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Black American Parents' Experiences Of Racial Discrimination And Youths' Depression
Outcomes: An Examination Of The Potential Mediating Role Of Parental Racial Socialization
Practices

by

Ashanti J. Brown

Under the Direction of Isha W. Metzger, Ph.D.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

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ABSTRACT

Research indicates that racial discrimination is a significant contributing factor to Black American adolescents' mental health outcomes, including childhood depression. Black youth are also impacted by the discrimination experienced by their caregivers and their resulting socialization behaviors. Growing bodies of literature demonstrate the importance of promotive and protective parenting factors, such as racial socialization, in adolescent psychosocial outcomes. Researchers have also started to explore the intergenerational impact of racial discrimination on developing Black youth. A key gap in the literature is the extent to which racial socialization serves as a mechanism impacting the relationship between parental experiences of discrimination and youth depression outcomes. As such, the goal of the current study is to expand our understanding of racial discrimination's intergenerational effects by exploring the relationship between parental experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression outcomes and the mediating role of racial socialization on this association for Black American adolescents.

INDEX WORDS: Racial Discrimination, Racial Socialization, Black Adolescents, Depression, Black American, Mental Health, Intergenerational

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2023

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1 INTRODUCTION

Racism's interwoven and multifaceted system manifests across a multitude of contexts for individuals from racially/ethnically minoritized groups. Racism's impact continues to serve as a pervasive societal concern for Black Americans. Often used interchangeably, racism and racial discrimination are defined broadly as the unfair treatment of racial and ethnic minorities through beliefs, behaviors, practices and emotions (Forsyth et al., 2014). Receiving increasing attention, discrimination—overt or covert—is also deeply embedded within societal systems that have afflicted Black Americans directly, vicariously, systematically, historically, and transgenerationally (Walker et al., 2017). Within the Black¹ population, researchers suggest racism's negative influence on the psychological health and well-being in various ways including negative stereotypes becoming internalized as beliefs that can lead to decreased feelings of self-worth and psychological functioning (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2003; Nyborg & Curry, 2003). Further, racism-related stress and trauma can directly lead to one's psychological distress and affect overall mental well-being. It is also well known that societal infrastructures have resulted in minoritized group's poorer living conditions and SES status which, in turn, contributes to and affects one's mental health outcomes. Importantly, a growing focus on the effect of racial discrimination on Black adolescents² is warranted due to the increasing rates of depression within this demographic. Although the existing literature on racial discrimination emphasizes its detrimental impact on the mental health outcomes of Black adults, research should continue to explore the ways in which racism impacts Black youths' depression outcomes transgenerationally. Namely, it is imperative to explore the mechanisms through which parental

¹ The term 'Black' encompasses people of a shared collective history, identity and community. Throughout this paper, Black Americans will be referred to as 'Black'.

² Our conceptualization of adolescents will be used interchangeably with 'youth'.

discrimination can be passed down from one generation to the next, given the understudied context of parents'³ unique experiences of discrimination on their approaches to parental socialization. The process of racial socialization refers to the implicit and explicit racial messages used between families and youth about their racialized experiences (Lesane-Brown, 2006). In particular, such socialization strategies are often utilized as protective and affirmational measures to combat racial discrimination's effects (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997; McNeil Smith et al., 2016). The purpose of this study is to broaden the literature on parental racial socialization behaviors and their promotive and protective impact on adolescent depression outcomes when Black caregivers perceive discrimination. Specifically, I will address this gap by examining the influencing factor of racial socialization on the relationship between parents' experiences of discrimination and youth depression outcomes.

1.1 Racial Discrimination and Adolescent Depression: Research Literature

Depression is a serious public health concern in the United States as prevalence rates among adolescents continue to increase and outpace adults (Weinberger et al., 2018); studies with youth 12-17 years of age note significant increases in rates of depression, from 8.1% in 2009 to 15.8% in 2019 (Wilson & Dumornay, 2022). Adolescence is a critical developmental period between childhood and adulthood in which youth are met with significant physical, psychological, and social transitions. Within those transitions are new external and internal pressures which may contribute to higher levels of depression for this age group. Notably, those pressures for Black youth are compounded due to exposure to prejudice, systemic discrimination, inequities and violence. Historically, research has focused primarily on the relationship between adult external/internal factors and depression; however, the exploration of its manifestation for

³ Our conceptualization of parents will be used interchangeably with 'caregivers'.

adolescents is not as prevalent. More importantly, the research is further limited for Black youth who experience greater exposure to ecological barriers such as racism and discrimination within various spaces.

Racial discrimination is a common occurrence that shapes the experiences of Black youth, while also negatively affecting their quality of life, psychological functioning, mental well-being, and overall development (Williams et al., 1997). Racial discrimination has been shown to impact Black adolescents more acutely compared with adolescents of other races or ethnicities (Fisher et al., 2000), therefore exacerbating existing health disparities against this group. Data shows that Black youth as young as eight (Dawson, 2022) report up to five daily encounters with racism (English et al., 2020), with between 87% and 94% reporting at least one discriminatory experience within the past year (Brody et al., 2006; Seaton et al., 2008).

Black adolescents are at an increased risk for elevated depressive mood and the associated sequelae (Ge et al., 1994), perhaps due to increased exposure to public spaces including school, around peers in their communities, and in additional societal institutions that discriminate against them because of their race (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). Recent data suggests that 11.4% of Black youth experience at least one major depressive episode (SAMHSA, 2019), with several studies showing Black youth having more depressive symptoms than other counterparts (Miller et al., 2012, Cole et al., 1998; Vorhees et al., 2008). In addition, Black youth face disproportionate (e.g., more frequent, more severe) consequences for internalized and externalized behaviors of depression, including academic underachievement, poor social interactions, and disciplinary action is integral and may be explained by individual and institutional racism (e.g., implicit biases, unfair discipline policies) (Bottiani et al., 2017; Rose et al., 2017; Lu, 2019; Saluja et al., 2004).

A multitude of barriers keep Black youth and families from initiating, receiving and remaining in treatment for depressive symptoms. First, Black youth and their families may have difficulty recognizing their overall mental health well-being and symptoms, specifically depression. Because Black youths' depression manifests differently than other counterparts by way of aggression, more reports of physical pain, academic underachievement, and conflicts with others, etc., their depression may be overlooked and scrutinized by professionals within the treatment setting, school and extracurricular settings (Stevenson et al., 2003; Breland-Noble et al., 2010; Lu et al., 2017). Unlike their white counterparts, Black adolescents are often met with less understanding and provided less support (i.e., counseling services, intervention/prevention programs). Additionally, scrutiny within frequently exposed settings may impact youths' own interpretation of internalized and externalized depression in pivotal, yet negative ways. Examples of embedded layers of structural racism and racial bias include unfair discipline policies that occur within the school setting for Black children often result in zero-tolerance discipline, disciplinary schools' expulsion, or school-based arrests (Bell, 2015; Bailey et al., 2017; Henry et al., 2021). Scholars have noted the need for calibration of depression screening tools for Black youth (Lu et al., 2017; Bradley et al., 2010).

Growing evidence supports the association between racial discrimination and child depression over time. Longitudinal studies suggest an association between perceived racial discrimination and increased depression symptoms as youth transition to emerging adulthood (Brody et al., 2006; English et al., 2014). As such, research is needed that better identifies factors that can help protect Black youth from depression despite ongoing experiences with discrimination. While an accumulating body of literature supports racial discrimination's impact on depressive symptoms in Black youth (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2009; Sellers et al., 2006;

English et al., 2014; Benner et al., 2018), studies exploring the mechanisms underlying this relationship among Black adolescents are still necessary. As such, this study seeks to analyze the influence of parents' experiences of discrimination and resulting racial socialization practices on Black youth depression.

1.2 Parent Discrimination and Youth Depression

Black parents report more experiences of discrimination than other racial and ethnic minoritized groups (Hughes, 2003). This finding is even more compelling given growing conversations surrounding the intergenerational ramifications of discrimination on Black youth. The use of intergenerational frameworks has increased within the last decade, explaining several pathways that can impact such transmission of racism and its related stress. Conceptualizing the intergenerational transmission of racism implies understanding structural racism's lasting impact, opportunities for increased psychopathology (i.e., depression, anxiety), negative biological effects, and other notable disparities. The mechanisms by which racial discrimination's ramifications surface is equally important, considering the various pathways (i.e., racial socialization, risk and resilience factors, self-efficacy, etc.) discrimination's impact continues to contribute to disparities in Black youths' health. Parents' experiences with racial discrimination within systems may impact youths' depression outcomes by way of parent subsequent socialization behaviors. Research scholars have expanded current literature on depression's intergenerational transmission from parents to their offspring. Offspring are at more increased risks of developing depression and other similar sequelae when their primary caregivers are depressed (Weissman et al., 2006; Klein et al., 2009; Welner et al., 1977). Specifically, Black Americans and others from oppressed groups endure compounding layers of racism that contribute to rates of depression (Wei et al., 2010; Noh et al., 2003), while also signifying

racism's extension to parents' children (Goosby et al., 2013). The transgenerational transmission of racism's cumulative effects on depression to Black youth calls for further research.

1.3 Models and Theories of Race-Related Stress

In an effort to understand the process through which parental racial discrimination can affect Black youths' depression symptoms by way of racial socialization practices, I will draw on informed integrative models that have been referenced and grounded in both cultural and racial stress literature.

Harrell's multidimensional Model of Racism-Related Stress and Well-Being (MRSW; Harrell, 2000) integrates the existing literature on racism-related stress and an individual's consequential outcomes from said stressor. The MRSW (Figure A) explains racial stressors' direct, vicarious, transgenerational, collective, and contextual impact on the physical, psychological, spiritual, and social health outcomes of oppressed, marginalized groups. Building upon the limited and previous models, the MRSW was developed to capture a more comprehensive model of racism-related stress in relation to mental health across five domains: antecedent variables, familial and socialization influences, sources of stress, internal and external mediators, and outcomes. Within the model, Harrell specifically explains how an individual's perception of external stimuli, such as racism, can be influenced by two integral factors: antecedent variables and familial/socialization influences. Antecedent variables encompass the person's sociodemographic (e.g., race/ethnicity, language, age, gender, physical characteristics) and socioenvironmental context (e.g., regional/geographic location, racial composition of contexts and SES). Familial and socialization influences include one's family characteristics/dynamics (e.g., family structure and roles) and racial socialization within the family, community or institutional realm. From this, individuals typically will perceive external

stimuli, racial stressors, as coming from the three main sources of stress: racism-related stress (e.g., daily encounters with microaggressions, living conditions, transgenerational transmission), other status-related stress (e.g., religious discrimination, sexism, classism, heterosexism), and generic stressors (e.g., daily hassles, role strain, episodic life events). As the MRSW posits the impact of racism on socialization behaviors, the current study explores the influencing factor of racial socialization between parental experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression.

Notably, Harrell's conceptualization of racial stress pinpoints the cyclical process of racism's central role in outcomes, in addition to identifying racism-related phenomena and stress processes. Unlike general models of stress, this particular model concentrates on six types of racism-related stressors, that draws attention to both historical and social contexts. Harrell (2000) identifies six types of racism-related stress: (a) racism-related life events (i.e., time-limited experiences that can occur across a multitude of settings including work, education, neighborhood, legal; experiences are unlikely to occur on a daily basis, yet can lead to other events or have lasting impact); (b) vicarious racism experiences (i.e., distressing, indirect racist experiences through observation and report from family members, close friends or strangers that teaches and increase one's awareness of racism's underpinnings); (c) daily racism microstressors (i.e., central, daily reminders of one's race/ethnicity by way of "microaggressions" that can feel demoralizing, dehumanizing or disrespectful (assumption of criminality, being overlooked for qualified positions)); (d) chronic contextual stress (i.e., stressors "impacted by social structure, political dynamics, and institutional racism on social-role demands and the larger environment within which one must adapt and cope" (Harrell, pg. 46), as highlighted people of color's unequal distribution of resources and limited opportunities); (e) collective experiences of racism (i.e., group-level experiences of racism that can be felt even vicariously by way of racism's

impact, and last, (f) transgenerational transmission (i.e., impactful experiences rooted in a culture's historical context that can be transmitted across generations by way of discussion, storytelling, observation and long-term effects) (Harrell, pp. 45-46). Racism-related stress can be reflected in various health outcomes mediated by a number of factors including: internal characteristics, sociocultural variables, affective and behavioral responses to stress, and external resources. Notably, this could potentially provide insight into the various outcomes impacted by racial discrimination and stress (i.e., physical, psychological, social, functional, and spiritual).

Considering frequent exposure to racially stressful events that Black youth and parents face, researchers have argued for more culturally formulated frameworks that approach coping and symptoms resulting from racism. To better understand racial socialization's potential mediating role between parental experiences of discrimination and youth depression outcomes, the Racial Encounter Coping Appraisal and Socialization Theory (RECAST; Anderson & Stevenson, 2014 & 2019) is consistently referenced in Black youth socialization literature. RECAST, as shown in Figure B, calls on a different approach to the healing and centering of Black families by positing that an individual's ability to cope with racial stressors can be explained by their racial coping self-efficacy which is moderated by racial socialization competency (Anderson and Stevenson, 2014 & 2019). Acting as a moderator, racial socialization literacy is proposed to combat the impact of race-based traumatic stress and discrimination for Black youth and their parents. To provide an example of this theory's relevance to the current study, a parent being able to accurately access, read and resolve a racial situation increases the likelihood that the parent would, in turn, socialize their youth to foster his/her ability to critically understand and rehearse coping processes that reduce risk for depression (Anderson and Stevenson, 2014 & 2019). Racial socialization involves parents transmitting coping strategies in

ways that youth are able to understand and replicate when preparing for and facing racial discrimination and stress. Thus, it is expected that parents who experience racism will have youth who are more or less depressed, and that this relationship will be mediated by parents' racial socialization practices.

1.4 The Potential Mediating Role of Racial Socialization

Because adolescence is a tumultuous developmental period in which Black youth are at an increased risk due to the compounding stress caused by exposure to racial discrimination, it is necessary to examine the ways in which promotive and protective factors can offset the toll of racial discrimination on mental health outcomes, like depression. Black parents have the unique challenge of successfully raising and preparing their children for life as a racial/ethnic minority, which consists of experiences with racial discrimination, prejudice, and racial bias (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Racial socialization practices are the implicit and explicit messages parents transmit to their children when talking about their race/ethnicity (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes et al., 2009). Current research suggests racial socialization as a bi-directional process in which the delivery of messages both helps prepare children for and respond to racial biases through conveying values, behaviors, and perceptions of their racial group (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). This developmental process emerges through four, basic modes of transmission: oral communication, role-play, exposure, and modeling. Oral communication consists of having conversations, sharing stories, and offering explanations about topics concerning one's race. Role-play encompasses the techniques parents use to model and allow youth opportunities to practice appropriate behavior within their social environments (Coard et al., 2004). For example, Black parents may teach their children 'desirable behaviors' in hypothetical situations involving police. The use of exposure consists of parents immersing their children in cultural experiences

such as Black history museums and reading Black history books. Lastly, parents engage their children by modeling certain behaviors and actions, in the hope their children will emulate them. For example, a parent may openly combat negative, stereotypical statements about Black individuals in front of their children (Coard et al., 2004).

Racial socialization is a notable promotive factor for Black youths' positive psychological outcomes (Fisher & Shaw, 1999). A multifaceted process, racial socialization encompasses several different messages that teach children about their race/ethnicity. Some of the themes across messaging include: teaching the child about their culture and history (racial pride); acknowledging that difficulties such as racial discrimination exist and may conflict with their overall well-being (barriers); and conveying the message that all people regardless of race, are equal (egalitarian). This culturally-relevant process has been essential in understanding the development and coping of Black youth, including behavioral, academic, and emotional outcomes (e.g., anxiety, depression, anger, self-esteem) (Hughes et al., 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2008; Wang & Hughley, 2012). While some racial socialization practices are utilized in preparation for potential racial discrimination, other strategies are utilized in response to discrimination as children grow older.

Racial socialization messages show up in various ways: *expression* and *intent*. The context to which expression is shared is either verbally or non-verbally (e.g., orally, modeling, role-play, exposure), whereas intent of socialization messages is either proactive or inadvertent. Within proactive or deliberate intent, parents purposely transmit racial messages to their children, whereas inadvertent are often labeled as subtle messages about race that are not explicitly shared (Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Furthermore, racial socialization has been regarded as a crucial element for the development of Black youths' values, self-esteem, racial identity, and attitudes regarding race (Caughy et al., 2011; Murry et al., 2009; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 2005). Cultural socialization (cultural pride), preparation for bias (preparation for discrimination) and promotion of mistrust (conveyed messages about caution of other racial groups) are the three, primary types of racial socialization messages. Cultural socialization refers to messages that teach children about their racial heritage (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias refers to parental efforts to raise their children's awareness to probable discrimination they may face (Hughes et al., 2006). Promotion of mistrust is the teaching of children to be wary or cautious of individuals from different cultural backgrounds (Hughes et al., 2006).

Research suggests that racial socialization may explain variation in the impact of racial discrimination on Black adolescents (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Stevenson et al., 1997; Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Racial socialization serves to protect against discrimination, and is associated with positive adjustment for youth who report experiences with racism. Continued research on Black parents' utilization of racial socialization practices is needed to highlight the potential mechanistic role it may serve in the relationship between racial discrimination and mental health for Black youth.

Noting this, Black parents experiencing racial discrimination are likely to transmit racial socialization messages to their children to help prepare them for similar experiences with racism and discrimination (Smith et al., 2015). Prior research suggests that caregivers alter their racial socialization practices based on their own experiences with racial discrimination (Smith, 2015). While a substantial body of research examines the relationship between Black parents' racial socialization strategies, there has been a relative dearth of research that acknowledges the impact

of parents' experiences with discrimination and its impact on the racial socialization messages shared with adolescents that potentially mediate adolescent's depressive symptoms.

Racial socialization literature suggests parents' experiences with discrimination impact the frequency and type of racial socialization strategies used (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). The literature provides insight into the influence of parental experiences of discrimination on the utilization of racial socialization practices yet, the relationship between parental experiences of racial discrimination, parenting practices (racial socialization), and youth well-being outcomes is not well understood. The study aims to contribute to the limited literature on discrimination's indirect, intergenerational effects beyond direct recipients. Specifically, the current study aims to fill this gap in the literature by examining the impact of racial socialization on the relationship between Black parents' experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression outcomes.

1.5 Contextual Variables on Black Youth Depression and Racial Discrimination

In contextualizing youth depression outcomes, it is necessary to consider the potential influence of antecedent variables that may influence depression development and sustainment. Additionally, when considering racial discrimination's habitation, influence, and transmission to youth from their parents, highlighting contextual variables is meaningful. The four antecedent variables— youth gender, age, socioeconomic status (SES), and youths' own experiences of discrimination— are examined based on existing theory and growing literature.

Age. Studies highlight the impact of one's age in relation to racism-related stress. Race becomes more identifiable as ethnically minoritized children continue to age (French et al., 2006), potentially due to their increasing cognitive development and ability to recognize discriminatory treatment. Specifically, a number of studies indicate Black children's awareness

of racism and its implications within society as early as age eight (Dawson, 2022). As Black youth are continually exposed to more social circles in adolescence, a greater shift in one's consciousness about structural racism becomes even more apparent (Hughes & Bigler, 2011; Seider et al., 2019).

Other studies suggest that younger Black Americans experience and perceive racial discrimination more than Black adults (Stancil et al., 2000; Broman et al., 2000). Brown and Bigler's (2005) developmental model also suggest various factors that affect the perception of racial discrimination further allow older youth to recognize these adverse experiences. Structural systems including redlining, harsher school discipline, and over-policing within Black neighborhoods are just a few examples of experiences that Black adolescents are better able to recognize as they age.

Gender. Because previous research suggests the differing impact of racial discrimination based on gender, including youth gender as a covariate within this study is vital. Some scholars note that associations between youth racial discrimination and mental health adjustment vary by gender (Greene, 2006). Longitudinal research of racial discrimination's impact suggests Black male and female differences in perceived discrimination and its long-term effects (Assari et al., 2017). Studies revealed higher reports of perceived racial discrimination from Black males compared to Black females (Swanson et al., 2003; Coll et al., 1996; Broman et al., 2000; Carter, 2007). The gender differences underline gender as a notable social determinant. Additionally, controlling for gender is aligned with Harrell (2000) and Clark et al.'s (1999) theoretical frameworks that draw attention to the importance of gender in one's experience of racial discrimination, with expansive research noting African American males undergoing racial

discrimination more frequently than African American females (Carter, 2007; Borrell et al., 2006).

Youth Discriminatory Experiences. Robust research provides a strong link between Black youth depression symptoms and experiences of racial discrimination (English et al., 2014; Gaylord-Harden et al., 2009; Lavner et al., 2023; Lavner et al., 2022). Consequently, this study will control for youths' own experiences of discrimination to ensure we account for the influence and only capture the impact of caregivers' experiences on resulting depression.

Socioeconomic Status (SES). Research on health disparities impacting racial/ethnic minorities emphasizes the link between exposure to racial discrimination and economic inequality. For Black Americans, SES is positively associated with perceived racial discrimination, leading to poorer psychosocial outcomes (Simons et al., 2002; Gibbons et al., 2012; Gibbons et al., 2007). Lower SES, often resulting from racist systems and inequalities, is compounded along the effects of racial discrimination. However, literature regarding the relationship between SES and racial discrimination and stress remains equivocal.

A study found that individuals with higher SES backgrounds were less likely to experience race-related stress and discrimination compared to individuals with lower SES (Fuller-Rowell et al., 2018). Other studies revealed differing results in which individuals from higher SES experienced and reported greater perceived racial discrimination (Hudson et al., 2012; Forman, 2003; Cole & Omari, 2003), primarily due to place (e.g., occupying, living or going to school in predominantly white spaces), education (e.g., more knowledge about racial discrimination leading to more exposure and vulnerability), social costs of upward mobility, and higher-effort coping strategies (Assari et al., 2018). Consequently, Black youth of higher SES backgrounds reported higher perceived racial discrimination, signifying more than average depressive

symptoms (Assari et al., 2018). Typically, higher SES is looked at as a protective factor and potential moderator for health-related disparities, including those deriving from institutional discrimination. Given varied research on SES in relation to racial discrimination, more studies are needed to understand the relation and its overall connection to depression symptoms. Because of its potential to influence depression outcomes, our analysis controls for SES to ensure our outcomes are solely attributed to changes in the independent variable.

1.6 Summary

Overall, the literature on factors that impact depressive symptoms for Black adolescents is relatively sparse. The relationship between parental racial discrimination and Black youth depression outcomes is even more limited (Galán et al., 2022). Little is known about the mediating effects of racial socialization on parental experiences of discrimination and youth depression symptomatology. Accordingly, this study is designed to examine the mediating effect of racial socialization on the relationship between parents' experiences with discrimination and depressive symptoms for Black youth. Due to previous research, the current study explores racial socialization as a mediating variable that serves as a protective factor for Black youth. This study seeks to explore mechanisms that impact Black adolescents' depression.

1.7 Current Study

The purpose of this study is to assess parental reports of racial discrimination in relation to depressive symptoms for Black adolescents. The relationship between Black parents' experiences of racial discrimination, racial socialization practices, and youth outcomes is not well understood. The body of research examining such association with adolescent depression is even more limited. The study aims to analyze the potential mediating effect of racial socialization on the relationship between parental racial experiences and child depression

symptoms. We seek to answer the overarching question “Does parents’ experiences of racial discrimination and their use of racial socialization messaging impact adolescent depression?”

Specific Aim 1: Elucidate the role of Black American parents’ discriminatory experiences on youth depression outcomes.

Hypothesis 1: Black American parents’ reported experiences with racial discrimination will significantly impact Black youths’ depression outcomes. More parental experiences with discrimination will be associated with more youth depression.

Specific Aim 2: Determine the mediating effect of racial socialization on the relationship between parental experiences of discrimination and child depression outcomes.

Hypothesis 2: In the sample, racial discrimination will be indirectly associated with youth depression outcomes through the mediating effect of racial socialization.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Context

The goals of the current study were achieved through secondary analysis of a subset of data collected through the University of Georgia's "Promoting Strong African American Families" (ProSAAF) project, a study of African American families. ProSAAF is an IRB approved, randomized controlled trial aimed to further promote strong family, couple, child-parent and co-parent relationships in African Americans residing in Southern, rural United States.

2.2 Sample

This study included 364 African American parents with children between the ages of 9 and 14 (mean age 10.87; SD= 0.90). For this specific study, analyses utilized data from Wave 1 (W1) only. The youth and families had to be willing to answer questions about their experiences. Each participant lived in small, Southern communities where poverty and unemployment rates are above national average (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). To be eligible, individuals had to identify as African American, 21 years of age, parents had to be in a relationship for 2 or more years, co-parenting the youth targeted within the program for at least a year, and living together. In addition, the intervention recruited couples who were willing to engage in the family-centered program over the course of 6 weeks.

Majority of the families were classified as working poor; and the majority of men (74% [65% full-time]) and women (61% [45% full-time]) were employed. The median monthly income was \$1,375 for men (SD= \$1,375; range \$1-\$7,500) and \$1,220 for women (SD= \$1,440; range \$1-\$10,000). Of the sample, 63% of the couples were married (mean of marriage length= 9.8 years, SD= 7.48; range <1 year to 56 years) and unmarried couples were domestic partners

for a mean of 6.7 years ($SD= 5.43$; range <1 year to 24 years). Median education levels for men were high school or GED (ranging from less than 9th grade to a doctorate or professional degree) and some college or trade school (ranging from 9th grade to a master's degree) for women. Of the participants, 94% of women were biological mothers and 49% of men were biological fathers (38% stepfathers). Almost all of the parents were heterosexual (99.4%); two families were a female same-sex couple.

2.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited through phone, mail, and advertisements distributed within the community. Local schools in 16 counties also aided in recruitment by providing information on youths in grades 4 through 6. Program staff completed the informed consents for the adults and children at the homes of the families. Each family member completed assessment surveys on separate laptops for baseline (Wave 1; W1) assessments. Each assessment used audio computer-assisted self-interview software, which were installed on the laptops. Adult participants were compensated with \$50 and youth with a \$20 gift card for completing each assessment.

2.4 Measures

2.4.1 Demographics

Demographic information collected for the study included participant's age, income, race/ethnicity, SES status (income and education level), and gender. Both age and gender were measured continuously.

2.4.2 Parents' and Youths' Reports of Experiences of Discrimination

The Racist Hassles Questionnaire (Harrell, 2000) was used to measure the parents' and youths' experiences of perceived discrimination over the course of 6 months. The current study utilized a 9-item measure developed by ProSAAF researchers who collaborated with rural,

African American individuals in the creation of this measure. The questionnaire includes common experiences that participants in focus groups highlighted. Participants indicated the frequency of such experiences over the period of 6 months using a response scale ranging from “1, never” to “4, frequently”. A sample item from the questionnaire includes “Have you been treated rudely or disrespectfully because of your race?”. Results were summed so that the higher scores indicated higher levels of racial discrimination. This measure has shown good internal consistency with Cronbach’s alpha between .85 and .91 (Harrell, 1997; Barton et al., 2018; Lei et al., 2021; Lavner et al., 2022).

2.4.3 Racial Socialization

Parents’ racial socialization practices were measured using the Racial Socialization Scale (RSS; Hughes & Johnson, 2001), a 15-item scale that assessed the frequency of a variety of parental behaviors and communication to children when discussing topics on race. Youth estimated the number of times their parents engaged in specific messaging in the past 12 months using a 3-point Likert scale (1= never; 2= once or two times; 3= three to five times). The 15-item measure includes four subscales of the four dimensions of racial socialization messages. Sample items included cultural socialization (e.g., [In the past month, how often has your parent] “Encouraged you to read books concerning the history or traditions of your racial group”), preparation for bias (e.g., “Told you that people might keep you from doing well because of your race”), pluralism (e.g., “Talked to you about important people or events in the history of your racial group”), and promotion of mistrust (e.g., “Warned you to be careful around kids or adults of a different race or ethnicity than yours”). Each dimension (e.g. preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, etc.) exhibited good internal consistency within the current study.

2.4.4 Child Depression

Children's depression outcomes were measured by gathering participant responses to the NIH's Center for Epidemiologic Studies- Depression Scale (CES-D) (CES-D; Radloff, L.S., 1977). The CES-D is a short self-report measure that assesses depressive symptomatology in the general population that have occurred in the past week. The self-report scale consists of twenty items and uses a 4-point Likert-type scale (0= Rarely or none of the time (0-1 day), 1= Some or little of the time (2-3 days), 2= Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (4-5 days), 3= Most or all of the time (6-7 days)). Scores range from 0-60 with higher scores indicating a higher frequency of depressive symptoms over the past week. Sample items include "In the past week, how often were you bothered by things that usually don't bother you?" and "In the past week, how often did you feel hopeful about the future?". Previous studies with Black youth using this measure report between .79 and .89 (Kogan et al., 2023; Lavner et al., 2020; Sellers et al., 2006). For the current study, high reliability was reported among the items. Cronbach's alpha was .75.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Data Analysis

Secondary data analyses were conducted using SPSS Statistics Version 28 to test our hypotheses regarding parental racial discrimination's effect on adolescent depression outcomes. Descriptive analyses such as the means, frequencies and standard deviations were computed for all study variables (parent and child demographics, parent and child experiences of discrimination, child depression and racial socialization; see Table A. Statistical analyses used an alpha level of .05 to assess statistical significance. Bivariate correlation analyses were utilized to observe the significant relationships among variables of interest including mother and fathers' experiences of racial discrimination, youths' depression outcomes, racial socialization, youth age and gender, SES, and youths' experiences of racial discrimination; see Table B.

Hypothesis 1: First, an unadjusted linear regression analysis was conducted to examine the effect of parents' experiences of discrimination on youths' depression outcomes. Then, multivariable linear regression was used to examine the unique effect of parents' experiences of discrimination on child depression outcomes, with potential confounding variables like adolescent age, gender, parent SES and youths' reported experiences of racial discrimination included in models (Specific Aim 1). Given that youths' depression and socialization outcomes are highly influenced by one's developmental process, their own experience of racism, socio-economic upbringing and gender, age, youths' reports of discrimination, parent SES, and gender were added as covariate variables. Throughout, parental data were analyzed individually as opposed to measuring combined scores. See Tables C and D.

Hypothesis 2: Before conducting mediation analyses for Specific Aim 2, potential predictors of youths' racial socialization were also examined using another unadjusted linear

regression analysis. Another linear regression analysis was conducted to examine potential relationships between parental experiences of discrimination and youths' racial socialization outcomes, with potential confounding variables like adolescent, age, gender, SES and youths' reported experiences of racial discrimination; see Tables E and F. Last, relationships between youths' racial socialization and depression were examined using linear regression analysis; see Table G.

Using PROCESS macro v4.2, mediation analyses were conducted with overall depression symptoms and father and mothers' reported experiences of discrimination as dependent variables to determine if racial socialization practices significantly mediate the relationship between Black parents' experiences of discrimination and their youths' depression outcomes (Specific Aim 2). Parental SES, youth age, gender and adolescent experiences of racial discrimination were evaluated as covariates. See Tables H and I.

3.2 Results for Bivariate Correlations

Participants

The secondary analytic sample consisted of 364 families, with children aged 9-14 who self-identified as Black or African American. The sub-sample of participants were single or married. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table A.

Correlation Analyses

Table B shows bivariate correlations among father and mothers' experiences of racial discrimination, racial socialization, youths' experiences of racial discrimination, age, gender, SES and overall depression outcomes. Neither mothers' or fathers' experiences of racial discrimination were statistically correlated with youth depression outcomes, racial socialization or youths' experiences of racial discrimination. Racial socialization was significantly and

positively correlated with youth depression ($r = .152$; $p < .01$) and youths' experiences of racial discrimination ($r = .335$, $p < .01$). Youths' experiences of racial discrimination were significantly and positively correlated with youth depression outcomes ($r = .455$, $p < .01$). SES was significantly and negatively correlated with youth depression outcomes ($r = -.123$, $p < .05$).

3.3 Results for Specific Aim 1

Linear Regression Analyses

Linear regression analyses are depicted in Tables C and D. Linear regression analyses were used to determine the unique effect of the variables of interest on African American youths' depression outcomes. Before conducting multivariable linear regression analyses, unadjusted regression analyses were conducted. The results of unadjusted linear regression analyses showed that parents' experiences of racial discrimination were not significantly related to adolescents' depression. Fathers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted .2% of the variation in youths' depression ($R^2 = .002$, $F(1,346) = .650$, $p = .421$); Mothers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted .02% of the variation in youths' depression ($R^2 = .0000$, $F(1,346) = .044$, $p = .834$). However, when controlling for family SES, youths' age, youths' gender, and youths' experiences of racial discrimination, omnibus tests indicated significant relationships between the variables in both father and mothers' models and youth depression.

For African American fathers, the overall regression model predicted approximately 22% of variance in youths' depression outcomes ($R^2 = .225$, $F(5,342) = 19.8$, $p < .001$), when controlling for the covariates. The predictor variables and their standardized coefficients were as follows: Only SES and youths' experiences of racial discrimination were significantly associated with depression, with SES being negatively associated ($\beta = -.121$, $p = .012$) and youths' experiences of discrimination being positively associated ($\beta = .451$, $p < .001$) with depression. For

African American mothers, the overall regression model predicted approximately 22% of variance in youths' depression outcomes ($R^2 = .221$, $F(5,342) = 19.5$, $p < .001$), when controlling for the covariates. Only SES and youths' experiences of racial discrimination were significant with SES being negatively associated ($\beta = -.120$, $p = .013$) and youths' experiences of discrimination being positively associated ($\beta = .450$, $p < .001$) with depression. For both models, the presence of the SES and youth racial discrimination variables showed to be stronger predictors of youth depression than parental discriminatory experiences.

3.4 Results for Specific Aim 2

Linear Regression Analyses

Several steps were taken in SPSS before running the causal model. In addition to the linear regression analyses conducted in Specific Aim 1, linear regressions were used to determine significant relationships between variables of interest and youth racial socialization and depression. The results of unadjusted linear regression analyses showed that parents' experiences of racial discrimination were not significantly related to youth reported racial socialization. Fathers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted .2% of the variation in youths' racial socialization ($R^2 = .002$, $F(1,346) = .539$, $p = .464$); Mothers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted 0% of the variation in youths' racial socialization ($R^2 = .000$, $F(1,346) = .038$, $p = .846$). When controlling for family SES, youths' age, youths' gender, and youths' experiences of racial discrimination, change in variation approached significance. Fathers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted 12% of the variation in racial socialization ($R^2 = .124$, $F(5,342) = 9.72$, $p < .001$); Mothers' experiences of racial discrimination predicted 12% of the variation in racial socialization ($R^2 = .123$, $F(5,342) = 9.6$, $p < .001$). After controlling for all covariates in the models for fathers and mothers, only age and youths' experiences of racial

discrimination were significant. The predictor variables and their standardized coefficients were as follows: For fathers, age was negatively associated ($\beta = -.108$, $p = .034$) and youths' experiences of discrimination were positively associated with youths' racial socialization ($\beta = .339$, $p < .001$). For mothers, age was negatively associated ($\beta = -.111$, $p = .029$) and youths' experiences of discrimination were positively associated with youths' racial socialization ($\beta = .338$, $p < .001$).

When controlling for youths' age, youths' gender, family SES, and youths' experiences of racial discrimination, youths' racial socialization predicted a significant variation (22%) in their depression outcomes ($R^2 = .221$, $F(5, 342) = 19.4$, $p < .001$). Youth's own experiences of discrimination were positively associated ($\beta = .450$, $p < .001$) and SES was negatively associated with youth's depression ($\beta = -.120$, $p = .013$).

Mediation Analyses

Traditionally, mediation analyses would not be conducted if there are no significant direct pathways on the outcome (Baron & Kenny, 1986). However, the researcher proceeded to conduct mediation analyses to expand upon the current literature and to acknowledge racial socialization's potential influence in changing the outcome. Mediation analyses are illustrated in Tables H and I. A mediation analysis was conducted to investigate the potential mediating role of racial socialization in the relationship between African American fathers' experiences of racial discrimination and youths' depression outcomes. The first model examined the relationship between fathers' experiences of racial discrimination and youth racial socialization. The overall model was statistically significant; $F(5, 342) = 9.7147$, $p < 0.0000$) and accounted for 12.4% of variance in youth racial socialization. The predictor variables and their standardized coefficients were as follows: Fathers' experiences of racial discrimination ($\beta = -.0376$, $p = .4595$), sex ($\beta = .0236$, $p = .6429$), age ($\beta = -.1084$, $p = .0336$), SES ($\beta = .0130$, $p = .7979$), and youth discrimination

($\beta = .3386$, $p=.0000$). Among these predictors, youth discrimination had the largest standardized coefficient, indicating the strongest influence on youth racial socialization.

The second model assessed the relationship between the direct effect of fathers' experiences of racial discrimination on youths' depression, while controlling for covariates age, sex, SES and youths' experiences of discrimination. The overall model was statistically significant; $F(6, 341) = 16.4718$, $p < 0.0001$), explaining 22.5% of variance in youths' depression. The predictor variable (fathers' experiences of discrimination) and its standardized coefficients were as follows: fathers' discrimination ($\beta = -.0585$, $p=.2225$), racial socialization ($\beta = -.0044$, $p=.9305$), sex ($\beta = -.0156$, $p=.7453$), age ($\beta = .0337$, $p=.4851$), SES ($\beta = -.1208$, $p=.0118$), and youth racial discrimination ($\beta = .4522$, $p=.0000$). Among these predictors, youths' experiences of racial discrimination exhibited the largest standardized coefficient, indicating its substantial impact on youth depression outcomes.

The results of the mediation analysis suggest that there is no statistically significant direct effect of fathers' experiences of racial discrimination on youth depression. Total effect of fathers' experience of discrimination on youth depression was found to be $-.0584$ ($p = 0.2228$), and the direct effect was $-.0585$ ($p = 0.22$). Both the total and direct effects were not statistically significant. Fathers' experiences of discrimination on youth depression through racial socialization showed an indirect effect estimated at 0.0002 . These findings suggest that racial socialization does not mediate the relationship between fathers' experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression in a significant manner. See Figure E for fathers' mediation model and Table I for mediation analysis.

An additional mediation analysis was conducted to examine the potential mediating role of racial socialization between the predictor variable, mothers' experiences of discrimination,

and the outcome variable, youths' depression. In Model 1, the relationship between mothers' experiences of racial discrimination and youths' racial socialization was examined. The overall model was statistically significant, $F(5, 342) = 9.5959$, $p < 0.0001$, and explained 12.30% of the variance in racial socialization. The standardized coefficients for the predictor variables were as follows: mothers' racial discrimination ($\beta = -.0084$, $p = .8688$), sex ($\beta = .0246$, $p = .6293$), age ($\beta = -.1112$, $p = .0290$), SES ($\beta = .0137$, $p = .7866$), and youth discrimination ($\beta = .3385$, $p = .0000$). Among these predictors, youth discrimination had the largest standardized coefficient, indicating the strongest influence on youth racial socialization.

In Model 2, a regression analysis was utilized to assess the direct effect of mothers' experiences of discrimination on youth depression, when controlling for age, sex, SES, and youths' experiences of discrimination. The overall model showed to be statistically significant ($F = 16.17$, $p < 0.0001$), explaining 22.15% of the variance in youth depression outcomes. The standardized coefficients for the predictor variables were as follows: mothers' discrimination ($\beta = -.0134$, $p = .7802$), racial socialization ($\beta = -.0021$, $p = .9675$), sex ($\beta = -.0141$, $p = .7693$), age ($\beta = .0296$, $p = .5394$), SES ($\beta = -.1197$, $p = .0128$), and youth racial discrimination ($\beta = .4512$, $p = .0000$). Among these predictors, youths' experiences of racial discrimination exhibited the largest standardized coefficient, indicating its substantial impact on youth depression outcomes. See Figure F for mothers' mediation model and Table H for the mediation analysis.

The results of the mediation analysis suggest that there is no statistically significant direct effect of mothers' experiences of racial discrimination on youth depression. Total effect of mothers' experiences of discrimination on youth depression was found to be $-.0134$ ($p = 0.7802$), and the direct effect was also $-.0134$ ($p = 0.7802$). Both the total and direct effects were not statistically significant. Mothers' experiences of discrimination on youth depression through

racial socialization showed an indirect effect estimated at 0.0000, indicating a negligible effect size, which was also not statistically significant. These findings suggest that racial socialization does not mediate the relationship between mothers' experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression in a significant manner.

4 DISCUSSION

Studying the multitude of ways racial discrimination can impact depressive symptoms in Black adolescents is imperative, given the growing evidence suggesting that parental experiences of racism are associated with lower levels of psychological functioning, well-being and their use of specific messages about race and racism to their children. The aims of the current study were to examine the intergenerational transmission of parental experiences of racial discrimination to their youth and how racial socialization could potentially mediate such transmission's impact to their offspring. Namely, this study investigated the relationship between Black parents' experiences of racial discrimination and youth depression outcomes, and the potential for racial socialization to mediate this relationship. This inquiry was examined within a nontreatment seeking sub-sample of African American families living in rural Georgia. Parental reports of discrimination were analyzed independently for fathers and mothers, meaning joint scores were not utilized for the analyses.

Inconsistent with hypotheses, findings indicated that Black parents' experiences of racial discrimination were not significant predictors of Black youths' depression outcomes in this sample of 364 Southern, rural Black American families. Instead, youths' own experiences of racial discrimination were significantly associated with their experiences of depression. With regard to both fathers' and mothers' experiences of racial discrimination, there were no significant associations to youth depression outcomes. These data are surprising, as they are disparate from growing literature's conversations surrounding the impact of parents' experiences of racism and the impact on their children's mental health outcomes (Tran, 2014; Gibbons et al., 2004; Kelly et al., 2012). It seems possible that these results are due to previous studies omitting the influence of particular covariates to the same extent, potentially explaining and leading to

differing conclusions of parental discrimination on youth depression. However, when accounting for the antecedent variables (i.e., gender, SES, youth discrimination, and age), there were significant relationships between SES and youths' experiences of racial discrimination and depression. The present results are significant in at least two major aspects. First, it is important to note the multifaceted dynamics of various factors interplaying between parental discrimination and youth depressive outcomes. Second, the results of the current study highlighted that youths' own experiences of discrimination and SES are highly correlated factors among this particular sample of African American families, further supporting the significance of one's race and socioeconomic status collaboratively serving as robust determinants of one's overall health (Williams et al., 1997; Mays et al., 2007; Williams et al., 2009). These results also highlight youths' discriminatory experiences as a significant contribution, underlining the adverse influence of youths' own experiences of racism on their internalized symptoms of depression. This is in agreement with other studies and further adds to the body of literature expressing racial discrimination's negative impact on youth depression and other various aspects of psychological outcomes (Lavner et al., 2023; Clark et al., 2004; Wong et al., 2003). Although the study does not specifically look at youths' own experiences of discrimination on their depression outcomes, the results do align with the literature that demonstrates the negative psychological effects, specifically depression, deriving from Black adolescents' direct experiences of racial discrimination (Lavner et al., 2023). Based on these findings, results bring more attention to the ongoing need for interventions in mitigating the effects of discrimination for Black youth.

Parental experiences of discrimination did not predict youth racial socialization. Findings showed a similar pattern as the first, in which the predictive utility of parental discrimination was not significant to youth racial socialization, even accounting for covariates. While results don't

particularly align with current literature of parental discrimination influencing their delivery of socialization messages (Saleem et al., 2020; Anderson et al., 2015; Murry et al., 2022), they are in agreement with noting the significant influence of contextual variables and social determinants on one's perception of socialization usage. Theoretical frameworks such as the sociocultural family stress (SFS) model and the mundane extreme environmental stress (MEES) emphasize the compounding contextualized stress that layers onto racial discrimination, specifically highlighting the effects of racial discrimination and various factors on family's processes, psychological and physical well-being (Carroll, 1998; McNeil Smith & Landor, 2018). Results from the final linear regression align well with the existing literature surrounding youth racial socialization and depressive symptoms. The pathway from familial racial socialization behaviors to youth psychosocial outcomes is well documented and theorized within the RECAST model (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019).

The hypothesis that a significant mediating effect of racial socialization experiences between parental racial discrimination and youth depression was not supported in our study (Specific Aim 2). Alike the conducted correlation and linear regression analyses, parental reports of discrimination were not analyzed cohesively. There were no statistically significant total, direct, or indirect effects of fathers' racial discrimination on their child's depression, indicating no mediation. Results from this study also indicated insignificant findings when analyzing the potential mediating role of racial socialization between mothers' own experiences of racial discrimination and their youths' depression. Alike fathers' mediation model, no variables showed to significantly impact racial socialization or youth depression, nor did racial socialization show any full or partial mediation.

The results from the mediation analyses are noteworthy, in which they potentially explicate important take-aways: (a) there is a significance in considering the youths' influence of their own experiences of discrimination when trying to understand their depression; (b) there is complexity in understanding the interwoven relationships of racial discrimination, racial socialization and Black youth depression. Considering the context of youths' own experiences of discrimination, one must acknowledge the substantial, direct experience of discrimination on Black youth. Results across various analyses underscored that practical interventions should not solely focus on family dynamics but call more attention to the endured discrimination that Black youth are facing. While researchers have continued to focus on various contexts that impact the overall health of Black adolescents, this particular study contributes to existing growing literature that essentially focuses on young individuals' own experiences of discrimination. Youth should remain a central focus in intervention and prevention efforts when targeting the overall mental health and resilience of said youth.

4.1 Future Directions and Limitations

The current study emphasizes clinically relevant insights to the field of adolescent depression, specifically among Black youth whose parents endure racial discrimination. The study adds to the growing body of literature querying about the effects of racial discrimination, racial socialization's potential protective mechanism and the intergenerational impact of parents' own experiences of racial discrimination. The current study is one of very few studies that examines the intergenerational transmission of parental discrimination on youth depression outcomes, when accounting for racial socialization's impact. Further, it calls for greater attention and additional research within this younger population. Through continued investigation, future studies should incorporate the unique experience of racial socialization behaviors and the types

of behaviors that are endorsed by both caregivers. Relatedly, it would be fascinating for researchers to potentially integrate how parents'/caregivers' own experiences of discrimination impact their frequency of specific racial socialization practices and if those specific practices differ depending upon youths' age and gender. Additionally, future studies may focus on time and its influence on generational nuances when explaining one's perceptions around racism and racial socialization practices. Noting this, one's experiences with racial discrimination and how they parent their children based off of their own experiences warrants greater attention to time periods and their racial climates.

The current study examined depression outcomes in Black youth only, highlighting a relationship specifically targeted towards youths' internalized symptoms. Future research may also include examination of the intergenerational impact of parents' discrimination on youths' overall functioning more broadly. Additionally, addressing the influence of racial socialization into such analysis could extend this work to more culturally-affirming parent-child development programs that cater to Black families. Building upon this, more psychoeducation surrounding the intergenerational transmission could provide more guidance on how both Black youth and caregivers respond to experiences of discrimination and cope with resulting factors of depression.

Contextualization of current findings within Black literature proposes that Black parenting styles could give consideration to their own cultural values. However, exploring the nuances of Black caregiving individuals who reside in the United States, including individuals of other ethnicities, could allude to qualitatively different socialization styles and perceptions of racial discrimination. Building upon this, researching the nuances among the various ethnicities of Black families and youth could highlight the multi-levels components of one's discriminatory

experiences (e.g., institutional, individual or cultural racism) in relation to youths' depression outcomes.

Although the current findings can contribute and extend to literature on racial socialization, youth depression outcomes, and youth and parental racial discriminatory experiences, the results should be considered within the context of these limitations. The first limitation was that the study was conducted in Southern, rural Georgia, potentially minimizing the generalizability among Black youth and families in other geographical locations. Community members were self-identifying African Americans interested in participating in a family-centered preventive program. The lack of generalizability outside of the southern Georgia African American youth network has implications for differences in discriminatory experiences, racial socialization, and depression; Such differences may not hold for youth in other environments where these phenomena may not be as salient.

The second limitation was that the current study utilized a secondary dataset and study measures could not be altered. First, the variable used to measure youth depression, the Center of Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D) scale, primarily measured internalized symptoms of youth depression. Items in the scale comprised the majority of internalized factors such as sadness, withdrawal and hopelessness, compared to additional scales that may also query about externalized factors of depression (i.e., conduct, aggression, self-control, delinquency). Building upon existing literature that examines ethnic/racial differences in perceptions of and presentations of depression, this particular scale may not have the measurement properties that are inclusive among Black youth. Although utilized in previous studies with Black youth, scholars have noted the need for calibration of depression screening tools for Black youth (Lu et al., 2017). Current gold-standard psychometric assessments call for more distinct attention to the

needs and struggles of Black youth who have endured dissimilar experiences and traumas. Consequently, mental health practitioners and researchers are called to conceptualize depression's presentation among Black individuals from a more culturally-adapted lens. The lack of competence, diversity and trust within mental health professions reinforces the racial and ethnic disparity in care. Research has shown that Black adolescents express depressive symptoms differently compared to White and other racial groups (Breland-Noble et al., 2010), indicating the imperative need to understand the unique ways in which depression manifests for this particular group. Understanding the racial disparities in not only internalized but externalizing behaviors including academic underachievement, poor social interactions, and exhibited aggression is integral and may be explained by individual and institutional racism (e.g., implicit biases, unfair discipline policies).

In addition, the CES-D self-report scale was primarily developed to assess clinical depression among white adults and has yet to be fully validated as a representative screening tool for Black youth. Future studies warrant greater evaluation of measurement to consider representativeness to cultural, minoritized groups. Second, the measure utilized for youth racial socialization assesses youths' interpretations of their parents' socialization practices. While youth can be good reporters of their own experiences, parental versus youth reports may yield different perceptions of socialization behaviors. Thus, replication studies should consider racial socialization competency when analyzing its impact on the target population. Third, both parents and youth were self-reporters of their experiences of racial discrimination, depression, and socialization strategies. While self-report measures have their own advantages, they are also subject to biases and limitations. For example, individuals may over report or under report based on what they deem to be more socially acceptable. A final limitation for this study was the

measuring of parental/caregivers' reports of racial discrimination independently. Noting this, it is possible that joint scores for parental experiences of discrimination would yield differing results on youths' depression.

Despite these limitations, our analysis is one of the few that calls for intergenerational research to investigate the contribution of parents' discriminatory experiences on their children's depression outcomes through the role of racial socialization.

4.2 Implications

Considering the context of transgenerational effects from racial discrimination, these findings contribute to broader knowledge on racial discrimination, familial contexts and youth depression outcomes. The historical underpinnings of mistrust within the Black community serves as an additional barrier to Black youth and their families seeking and staying in mental health treatment. When addressing the hesitancy surrounding seeking mental health care, it is also important to be cognizant of systemic constructs that contribute to limited treatment modalities and awareness in mental care provision. Reinforcement of such medical mistrust has also been emphasized through differential treatment within depression care. Noting the established literature on intergenerational transmission, the multifaceted results may provide some insight into explaining Black youth mental health outcomes. This area of research may also inform future research that seeks to highlight racial socialization's role in psychosocial outcomes, when accounting for the intersectionality across Black family dynamics. Moreover, the research suggests that the mechanism of parental discrimination and racial socialization is not straightforward. There is abundant room for progress in future interventions that focus on youth mental health. The exploration calls for researchers to conduct more intergenerational research through the lens of socialization frameworks in order to identify the nature of these complex

relationships, and how such factors contribute to the transfer and enduring of experiences across generations.

5 CONCLUSION

In summary, the current study highlights the relational underpinnings of racism's harmful impact on Black youths' depression. It provides insight into the relationships among parental racial discrimination, youth racial socialization, and youth depression, particularly noting the partial influence of Black caregivers' experiences with racial discrimination on their youths' depression through their use of racial socialization messaging. Given the limited literature, the study offers valuable evidence to racial discrimination serving not as an isolated event but, creating experiences that are passed down through parents and connected through their usage of socialization behaviors. These findings can further our understanding of the influence of racism within the parenting context and how such shared experiences can impinge on one's immediate microsystem. The exploration of such intricacies within this growing but sparse research presents greater acknowledgement to an often overlooked and undervalued group.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table A. Descriptive information for the overall sample (Valid N=348)

	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> or %	<i>SD</i>	Range
Parental Report of Racial Discrimination (Father)	364	17.56	6.54	
Parental Report of Racial Discrimination (Mother)	364	14.93	5.29	
SES	355	-.0053	.764	
Gender	364	1.47	.500	
Age (years)	353	10.82	.965	9- 14
Youth Report of Racial Discrimination	364	13.37	4.95	
Youth Racial Socialization	364	22.41	5.73	
Total Child Depression Symptoms	364	13.09	7.67	

Table B. Bivariate correlations among fathers' experiences of discrimination, mothers' experiences of discrimination, racial socialization, youth depression, and covariate variables (N= 364 for Variables 1-5 & 7; N=355 for Variable 6; N=353 for Variable 8)

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	n	M	D
1. Youth Total Depression (W1; Child Report)	-	-.043	.016	.455**	.152*	-.123*	-.048	.037	364	13.09	7.67
2. Fathers' Experiences of Discrimination (W1)	-.043	-	.112*	.048	-.030	-.018	-.061	.084	364	17.56	6.54
3. Mother's Experiences of Discrimination (W1)	.016	.112*	-	.055	.021	.011	-.047	-.001	364	14.93	5.29
4. Youth's Experiences of Discrimination (W1)	.455*	.048	.055	-	.335*	-.019	-.081	.032	364	13.37	4.95
5. Racial Socialization (W1; Youth report)	.152*	-.030	.021	.335**	-	.007	.003	-.094	364	22.41	5.73
6. SES	-.123*	-.018	.011	-.019	.007	-	-.026	-.018	355	-.005	.77
7. Gender	-.048	-.061	-.047	-.081	.003	-.026	-	-.031	364	1.47	.50
8. Age (9-14)	.037	.084	-.001	.032	-.094	-.018	-.031	-	353	10.82	.97

Note. *Significant at .05 **Significant at .01

Table C. Regression Analysis, Effect of Fathers' Racial Discrimination on Youth Depression ^a

Effect	Estimate (β)	SE	95% CI		p
			LL	UL	
Model 1					
(Constant)		1.193	11.80	16.49	<.001
Father's Racial Discrimination	-.043	.064	-.176	.074	.421
Model 2					
(Constant)		4.493	-6.485	11.191	.601
Father's Racial Discrimination	-.058	.057	-.180	.042	.223
Gender ^b	-.016	.739	-1.696	1.211	.743
Age ^c	.034	.386	-.484	1.036	.475
SES	-.121	.479	-2.158	-.273	.012
Youth Discrimination	.451	.075	.559	.854	<.001

Note.

^a Dependent Variable: Youth total depression

^b Youth gender

^c Youth age

Table D. Regression Analysis, Effect of Mothers' Racial Discrimination on Youth Depression ^a

Effect	Estimate (β)	SE	95% CI		p
			LL	UL	
Model 1					
(Constant)		1.237	10.569	14.435	<.001
Mother's Racial Discrimination	.011	.078	-.137	.170	.834
Model 2					
(Constant)		4.571	-7.217	10.767	.698
Mother's Racial Discrimination	-.013	.069	-.156	.117	.780
Gender ^b	-.014	.741	-1.676	1.238	.768
Age ^c	.030	.386	-.518	1.001	.533
SES	-.120	.480	-2.148	-.260	.013
Youth Discrimination	.450	.075	.558	.854	<.001

Note.

^a Dependent Variable: Youth total depression

^b Youth gender

^c Youth age

Table E. Regression Analysis, Effect of Fathers' Racial Discrimination on Racial Socialization^a

Effect	Estimate (β)	SE	95% CI		p
			LL	UL	
Model 1					
(Constant)		.887	21.360	24.851	<.001
Father's Racial Discrimination	-.039	.047	-.128	.058	.464
Model 2					
(Constant)		3.553	17.437	31.413	<.001
Father's Racial Discrimination	-.038	.045	-.121	.055	.460
Gender ^b	.024	.584	-.878	1.421	.643
Age ^c	-.108	.305	-1.253	-.051	.034
Youth Discrimination	.339	.059	.278	.511	<.001
SES	.013	.379	-.648	.842	.798

Note.

^a Dependent Variable: Youth racial socialization

^b Youth gender

^c Youth age

Table F. Regression Analysis, Effect of Mothers' Racial Discrimination on Racial Socialization^a

Effect	Estimate (β)	SE	95% CI		p
			LL	UL	
Model 1					
(Constant)		.921	20.516	24.137	<.001
Mother's Racial Discrimination	.010	.058	-.103	.125	.846
Model 2					
(Constant)		3.610	17.043	31.245	<.001
Mother's Racial Discrimination	-.008	.055	-.117	.099	.869
Gender ^b	.025	.585	-.868	1.433	.629
Age ^c	-.111	.305	-1.268	-.069	.029
Youth Discrimination	.338	.059	.278	.511	<.001
SES	.014	.379	-.643	.848	.787

Note.

^a Dependent Variable: Youth racial socialization

^b Youth gender

^c Youth age

Table G. Regression Analysis, Effect of Youths' Racial Socialization on Depression Outcomes^a

Effect	Estimate (β)	SE	95% CI		p
			LL	UL	
Model 1					
(Constant)		1.660	5.657	12.188	<.001
Racial Socialization	.143	.072	.052	.333	.008
Model 2					
(Constant)		4.739	-7.783	10.861	.746
Racial Socialization	-.002	.068	-.137	.132	.969
Gender ^b	-.014	.741	-1.666	1.247	.778
Age ^c	.030	.389	-.524	1.005	.537
Youth Discrimination	.450	.080	.549	.863	<.001
SES	-.120	.480	-2.149	-.261	.013

Note.

^a Dependent Variable: Youth total depression

^b Youth gender

^c Youth age

Table H. Fathers' Mediation Model

Effect	Path	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p
				LL	UL	
Total	Parental Discrimination → Depression	-.0134	.0693	-.1158	.1170	.7802
Indirect	Parental Discrimination → Racial Socialization → Depression	.0000		-.0087	.0069	
Direct	Parental Discrimination → Depression	-.0134	.0694	-.1560	.1172	.7802

Table I. Mothers' Mediation Model

Effect	Path	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p
				LL	UL	
Total	Parental Discrimination → Depression	-.0134	.0693	-.1158	.1170	.7802
Indirect	Parental Discrimination → Racial Socialization → Depression	.0000		-.0087	.0069	
Direct	Parental Discrimination → Depression	-.0134	.0694	-.1560	.1172	.7802

<p>I. ANTECEDENT VARIABLES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Person Factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Race/ethnicity, gender, age, language, physical characteristics • Socioenvironmental Factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Current sociopolitical context, regional/geographic location, socioeconomic status (SES), racial composition of contexts 	<p>IV. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal Characteristics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Self-esteem, self-efficacy, cognitive appraisal, and attributions • Sociocultural Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Worldview, cultural values, spirituality, racial/ethnic identity, racism-related coping styles, psychological acculturation, racial attitudes • Affective and Behavioral Responses to Stress <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Affective reactions (sadness, anger, humiliation, etc.), specific coping behavior (problem-focused/emotion-focused, active/passive, inner-directed/outer-directed, individual/collective) • External Resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Social support (intragroup, community, intergroup, societal)
<p>II. FAMILIAL AND SOCIALIZATION INFLUENCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family Characteristics/Dynamics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Family structure and roles • Racial Socialization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Family, community, institutional 	<p>V. OUTCOMES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Hypertension, cardiovascular reactivity, risk behavior (e.g., cigarette smoking) • Psychological <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Depression, anxiety, trauma-related symptoms, hostility • Social <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Social connectedness; intragroup, intergroup relations • Functional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Job performance, academic achievement, parental functioning • Spiritual <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Loss of faith, meaningless, existential angst

<p>III. SOURCES OF STRESS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism Related Stress <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Racism-related life events, daily racism microstressors, chronic conditions of living, collective/group perceptions, transgenerational transmission of trauma • Other Status-Related Stress <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Sexism, heterosexism, religious discrimination, disability discrimination, ageism, classism • Generic Stressors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Episodic life events, daily hassles, role strain, multiple roles, role conflict 	
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Figure A. Harrell (2000) Model of Racism-Related Stress and Well-Being: Domains and Selected Variables

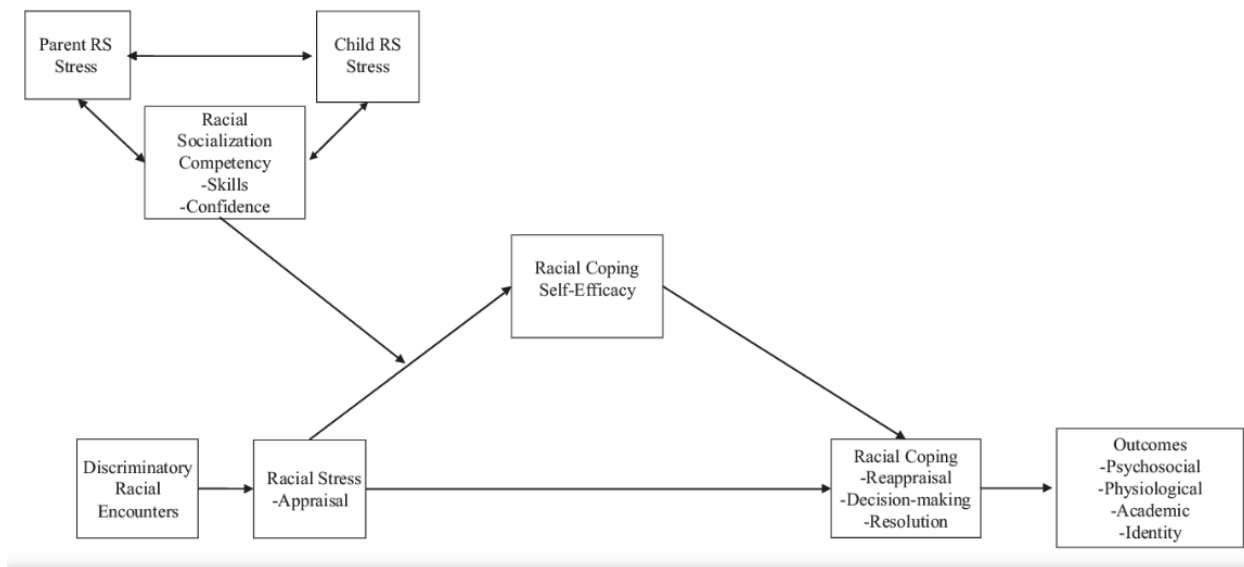


Figure B. The moderating role of racial socialization in stress, self-efficacy, and coping processes through the Racial Encountering Coping Appraisal and Socialization Theory (RECAST). RS racial socialization. Anderson and Stevenson (2019).



Figure C. Regression Model (Specific Aim 1)

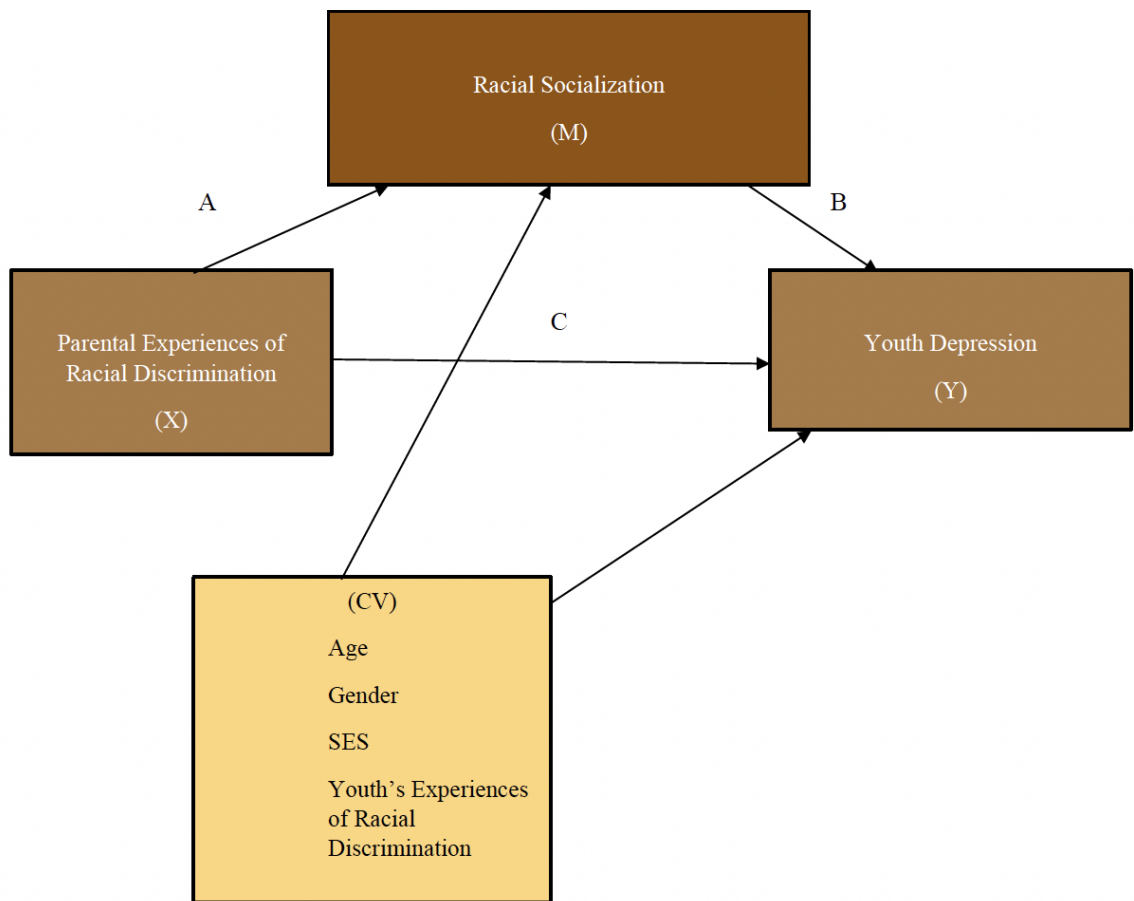
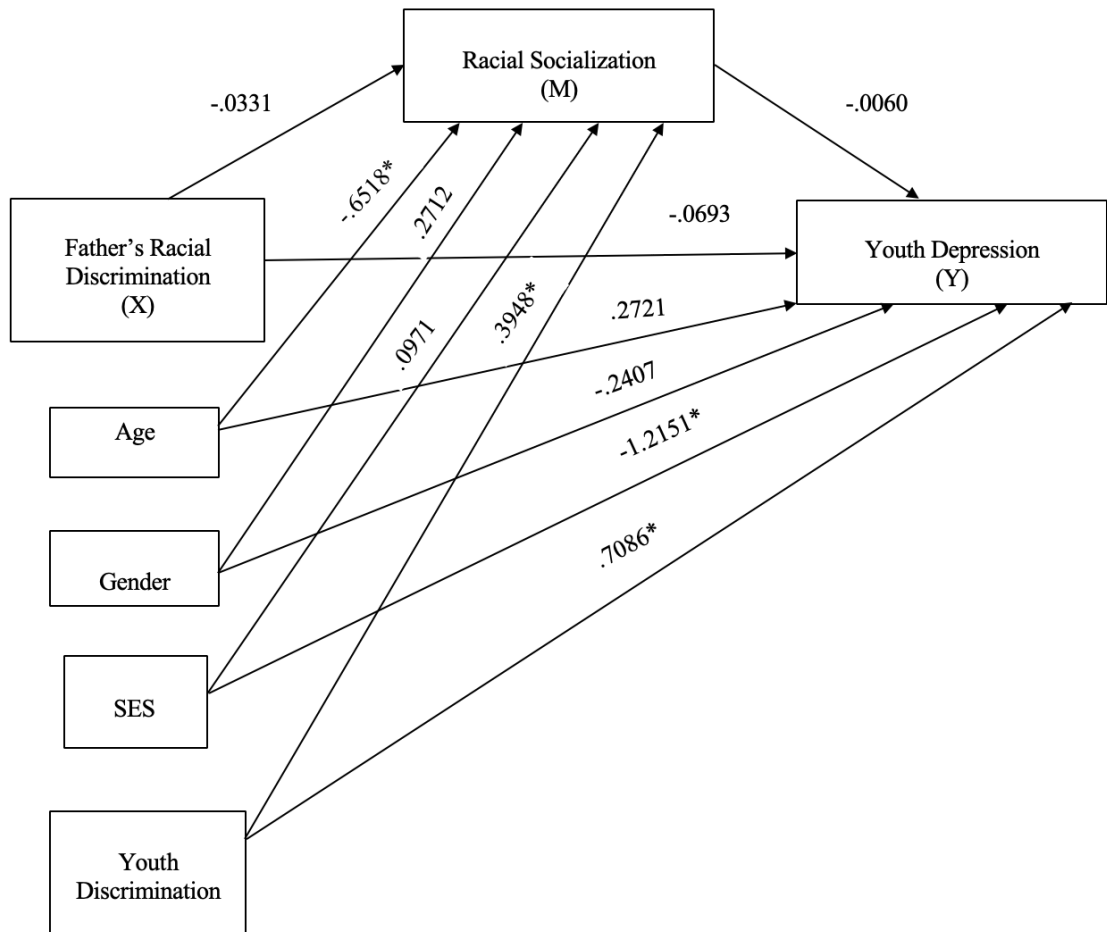
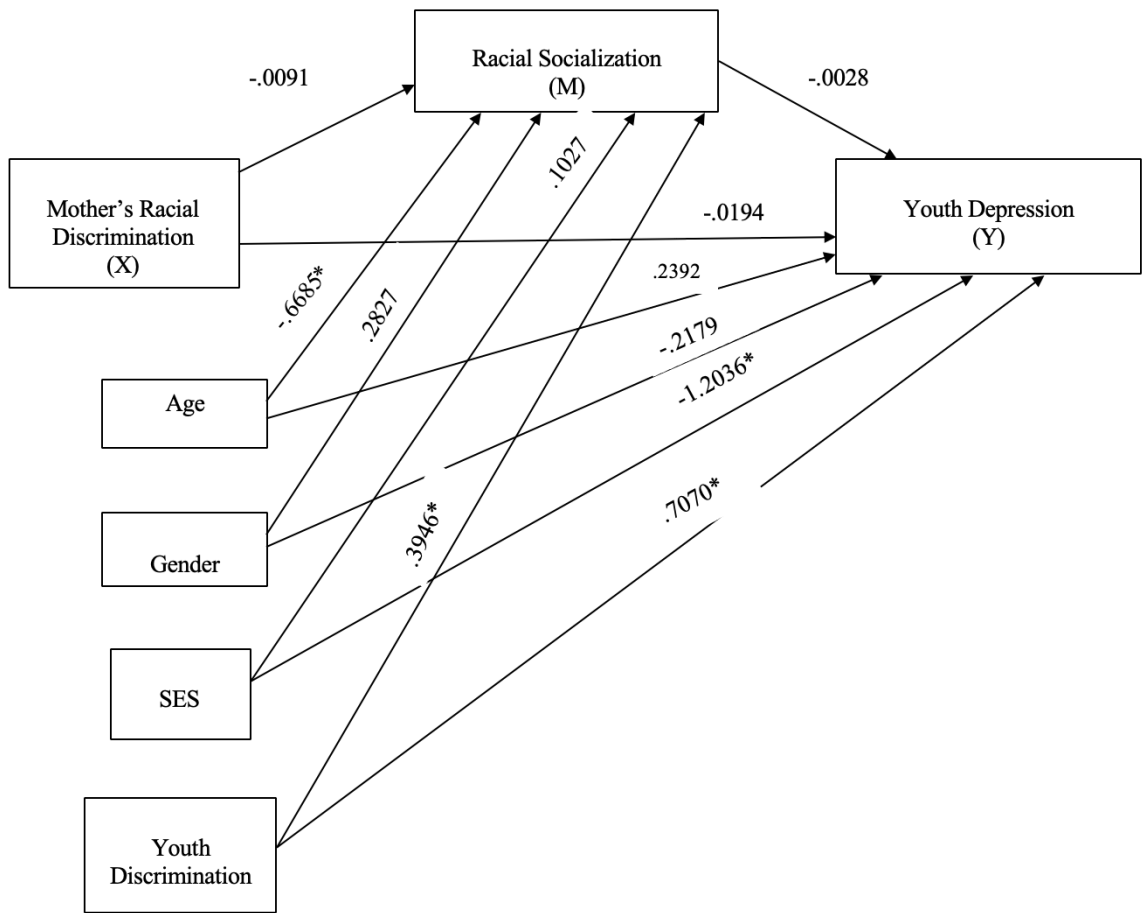


Figure D. Conceptual Mediation Model (Specific Aim 2)



Note. *Significant at .05

Figure E. Mediation Model of Fathers' Experiences of Discrimination on Youth Depression with Racial Socialization as a Mediator



Note. *Significant at .05

Figure F. Mediation Model of Mothers' Experiences of Discrimination on Youth Depression with Racial Socialization as a Mediator