that they'd go to college one day?

[If yes:] Did your child(ren) participate in any activities that would prepare them for college or help them be admitted to college?

How involved was your family in your child(ren)'s school life?

Are you currently involved in their college life?

How did your child(ren) spend their free time outside of school when they were growing up?

Did they participate in any activities outside of school (for example, playing in sports teams, going to club meetings, taking music or dance classes, volunteering, or other activities)?

[If yes:]

What kinds of activities did they participate in?

Who had the idea to enroll them in these activities?

Why did they do these activities?

Did the activities they participated in change, as they got older? Who scheduled these activities, as they got older?

Did they want to participate in other activities but couldn't?

[If yes:] Why couldn't they?

Did they spend their free time in different ways?

[If no:]

Did they want to participate in activities but couldn't?

[If yes:] Why couldn't they?

Did they participate in activities as they got older?

Did they spend their free time in different ways throughout their childhood?

Socialization Practices

How was culture experienced in your home as you raised your child(ren)?

How was this accomplished?

What kinds of things do you associate with being [Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican]?

Did you talk to your children about these things? How?

How was culture a part of your life growing up in (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[Clarification:] How was culture experienced in your home growing up in (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

I want to review some of the things families do to teach their children about their cultural background and I'd like you to let me know if you or your family did any of these things. Not all families do every single one of these things or many families don't do any of these things. I want to understand what your home was like for your children when they were growing up. If you did any of these things, would you be able to give me an example?

Did you ___ to your children...

Teach... about what life was like in (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] How did you teach them? For example, did you or your family members talk to them? Did you watch movies together?

Teach... about important historical and cultural figures from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] How did you teach them about that? Did they also learn about this through someone else?

Expose you children to cultural books, music, stories, and artifacts?

[If yes:] How did you teach them about that? Did they also learn about this through someone else?

Celebrate cultural holidays with your children?

[If yes:] How did you teach them about that? Did they also learn about this through someone else?

Were (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican) traditions present in your home?

[If yes:]

Can you give examples?

How did you teach them about that?

Did they also learn about this through someone else?

How important were they?

Did your family eat foods from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:]

Did cook meals together, go to other people's home or go to restaurants to eat these foods?

Did you speak Spanish in your home?

[If yes:]

How did your family try to encourage or discourage use of Spanish?

How well was Spanish spoken in your home?

Did your family decorate the home with objects from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

[If yes:] Did you teach your children about these objects?

Did your child(ren) learn about your cultural background by spending time with family members?

Did your child(ren) learn about your cultural background by spending time with your friends or their friends from (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic)?

Have you ever visited (Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic) with your child(ren)?

[If yes:] How did those visits help you teach your children about your cultural background?

Is there anything else that your family did that represents your culture?

[If family did not do any of these things, confirm:] Did your family not specifically talk to your children about your cultural background? Why?

[If they are no longer raising children, ask:] Have any of these things changed since your children moved out of your home?

[If they have children of different genders:] Do you communicate your culture differently to your son compared to your daughter? If so, how?

[If only one child:] Do you think you would communicate your culture differently if you had a _____ rather than a _____?

Was it important to you to teach your children about their cultural background? Why?

Did you ever think that teaching them about their cultural background would provide them with any benefits?

[If yes:] What kinds of benefits?

Did your child(ren) ever teach you about what it means to be (Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Dominican)?

Did they ever teach you about what it means to be *Latino*?

Experiences with Racialization

Many times, when we fill out official forms, such as drivers' licenses, or when we register at schools, we are asked to select a race and an ethnicity. When you face such a question, what race and ethnicity do you select?

[Only suggest categories similar to racial/ethnic categories in the Census (White, African American, Asian, Native American/American Indian, Other) if participant is unsure of what I am asking.]

[If they answer with Hispanic/Latino, verify:] Is being Hispanic/Latino a race?

Do you feel like the categories given in forms describe you?

When making these selections, do you find it difficult to make up your mind between categories to mark in the forms?

[If yes:] why?

[If no:] what makes you feel certain about your choices?
 How do you define race?
 How do you define ethnicity?
 Have you ever encountered racism or discrimination in your life?
 In what ways do you think your physical appearance shapes how people view you?
 [If indicates feeling “othered”:] What was your earliest memory of realizing you looked different than people’s ideas of an “American”?
 In what ways do you think having or not having an accent when speaking English shapes how people view someone?
 Do you talk about race or racism with your kids?
 [If yes:] Under what circumstances do these topics come up?
 Do your kids bring up the topics with you? How, when and why?
 [If no:] Why not?
 Have you ever been discriminated against or singled out for being Latino?
 [If yes:] how did you cope with this?
 Did you ever try to prepare your children to face discrimination?
 Are there times where you present yourself as Latino and times where you present yourself as less Latino? For example, when you are with family members compared to when you are at work or school.
 [If yes:] How do you decide how to present yourself in different ways?
 Have your children ever shared with you that they were discriminated against or came into contact with racism?
 [If yes:] Did you ever counsel your child(ren) when they experienced discrimination?
 Do you ever teach your children about racial differences? If so, explain.
 [Clarification: For example, coping with other children calling you racist names?]
 Have you encountered any racial differences when you are dating or in your romantic relationships?

Cultural Capital

Do you think that your child(ren) experienced any benefits in their personal life because they (learned about / did not learn about) their cultural background?
 When interacting with other people?
 At school and college?
 At work?
 [If they know Spanish:] Have you been able to use your Spanish skills in college or when finding jobs?
 Do you think that (not) knowing about their cultural background may have negatively affected their personal life in any way? [If yes:] Can you give examples?
 When interacting with other people? [If yes:] Please explain how.
 At school and college? [If yes:] Can you give examples?
 At work? [If yes:] Can you give examples?

*Are there any additional comments or experiences you’d like to share?
 Do you have any questions for me?*

APPENDIX D: INFORMED VERBAL CONSENT SCRIPT

Study Title: *Bicultural Lives? An Examination of Concerted Cultivation and Accomplishment of Natural Growth in Ethno-Racial Socialization in Latino Families*

IRB Study # Pro00018318

PI: Maria Duenas

Co-Investigators: Dr. Elizabeth Aranda and Dr. Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman

Introduction

I am a Masters candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of South Florida. I am conducting a research study on becoming aware of, learning, and teaching about cultural backgrounds. The name of the study is: “Bicultural Lives? An Examination of Concerted Cultivation and Accomplishment of Natural Growth in Ethno-Racial Socialization in Latino Families.” The IRB Study number is: Pro00018318. Dr. Elizabeth Aranda and Dr. Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman in the Department of Sociology at USF are co-investigators and are guiding me in this research.

Purpose of study and Study Procedures

The purpose of this study is to understand (1) how Latino families teach their children about their cultural background and (2) how race matters in transmitting messages about cultural backgrounds in Latino families. If you participate in this study, you will be asked to answer some personal questions about your cultural background and your thoughts on how you experienced your cultural background growing up or how you taught your cultural background to your children. Our interview session will take approximately one to two hours. The interview can be conducted at a mutually agreed upon location. This interview will be a casual conversation. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. The resulting transcript will be analyzed. All information about you will be kept confidential, you will be assigned a pseudonym and your identity will not be revealed in any sort of report that will be made public. After transcribing the recorded interviews, the audio files will be destroyed at the end of this study. The transcripts and study records, however, will be kept for five years after the study has ended as federally mandated. If you are interested, you will have the opportunity to review the findings of this study to provide me with feedback.

Total Number of Participants

A maximum of 20 individuals will take part in this study at USF.

Alternatives

You do not have to participate in this research study. If you'd prefer not to participate, you have the option to assist by providing my contact information to any people they know who may be interested in participating in my study.

Benefits

It is not expected that you will receive direct benefits for your participation in this research study. You will be able to share your experiences, which will be used in this academic study and will help to better understand the experiences of Latino families. You may find that recalling and sharing of memories of childhood experiences and/or child-rearing practices will be a benefit in and of itself.

Risks or Discomfort

This research is considered to be minimal risk. That means that the risks associated with this study are the same as what you face every day. There are no known additional risks to those who take part in this study.

Compensation

You will receive no payment or other compensation for taking part in this study.

Cost

There will be no additional costs to you as a result of being in this study.

Privacy and Confidentiality

We will keep your study records private and confidential. Certain people may need to see your study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are:

- The Principal Investigator and all other research staff.
- Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study. For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records. This is done to make sure that we are doing the study in the right way. They also need to make sure that we are protecting your rights and your safety.
- Any agency of the federal, state, or local government that regulates this research. This includes the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP).
- The USF Institutional Review Board (IRB) and its related staff who have oversight responsibilities for this study, staff in the USF Office of Research and Innovation, USF Division of Research Integrity and Compliance, and other USF offices who oversee this research.

We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not include your name. We will not publish anything that would let people know who you are.

Voluntary Participation / Withdrawal

You should only take part in this study if you want to volunteer. You should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study. You are free to participate in this research or withdraw at any time. You may also skip questions you would prefer not to answer.

You can get the answers to your questions, concerns, or complaints

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, or experience an adverse event or unanticipated problem, call Maria Duenas at (954) 309-3138. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, general questions, or have complaints, concerns or issues you want to discuss with someone outside the research, call the USF IRB at 001-813-974-5638.

Consent to Take Part in this Research Study

1. Do you wish to participate in this study?
2. Do you agree to be audio-recorded?

APPENDIX E: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

<i>Families*</i>	<i>Participant*</i>	<i>Parent or Child</i>	<i>Family Origins (Mother, Father)</i>	<i>Self-Identified Race</i>	<i>Self-Identified Phenotype</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Self-Identified Gender</i>	<i>Childhood spent in</i>	<i>Highest Level of Education Completed</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Family Income (per year)</i>
Ramirez Family	Rose	Parent	Dominican Republic, Both	Hispanic/Latino	Black	45	Female	Bronx, NY	Associates Degree	Medical Coder	\$50,000
	Ana	Child	United States (Dominican), Dominican Republic	Hispanic/Latino	Black	20	Female	Orlando	Some college or university	Student	>\$50,000
Hernandez Family	Mindy	Parent	Cuba, Both	Hispanic/Latino	White	62	Female	Cuba; New Orleans (arrived age 9)	Graduate school or more	Attorney	\$70,000- \$75,000
	Erika	Child	Cuba, Belgium	Hispanic/Latino	White	27	Female	Miami	Some graduate school	Graduate student, educator, writer, tutor	Parents- \$60,000- \$80,000; Erika- \$11,000
Rodriguez Family	Claudette	Parent	Puerto Rico, Both	White	White	52	Female	Puerto Rico; NJ (arrived age 6)	Graduate school or more	Graduate Student, Minister, Teacher	\$60,000
	Kate	Child	Puerto Rico, Trinidad	Mixed race (Black and White)	Hispanic American	22	Female	Tampa	College Graduate	8th Grade Teacher	\$170,000- \$180,000
Sanchez Family	Fred	Parent	Cuba, Both	Hispanic/Latino	White	57	Male	Cuba; Brooklyn (arrived age 7)	High School Graduate	Contractor	\$100,000
	Wanda	Child	Colombia, Cuba	Hispanic/Latino	White	29	Female	Miami	Graduate school or more	Graduate student, Public Speaking Instructor	\$25,000
Iglesias Family	Ida	Parent	Dominican Republic, Both	Hispanic/Latino	Black	57	Female	Dominican Republic; Tampa (arrived age 16)	Associates Degree	Medical Coder	\$26,000- \$31,200
	Teresa	Child	Dominican Republic, Both	Hispanic/Latino	Black	21	Female	Tampa; Dominican Republic (from age 5-10); Tampa	Some college or university	Student	\$30,000
Adult Children Only	Danny	Child	Dominican Republic, Both	Hispanic/Latino	Light skinned caramel	21	Male / Cis	NY, NJ, FL	Some college or university	Student	\$30,000- \$40,000
	Grace	Child	Dominican Republic, Both	Hispanic/Latino	White	26	Female	NY; DR; CT; FL	Some college or university	Call Center Worker	\$30,000

*All participant names are pseudonyms.

Note: All demographic information listed is self-identified by participants