

Workplace Discrimination Predicting Racial/Ethnic Socialization Across African American, Latino, and Chinese Families

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Informed by Kohn and Schooler's (1969) occupational socialization framework, this study examined linkages between racial/ethnic minority mothers' perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace and adolescents' accounts of racial/ethnic socialization in the home. Data were collected from 100 mother–early adolescent dyads who participated in a longitudinal study of urban adolescents' development in the Northeastern United States, including African American, Latino, and Chinese families. Mothers and adolescents completed surveys separately. We found that when mothers reported more frequent institutional discrimination at work, adolescents reported more frequent preparation for bias messages at home, across racial/ethnic groups. Mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudice at work were associated with more frequent cultural socialization messages among African American and Latino families. Chinese youth reported fewer cultural socialization messages when mothers perceived more frequent interpersonal prejudice at work. Findings are discussed in the context of minority groups' distinct social histories and economic status in the United States.

Keywords: early adolescence, occupational socialization, racial/ethnic discrimination, racial/ethnic socialization, work–family

The work–family literature has grown exponentially over the past 40 years, spurred by an unprecedented increase in female labor force participation, expansion of the 24-hr economy, changing job demands, and the rising job insecurity of globalizing markets (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005). Researchers, employers, and policymakers have been concerned with how these changes in the labor market affect workers' and their families' well-being. Most studies have drawn on the tradition of the work–family stress/resource framework, identifying mechanisms that link job-related stress and rewards to health outcomes (e.g., Goodman & Crouter, 2009; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). A small set of work, informed by the occupational socialization framework, has identified ways in which occupational structures and opportunities shape workers' values and consequently their beliefs vis-à-vis skills children need for success in their adult social roles (e.g., Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986).

Both these strands of research have paid only limited attention to the ways in which ethnic minority status, and social processes related to it, constitutes a unique context in which especially women of color carry out their work and family roles. Racial/ethnic minority workers encounter discrimination at the institu-

tional and interpersonal level (Herring, 2002). At home, in addition to the socialization tasks that nonminority parents emphasize, racial/ethnic minority mothers in particular are figuring out what and how to teach their children about their cultural history and about discrimination and prejudice (Hughes et al., 2006). However, researchers have only rarely investigated how ethnic minority women's experiences of discrimination at work may be associated with varied outcomes in the family domain. Particularly underexplored are potential processes of occupational socialization, namely the possibility that workplace racial/ethnic discrimination experiences shape mothers' ideas about what their children need to know about their cultural history, social hierarchies, and opportunity structures to be prepared for their adult roles.

The goals of the current study were to advance the literature on work–family dynamics in racial/ethnic minority families, particularly with regard to mothers' encounters of racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace, and to broaden our conceptualization of occupational socialization processes generally. To this end, this study examined linkages between racial/ethnic minority women's experience of racial/ethnic discrimination at work and their early adolescent-aged children's reports of discussions with their parents around cultural pride and heritage, and the possibility of being discriminated against (i.e., *racial/ethnic socialization*).

The Occupational Socialization Framework

Kohn and Schooler (1969) have argued that occupational experiences, particularly those related to occupational roles and hierarchies, shape workers' social values and expectations. The occupational socialization framework especially proposes that work experiences influence workers' parenting values and behaviors by shaping their ideas of what their children need to know and learn

This article was published Online First August 18, 2014.

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This study was supported by grants awarded to Diane Hughes, from the National Science Foundation (NSF)—NSF 0218159, NSF 0721383, as well as the William T. Grant Foundation (WT Grant)—WT Grant 2642.

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to succeed as adults. To the extent that job characteristics reflect differences in workers' social class, Kohn and Schooler have argued that occupational socialization is the process by which social stratification impacts family processes and children's development. For example, several nationally representative, longitudinal studies have found that middle-class workers, whose jobs grant them autonomy and self-direction, value self-directive rather than conforming behavior in their children, while working-class parents, who experience more control from others on their jobs, tend to value obedience and conformity in their children (Kohn & Schoenbach, 1993; Kohn et al., 1986). Similarly, greater job complexity has been linked to mothers interacting with their young children in ways that foster self-direction and autonomy (Menaghan, Kowaleski-Jones, & Mott, 1997).

As a theoretical framework, however, the occupational socialization perspective remains underutilized. In addition to autonomy, self-direction, and job complexity, other work context variables are likely to shape workers' values and parenting practices. Racial/ethnic discrimination is one set of such work context variables. Reflective of broader social stratification, racial/ethnic discrimination experiences in the workplace are likely to elicit a process of occupational socialization by which such experiences shape how racial/ethnic minority workers will talk to their children about their cultural background and the possibility of being discriminated against.

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination in the Workplace

Racial/ethnic minority workers continue to experience discrimination in American workplaces, ranging from overt discrimination in the way jobs are structured, promotions occur, and pay is distributed (*institutional discrimination*) to *interpersonal prejudices* expressed in comments, slurs, and the patterns of social interactions. A total of 33,512 allegations of racial discrimination were filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 2012. An additional 10,883 allegations of national origin discrimination were filed (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2013). Audit studies have shown that sending equally qualified White and racial/ethnic minority candidates for job interviews, the former are more likely to be called back and to be hired than the latter (Heckman, 1998; Fix & Turner, 1998). In the 2007 National Survey of Latinos, 51% perceived workplace discrimination to be major problem and 16% reported they had been denied a job or a promotion because of their race (Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation, 2007). In a survey of African Americans in Atlanta, 61% reported having experienced race-based discrimination at work (Din-Dzietham, Nembhard, Collins, & Davis, 2004). In a study of professional workers, 50% of African Americans, 57% of Asians, and 37% of Latinos reported having experienced race-related bullying at work (Fox & Stallworth, 2005).

Exposure to racial/ethnic discrimination at work is associated with a host of negative outcomes for workers and their families, including decreased job satisfaction, and mental and physical health problems (e.g., Deitch et al., 2003). Little is known about the consequences that exposure to discrimination may have on mothers' parenting practices. In particular, the question as to whether and how racial/ethnic discrimination in the context of one's work shape women's beliefs about what their children must

understand about race and ethnicity, and their attendant racial/ethnic socialization practices, remains underexplored.

Racial/Ethnic Socialization

Racial/ethnic socialization is an important aspect of parenting among racial/ethnic minority families, including African American, Latino, and Asian families (Hughes et al., 2006; Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith, & Johnson, 2009). It captures the full range and complexity of parental actions—implicit, explicit, proactive, reactive, conscious, unconscious—that convey messages about race and ethnicity to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Researchers distinguish between two dimensions of racial/ethnic socialization: *Preparation for bias* refers to messages aimed at making children aware of racial/ethnic discrimination in society, and to prepare them to cope with such biases when they encounter them. It encompasses direct and indirect discussions about discrimination and the use of media to explain instances of racial bias. *Cultural socialization* describes practices that teach children about their cultural heritage and encourage them to be proud of their ethnic group membership. These range from celebrations of cultural holidays and visits to museums, to the foods, languages, artifacts and books in families' homes, to explicit discussions about ethnic identity and pride as well as the importance to valuing cultural diversity.

Parents' discrimination experiences may be important precursors to their racial/ethnic socialization practices, especially in terms of the frequency of their preparation for bias (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). With regard to workplace discrimination, studies have found that when African American mothers of early adolescents reported more frequent interpersonal prejudice at work they also reported more frequent preparation for bias (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and cultural socialization in the home (Crouter, Baril, Davis & McHale, 2008). Although these studies are consistent with the notion that discrimination experiences at work contribute to how parents socialize their children around ethnicity/race, they are methodologically partial. Mothers reported on both their discrimination experiences and on their racial/ethnic socialization practices. Associations may have been inflated as a result of shared method variances or the possibility that one measure primed responses to the other measure. Moreover, considering that parents' and children's perceptions of racial/ethnic socialization are distinct, discrimination experiences may be associated with the messages mothers believe they transmit but not with those youth receive (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009).

The Present Study

Embedded in the occupational socialization framework, the current study extends the small body of work that has examined associations between mothers' experiences of workplace discrimination and racial/ethnic socialization in the home in two important ways. It is the first study to utilize cross-informant reports to examine whether mothers' reports of workplace discrimination experiences are associated with adolescents' reports of ethnic/racial socialization. Moreover, to our knowledge this is the only study to date that examined relationships between experiences of workplace discrimination and racial/ethnic socialization across different racial/ethnic groups. We tested distinct hypotheses for African American and Latino families, on one hand, and Chinese families, on the other hand.

African American and Latino Families

We expected African American mothers' perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination at work to be related to more frequent preparation for bias and cultural socialization messages with their adolescents. African American parents' discrimination experiences are embedded in a history of slavery and racial segregation. Parents may thus interpret them as manifestations of perpetuated racism rather than as isolated and fleeting events. In addition, as conversations about race and interracial protocol have a long history in the United States, African American parents draw on models of how to discuss race-related experiences and discrimination with children that have been transmitted over generations (Ritterhouse, 2006). In previous studies, African American parents' experiences of discrimination, including workplace discrimination, predicted more frequent preparation for bias and cultural socialization in the home (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, 2003; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010).

Notwithstanding their cultural differences and distinct histories, we expected the pattern of associations between ethnic/racial discrimination at work and ethnic/racial socialization processes among Latino families (i.e., Dominican and Puerto Rican families in this study) to be similar to those among African American families, for a number of reasons. Like African Americans, Latinos are overrepresented in low-skill, low-wage jobs (Tienda & Mitchell, 2006), and Latino youth, similar to their African American counterparts, encounter racial bias across multiple contexts (Szalacha et al., 2003). Latino parents talk to youth about discrimination and aim to foster youths' ethnic pride and cultural knowledge partly to build resilience in the face of perpetual racism against their racial/ethnic groups (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2008). In one study, Dominican and Puerto Rican parents who reported having experienced discrimination, yet not specific to the workplace, also reported more frequent discussions about discrimination with their adolescents (Hughes, 2003).

Chinese Families

Like other racial/ethnic minority families, Chinese families look back at a history of exclusion and discrimination in the United States and confront the question of whether and how to talk to their children about racial/ethnic bias in society while nurturing a positive racial/ethnic identity (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Young & Takeuchi, 1998). In previous research, Chinese parents who reported more personal discrimination experiences also reported more preparation for bias with their adolescents (Benner & Kim, 2009). We thus expected for this study that Chinese mothers who experienced more frequent workplace discrimination would also discuss discrimination more frequently with their children.

In addition, we explored the possibility that Chinese mothers who experience more workplace discrimination de-emphasize rather than promote cultural socialization with their children, as a result of the possibility that they, unlike their African American and Latina counterparts, view their position in the U.S. social structure as transitory rather than enduring. Indeed, several scholars have suggested that Chinese immigrants attribute discrimination experiences to their status as foreigners, particularly to a lack of English language skills and American cultural knowledge (Benner & Kim, 2009; Tuan, 1998). Qualitative research suggests that when Chinese parents experience discrimination or learn that

their children have had such experiences, they may respond by downplaying the distinctiveness of their Chinese heritage and by encouraging youths' assimilation, hard work, and language competencies (Hughes et al., 2008). Chinese parents may expect that their children can avoid negative stereotypes if they speak English well and succeed academically. Moreover, Chinese parents have reason to feel optimistic about their children's economic opportunities. Chinese youth encounter favorable stereotypes about their potential skills and abilities (Kao, 1995) and outperform their White, African American, and Latino peers academically (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). As cultural socialization entails the notion of upholding foreign roots and nurturing a non-American aspect of adolescents' identity, we tested the hypothesis that Chinese mothers' encounters of ethnic/racial discrimination at work would be associated with fewer cultural socialization messages for youth.

Hypotheses

This study tested the following hypotheses:

1. Mothers' reports of institutional discrimination (H1a) and interpersonal prejudice (H1b) at work will be related to more frequent preparation for bias messages in the home, across ethnic/racial groups.
2. Mothers' reports of institutional discrimination (H2a) and interpersonal prejudice (H2b) at work will be related to more frequent cultural socialization messages among African American and Latino families, and to less frequent cultural socialization among Chinese families.

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 100 mother–early adolescent dyads that were part of a larger, longitudinal study of ethnically diverse, urban families, which investigated contextual influences on early adolescents' development. Mothers were on average 40 years old ($SD = 7.7$ years). Sixteen percent had not completed high school, 32% had a high school degree or GED, 24% had attained some college credits, 16% completed a college degree, and 12% had attended graduate courses or completed a postcollege degree. Mothers worked in a variety of jobs (e.g., health aides, teachers, office clerks, factory workers, cleaning personnel, and social workers, etc.) The majority of women (58%) lived with a partner. Representing the racial/ethnic focus of the larger study, women identified as African American/Black (44%, 86% U.S. born), Chinese (24%, 0% U.S. born), Dominican (22%, 9% U.S. born), or Puerto Rican (10%, 60% U.S. born). Adolescents (47% male, 88% U.S. born) were between 11 and 13 years old when they first participated in the study in either sixth grade (92%) or seventh grade (8%). Nearly all adolescents identified with their mother's racial/ethnic groups, with the exception of three who identified as Dominican, whereas their mothers identified as Black. Two adolescents identified as Dominican, whereas their mothers identified as Puerto Rican.

Procedure

The larger, longitudinal study from which this sample was drawn recruited students from six public middle schools in a large city in the Northeastern United States. Schools were chosen from a pool that included high- and low-achieving schools as reflected in aggregate standardized test scores, and schools with substantial representation of the ethnic/racial groups of interest to the study: African American, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and White. Eligible schools were approached and ask to participate. The study consists of two cohorts of adolescents, recruited in 2005 and 2006, respectively, from all sixth grade classrooms within participating schools, excluding self-contained and English as a Second Language classrooms. During recruitment, research assistants visited classrooms to tell youth about the study. Youth received information sheets and parental consent forms. Positive incentives (e.g., pens) were used, in addition to offering a small monetary incentive for survey completion. Student data were collected through annual surveys in the spring of students' sixth, seventh, and eighth grade years. Each year, new students were recruited from seventh and eighth grade classrooms in which their peers already participated. A total of 1031 students took part in the larger study.

Mothers of participating youth were invited to partake in a smaller, family study that accompanied the larger study of early adolescents. The family study asked mothers to participate twice in data collection: once in the spring of their child's sixth or seventh grade year and again in the spring of their child's eighth grade year. The current study relies on survey responses from women collected during the first wave of data collection. Of the 254 mothers who participated in the first wave of data collection, 58 (23%) were not working for pay at the time of the interview. Another 64 (25%) were excluded because they identified as European American or White, in which case workplace discrimination and ethnic/racial socialization questions have a fundamentally different meaning. Fourteen women (6%) considered questions regarding workplace discrimination not applicable to them because they were self-employed or worked mostly alone or in ethnically homogenous workplaces. We further excluded 15 cases (6%) because interviewers had not reached the section that contained the

work-related questions after 2.5 hours of interviewing, and 3 cases (1%) because youth had not completed any racial/ethnic socialization measures. Data from 100 mother-adolescent dyads were thus available for the current analysis.

Data Collection

A research assistant met with each mother individually at the family home or at other places (e.g., workplaces) mothers deemed convenient. Mothers chose to take the survey in English, Spanish, Mandarin, or Cantonese. The research assistant read each question out loud. Mothers indicated their answers on Likert-type response scales. Mothers were asked about a broad range of experiences, including issues pertaining to their work. Surveys administration lasted about two hours. Mothers received \$40 for completion.

Student surveys were administered at the school during two class periods deemed appropriate by the teacher. During sixth grade administration, survey questions were read out loud while students answered them individually. In later years, students read the questions and completed surveys on their own. The student survey, too, covered a broad range of experiences, including students' reports on their parents' racial/ethnic socialization practices. All surveys were spot-checked during each administration period. Each student received \$5 after completing the survey. This study utilized students' annual reports of racial/ethnic socialization across the three waves of data collection.

Measures

Table 1 summarizes the descriptive statistics of all variables for the sample as a whole. The appendix lists all items for each of the main measures of interest in this study.

Workplace discrimination. We assessed workplace discrimination along two dimensions: *Institutional discrimination* and *interpersonal prejudice* (Hughes & Dodge, 1997). On a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), women rated five items pertaining to institutional discrimination (e.g., "At the place where you work, [racial/ethnic group] get the least desirable assignments," $\alpha = .88$) and four items capturing interpersonal prejudice

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Racial/Ethnic Group Differences for all Variables in the Analysis

Variable	Range [Scale]	Full	African American	Latina	Chinese	χ^2 (2) or F(2, 97)
		(N = 100) M (SD) or %	(n = 44) M (SD) or %	(n = 32) M (SD) or %	(n = 24) M (SD) or %	
Male (adolescent)	0/1	46%	45%	48%	46%	ns
Foreign born	0/1	55%	14%	75%	100%	53.98***
College degree	0/1	27%	32%	34%	8%	ns
Job prestige	20-73 [14-86]	42.94 (12.04)	43.57 (10.14)	45.19 (12.74)	38.79 (13.50)	ns
None/few same-race coworkers	0/1	26%	18%	41%	21%	ns
Job satisfaction	1-7 [1-7]	4.62 (1.36)	4.61 (1.42)	4.75 (1.46)	4.46 (1.18)	ns
Mental health	2.33-5 [1-5]	4.24 (.65)	4.28 (.63)	4.28 (.58)	4.10 (.78)	ns
Race-related daily hassles	1-5 [1-5]	2.25 (.75)	2.55 (.70) ^a	1.97 (.66) ^b	2.08 (.78) ^b	7.19**
Institutional discrimination	1-4 [1-4]	1.94 (.86)	2.16 (.99)	1.82 (.73)	1.69 (.66)	ns
Interpersonal prejudice	1-4 [1-4]	2.07 (.83)	2.27 (.91)	1.97 (.83)	1.82 (.61)	ns
Cultural socialization	1-3 [1-3]	2.27 (.49)	2.40 (.41) ^a	2.33 (.49) ^a	1.97 (.53) ^b	7.04**
Preparation for bias	1-3 [1-3]	1.53 (.48)	1.78 (.51) ^a	1.28 (.27) ^b	1.38 (.39) ^b	15.14***

^{a,b} indicate significant differences between groups based on Bonferroni post-tests.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

(e.g., “At the place where you work, people have stereotypes against people of your ethnic group that affect how they judge you,” $\alpha = .88$). We established the empirical distinctiveness of these two dimensions in this sample with an exploratory factor analysis. A two-factor solution fit the data better than a one-factor solution, $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 27.24, p = .002$. We used confirmatory factor analyses to establish full pattern invariance for each dimension across racial/ethnic groups. Full pattern invariance is achieved when a model that constrains corresponding factor loadings to be the same across groups is not significantly different from a model in which factor loadings are allowed to vary (Gregorich, 2006). In this process, two items from Hughes and Dodge’s (1997) original 6-item measure of interpersonal prejudice were excluded because their invariant factor loadings were comparatively small (i.e., .56 and .61) and decreased the measure’s overall reliability.

Racial/Ethnic socialization. *Preparation for bias and cultural socialization* were measured in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade adolescent surveys with items adapted from prior studies (Hughes, 2003; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). Adolescents rated items on a three-point scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *a few times*, 3 = *a lot of times*). Five items represented preparation for bias messages (e.g., “How often have your parents said some people may treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?”). This measure showed adequate reliability for each year of the study (sixth grade $\alpha = .80$, seventh grade $\alpha = .86$, eighth grade $\alpha = .84$). Six items represented cultural socialization messages (e.g., “How often have your parents said you should be proud to be the race or ethnicity that you are?”). The measure showed adequate reliability for each year of the study (sixth grade $\alpha = .79$, seventh grade $\alpha = .86$, eighth grade $\alpha = .87$). Both measures showed full pattern invariance for boys versus girls, across racial/ethnic groups, and across the three years of the study. We found no evidence of systematic change or growth in either dimension of racial/ethnic socialization over time in this sample and therefore averaged data across the three waves to create the most reliable measure of each construct (preparation for bias $\alpha = .73$; cultural socialization $\alpha = .77$).

Race/Ethnicity. The sample included women who had self-identified as African American, Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Chinese when asked to check as many categories as applied from a wider list of prescribed racial/ethnic categories. Mothers who identified with more than one racial/ethnic group were asked to specify which group they felt most part of. In the current analysis, Dominican and Puerto Rican women represented the Latina group.

Covariates. We adjusted each model for mothers’ education (0 = *no college degree*, 1 = *college degree*), immigration status (0 = *U.S. born*; 1 = *foreign born*), proportion of same race workers in the workplace (0 = *some, most, or all*; 1 = *none, or a few*), the National Opinion Research Center’s occupational prestige codes (Nakao & Treas, 1994), as well as maternal mental health and job satisfaction. *Mental health* was measured with Kessler et al.’s (2002) K6 measure of psychological distress ($\alpha = .80$). Higher scores represented better mental health. *Maternal job satisfaction* was measured on a 7-point scale asking women to indicate their feelings about their job as a whole (1 = *terrible* to 7 = *delighted*; Quinn & Staines, 1979). We also included a measure of women’s experiences of *race-related daily hassles* as covariate, assessed with three questions adapted from the Detroit Areas Study’s measure of everyday racism (Williams, Spencer, &

Jackson, 1999). On a scale of 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*), mothers responded to questions such as “How often are you treated with less respect than other people because you are [ethnic group]?” ($\alpha = .81$). We established full pattern invariance for this measure across racial/ethnic groups. By adjusting for women’s perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination more generally, we were able to assess the unique relationship between work-related discrimination experiences and parenting practices, as hypothesized by the occupational socialization framework.

Analytic Plan

To examine associations between mothers’ perceptions of workplace discrimination and adolescents’ reports of racial/ethnic socialization, we ran a series of multiple regression models for preparation for bias and cultural socialization, respectively. For each outcome, we first ran a model that included all covariates and estimated the main effects of institutional discrimination and interpersonal prejudice, respectively. The second model included interaction terms to test whether associations between each type of workplace discrimination (i.e., institutional discrimination and interpersonal prejudice) and each dimension of racial/ethnic socialization varied across racial/ethnic groups. Continuous variables in these models were mean-centered. Analyses were conducted in Mplus6 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010), utilizing the full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation method. FIML provides efficient statistical parameter estimation from incomplete data and thus allowed us to retain cases with missing data in the analysis (Schafer, 1997). In our sample, 11 cases (11%) had incomplete information: Four women (4%) did not complete the job satisfaction measure, four women (4%) did not provide information on the ethnic composition of their workplace, three women (3%) did not indicate their educational level, and one woman’s (1%) immigration status remained unknown.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 and 2 report descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations among all study variables. Women reported relatively low levels of both institutional discrimination and interpersonal prejudice in their workplace. However, only 25% of women indicated that they “*disagreed strongly*” with all indicators of institutional discrimination. Only 19% “*disagreed strongly*” with all indicators of interpersonal prejudice. Chinese youth reported less cultural socialization than other groups, and African American youth reported more frequent preparation for bias than other groups. On average youth reported more frequent cultural socialization than preparation for bias, $t(99) = 10.71, p = .001$. To understand potential selection biases, we compared racial/ethnic socialization scores from students whose mothers had selected into the family study to those of students whose mothers did not participate. We found no differences between these groups.

Multiple Regression Models: Preparation for Bias

We first estimated the main effects of institutional discrimination (H1a) and interpersonal prejudice (H1b) on preparation for

Table 2
Zero-Order Correlations Between All Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. African American	1														
2. Latina	-.61**	1													
3. Chinese	-.50**	-.39**	1												
4. Foreign born	-.71**	.28**	.51**	1											
5. College degree	.10	.11	-.24*	-.03	1										
6. Male (adolescent)	.003	-.01	.01	.20*	-.04	1									
7. Job prestige	.05	.13	-.19	-.11	.52**	.05	1								
8. None/few same-race co. ^a	-.16	.23*	-.07	-.10	-.00	-.00	.16	1							
9. Job satisfaction	-.00	.07	-.07	-.02	.14	.17	-.02	-.04	1						
10. Mental health	.06	.05	-.12	-.11	.10	-.02	.00	.05	-.04	1					
11. Race-related daily hassles	.36**	-.26**	-.13	-.39**	.11	.12	-.03	.07	.09	.06	1				
12. Institutional discrimin. ^b	.23*	-.10	-.16	-.30**	.14	.01	.21*	.09	-.08	.36**	.06	1			
13. Interpersonal prejudice	.22*	-.08	-.17	-.18	.26**	.09	-.00	.17	-.10	.38**	.69**	.04	1		
14. Preparation for bias	.48**	-.36**	-.17	-.32**	.05	.01	-.11	.00	.03	.17	.25*	.12	.02	1	
15. Cultural socialization	.23*	.08	-.35**	-.20*	.09	.01	-.11	.21*	.18	.10	.07	.25*	.24*	-.06	1

^a None or a few same-race coworkers. ^b Institutional discrimination.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

bias in the sample as a whole, adjusting for covariates. Table 3, Model 1, summarizes these results. In line with our hypothesis, institutional discrimination was positively associated with preparation for bias. Interpersonal prejudice, however, was not a significant predictor. The model explained 35% of variance in preparation for bias ($R^2 = .35$). To rule out the possibility that as a result of their moderately high correlation ($r = .68$), the effect of institutional discrimination masked a relationship between interpersonal prejudice and preparation for bias, we reestimated the model excluding institutional discrimination. Still, interpersonal prejudice was not a significant predictor of preparation for bias ($b = .03$, $SE = .06$, ns).

Table 3, Model 2, summarizes the second step of the analysis, testing whether relationships between institutional discrimination and interpersonal prejudice vis-à-vis preparation for bias varied across racial/ethnic groups. None of the four interaction terms were significant. To test the robustness of those findings, we examined interactions between mothers' racial/ethnic backgrounds and each type of workplace discrimination separately, but found no evidence that the associations between preparation for bias and either dimension of workplace discrimination varied reliably across ethnic/racial groups. The large standard errors around the parameter estimates of the interaction effects, however, indicate some instability in the estimates.

Table 3
Results From Multiple Regression Models Predicting Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization From Workplace Discrimination, Using Full Information Maximum Likelihood Estimation ($N = 100$ Mother–Early Adolescent Dyads)

Predictors	Preparation for bias				Cultural socialization			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	1.73***	0.09	1.69***	0.09	2.45***	0.09	2.38***	0.10
Boy (Adolescent) ^a	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.09	-0.05	0.09	0.01	0.15
Latina	-0.52***	0.13	-0.51***	0.13	-0.004	0.14	-0.01	0.13
Chinese	-0.44***	0.15	-0.47**	0.16	-0.35*	0.16	-0.45**	0.16
Foreign born	0.09	0.14	0.09	0.14	-0.06	0.14	-0.2	0.14
College degree	0.02	0.11	0.04	0.12	-0.05	0.12	-0.02	0.12
Job prestige	0.001	0.004	-0.001	0.004	-0.003	0.004	-0.004	0.004
None/Few same-race coworkers ^b	-0.11	0.10	-0.11	0.10	-0.10	0.11	-0.05	0.11
Job satisfaction	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.07*	0.04
Mental health	0.02	0.07	-0.004	0.07	0.11	0.07	0.07	0.07
Race-related daily hassle	-0.02	0.06	-0.01	0.06	-0.11	0.07	0.02	0.07
Institutional discrimination	0.18*	0.07	0.13	.09	-0.11	0.08	-0.16	0.10
Interpersonal prejudice	-0.12	0.07	-0.01	0.10	0.21**	0.08	0.27*	0.11
Latina × Institutional discrimination			0.09	0.53			0.01	0.17
Chinese × Institutional discrimination			0.06	0.19			0.13	0.20
Latina × Interpersonal prejudice			-0.17	0.16			0.03	0.16
Chinese × Interpersonal prejudice			-0.28	0.22			-0.49*	0.23

^a Aside from gender all demographic variables refer to mothers' demographics. ^b None/a few same race coworkers (0 = some/most/all; 1 = none/a few).
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Multiple Regression Models: Cultural Socialization

Again, we first estimated the main effects of institutional discrimination (H2a) and interpersonal prejudice (H2b) on cultural socialization, adjusting for covariates. Table 3, Model 3, summarizes the results. Interpersonal prejudice, but not institutional discrimination, was positively associated with cultural socialization. This model explained 23% of variance in cultural socialization ($R^2 = .23$). To rule out the possibility that the effect of interpersonal prejudice masked a relationship between institutional discrimination and cultural socialization, we reestimated a model that excluded interpersonal prejudice. In the reestimated model, the coefficient for institutional discrimination remained nonsignificant ($b = .02$, $SE = .06$, ns).

Second, we tested whether relationships between institutional discrimination, interpersonal prejudice, and cultural socialization varied across racial/ethnic groups. Table 3, Model 4, summarizes these results. In line with our hypothesis, the interaction term representing differences in the relationships between interpersonal prejudice and cultural socialization for Chinese versus African American families was significant. Figure 1 illustrates the nature of the interaction. When African American mothers reported more frequent interpersonal prejudice at work, their adolescents reported more frequent cultural socialization at home. Among Chinese families we found the opposite pattern: When mothers reported more frequent interpersonal prejudice at work, adolescents reported less frequent cultural socialization at home. This model explained an additional 6% of variance in cultural socialization ($R^2 = .29$).

We reestimated the model with Latinas as the comparison group. Again, the interaction term representing the difference in the relationship between interpersonal prejudice and cultural socialization for Chinese families was significant ($b = -.47$, $SE = .22$, $p = .03$). As illustrated in Figure 1, when Latina women reported more frequent interpersonal prejudice at work, their children reported more frequent cultural socialization in the home.

Finally, there was no evidence that the relationship between institutional discrimination and cultural socialization varied reliably across ethnic groups, but the notably wide confidence intervals around the coefficients for the interaction terms suggest these estimates are somewhat unstable. We replicated these patterns of

results when examining interactions between families' racial/ethnic background and each type of workplace discrimination separately.

Discussion

Drawing on Kohn and Schooler's (1969) occupational socialization framework, this study examined linkages between racial/ethnic minority women's experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace and what their adolescent-aged children hear from their parents about the possibility of experiencing discrimination and the importance of cultural pride and knowledge. Although a few prior studies have examined these relationships (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Crouter et al., 2008), the current study is the first to our knowledge that (a) examined relationships between mothers' perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination at work and adolescents' reports of racial/ethnic socialization in the home, and (b) explored differences in these associations across families from different racial/ethnic minority groups.

As hypothesized, we found that when mothers perceived more institutional discrimination at work, adolescents reported more frequent exposure to preparation for bias messages at home (H1a). In addition, African American and Latina mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudice at work were associated with more frequent cultural socialization messages in the home, whereas among Chinese families, maternal reports of such discrimination were associated with comparatively fewer cultural socialization messages in the home (H2b). The data did not support our expectation that mothers' reports of interpersonal prejudices would reliably predict early adolescents' reports of preparation for bias at home (H1b) and that mothers' experiences of institutional discrimination in the workplace would be associated with youths' reports of cultural socialization in the home (H2a). In the following paragraphs, we discuss in more detail these findings and how they advance our conceptualization of processes of occupational socialization and our understanding of work-family dynamics across racial/ethnic minority groups. We then discuss limitations of this study and directions for future research.

Workplace Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Preparation for Bias

This study's findings support hypotheses derived from the occupational socialization framework and previous research, namely that mothers' experiences of workplace racial/ethnic discrimination would be associated with more preparation for bias messages for early adolescents. In particular, children whose mothers perceived more institutional discrimination, that is discrimination in salaries or the way promotions are given, reported more frequent discussions about discrimination with their parents. Because our regression models adjusted for important covariates, including women's reports of race-related daily hassles, job satisfaction, and mental health, it is unlikely that the observed associations reflect simply differences in mothers' tendencies to emphasize race and group disadvantage with their children, or differences in women's propensities to discuss negative events and circumstances in general. Our use of independent reports from mothers (about institutional discrimination) and adolescents (about preparation for bias) allows us to rule out that methodological limitations related to

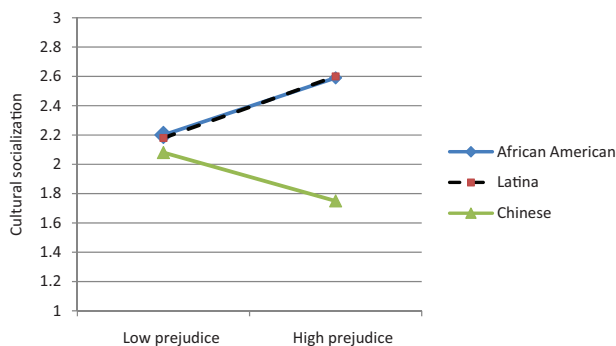


Figure 1. Predicted relationships between perceptions of interpersonal prejudice in the workplace and cultural socialization practices in the home, for African American, Latino and Chinese families. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

collecting data from a single informant inflated the observed pattern of association.

From an occupational socialization perspective, the relationship we found can be interpreted as describing a process by which experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace shape mothers' worldviews and specifically their beliefs about what their children need to know to be prepared for their adult social roles. Racial/ethnic minority women who experience discrimination in the workplace, in particular institutional forms of discrimination, are thus more likely to say and do things that alert their children to the possibility that they, too, may encounter racial/ethnic biases. This study thus broadens our understanding of the ways in which exposure to racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace may impact workers. In addition to having significant effects on workers' health, this study, albeit correlational in nature, at least raises the possibility that workplace racial/ethnic discrimination may shape the way ethnic/racial minority youth are socialized around race/ethnicity by their parents.

Workplace Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Cultural Socialization

This study further examined associations between mothers' experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination at work and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization messages from their parents, that is, messages geared toward helping youth develop a strong and positive racial/ethnic identity. Again drawing on the occupational socialization framework and previous research, we explored the possibility that these associations may vary by families' racial/ethnic backgrounds. In line with our expectation, we found that when African American and Latina women perceived more racial slurs and unfair treatment against members of their ethnic group in their workplace (i.e., interpersonal prejudice), their children reported more frequent messages about the importance of ethnic pride and cultural knowledge in the home. Among Chinese families, however, interpersonal prejudice at work predicted less frequent cultural socialization in the home. These findings are again strengthened by the fact that the analysis linked data from separate informants and that our models adjusted for mothers' mental health, jobs satisfaction, and race-related daily hassles.

Why then are mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudices at work associated with more cultural socialization for African American and Latino families but with less cultural socialization for Chinese families? We believe there are a number of plausible sociohistorical and cultural explanations for this pattern of results: African Americans and Latinos look back at a history of blatant discrimination in the U.S. and continue to experience discrimination and disadvantage in their workplaces and elsewhere. Both groups are overrepresented in low-skill, low-wage occupations, and their children struggle in the U.S. education system. Instances of racial/ethnic prejudices from people at work are therefore likely to serve as reminders to African American and Latina women that their children, too, may encounter discrimination. Consequently, these women may be particularly inclined to build psychological resilience to such experiences by nurturing a strong sense of ethnic identity in their children. Racial/ethnic socialization research supports the notion that African American and Latina mothers see cultural socialization as a means to developing a protective sense of self, while also recognizing significant qualitative and quanti-

tative differences in the way different ethnic/racial groups approach cultural socialization in the home (Hughes et al., 2006).

In contrast, Chinese immigrants tend to attribute instances of racial/ethnic discrimination in the U.S. to perceptual foreigner stereotypes (Benner & Kim, 2009), which categorize them as speaking little English and not integrating with the American mainstream. At the same time, Chinese-origin youth are known to do well in the American education system and Chinese youth and their parents are likely to be aware of the model minority stereotype regarding Asians in the United States. Chinese parents may therefore expect that their children will be less likely to experience racial/ethnic discrimination as they grow up to be English-speaking American citizens. Consequently, Chinese women who perceive interpersonal prejudice at work against members of their ethnic/racial group may be less inclined to foster a strong affiliation with their Chinese cultural heritage in their children to protect them from encountering racial/ethnic prejudices in the American work context.

At the same time, we also know Chinese cultural socialization remains an important parenting goal among Chinese parents (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Hughes et al., 2008). As such, we interpret our results as supporting the notion that Chinese mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudice at work dampen, but do not eliminate, the frequency with which their children are exposed to messages stressing the importance of ethnic pride and cultural knowledge. Moreover, it is possible that the distinct pattern of association we observed among Chinese families is unique to first generation Chinese mothers and their children. All Chinese women in this study were immigrants to the U.S., whereas one third of Latinas were U.S.-born. In follow-up analyses, immigrant status alone did not reproduce the differential pattern of association we found between ethnic/racial groups. However, it is possible that second-generation Chinese mothers interpret interpersonal prejudice at work similarly to their African American and Latina counterparts, and consequently discuss the importance of cultural pride more frequently with their youth, rather than less.

In sum, the differential patterns of association between mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudice at work and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization across racial/ethnic groups we observed in this study highlight the important yet often neglected role social, cultural and historical contexts play in work-family processes, and especially in mothers' experiences of discrimination at work and their attendant socialization practices.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Our analyses were inconclusive in two instances. Against our expectations, mothers' experiences of interpersonal prejudice at work did not reliably predict adolescents' reports of preparation for bias messages in the home. We also found no evidence for an association between institutional discrimination and cultural socialization. Considering that our two measures of workplace discrimination had comparable amounts of variance, and given that the two measures did not correlate differently with a covariate that predicted either type of socialization, we can rule out that interpersonal prejudice and institutional discrimination competed for the same variance and that relationships were hence suppressed. But the relatively wide standard errors around the estimates that tested whether racial/ethnic background moderated links between

the two types of workplace discrimination and the two dimensions of racial/ethnic socialization suggest the current study may have lacked sufficient power to detect additional, including unexpected differences in these relationships across racial/ethnic groups that, in turn, could explain why we did not find some of the relationships we hypothesized.

The current sample size, unfortunately, did not allow us to explore more nuanced ethnic/racial differences in the way workplace discrimination may be linked to ethnic/racial socialization. Ideally, a study of this kind would analyze potential differences between Puerto Rican and Dominican families, given their distinct immigration histories in the United States. In future research it would also be important to understand whether Latinas who identify as Black interpret racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace differently and consequently approach racial/ethnic socialization differently with their children, compared with Latinas who identify as White or another racial group. Ultimately, data from larger studies with representative samples of diverse racial/ethnic minority families are needed to test reliably associations between types of workplace discrimination and different dimensions of racial/ethnic socialization between and within racial/ethnic groups.

Another limitation of the current study is that our measures of workplace racial/ethnic discrimination did not assess who mothers perceived to be the perpetrators of discriminatory actions. In increasingly ethnically heterogeneous workplaces, racial/ethnic minority workers may perceive discrimination from Whites or from members of other ethnic or racial groups. Future research needs to examine whether discrimination is experienced differently and has differential influences on workers' parenting approaches depending on who they perceive to be the perpetrators of discrimination. Moreover, we need longitudinal and quasi-experimental study designs that allow us to draw better conclusions about the potentially causal process by which parents' experiences of discrimination at work shape children's socialization over time. At the same time, this area of work could benefit from in-depth qualitative research into the ways women from different racial/ethnic backgrounds make sense of the biases and disadvantages they encounter in the workplace, and into how mothers see these experiences impact their racial/ethnic socialization goals.

Conclusion

The current study highlights important linkages between ethnic/racial minority women's experiences of discrimination in the workplace and the ways ethnic/minority youth are socialized around race/ethnicity in the home. This study advances the literature on work-family dynamics in racial/ethnic minority families, and it broadens our conceptualization of processes of occupational socialization. Moreover, this work points to significant variation between racial/ethnic groups in the way mothers' experiences of workplace discrimination may shape discussions youth have with their parents about their racial/ethnic background. In this regard, we hope this study will stimulate much future research. In light of continuing racial/ethnic discrimination in American workplaces, it is important for researchers and policymakers to identify the range of consequences these experiences can have across diverse families and communities.

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(Appendix follows)

Appendix

Main Measures With Complete Lists of Items

Institutional Discrimination in the Workplace

(Hughes & Dodge, 1997)

Do you agree or disagree that at the place where you work . . .
(1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, 4 = *strongly agree*)

- 1) . . . there is discrimination against [racial/ethnic group] in hiring practices?
- 2) . . . there is discrimination against [racial/ethnic group] in salaries?
- 3) . . . [racial/ethnic group] have to work harder to get promotions than other workers do?
- 4) . . . [racial/ethnic group] get the least desirable assignments?
- 5) . . . [racial/ethnic group] workers have fewer fringe benefits than other workers have?

Interpersonal Prejudice in the Workplace

(Hughes & Dodge, 1997)

Do you agree or disagree that at the place where you work . . .
(1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, 4 = *strongly agree*)

- 1) . . . people who work with you have stereotypes about your ethnic group that affect how they judge you?
- 2) . . . people who work with you assume that [racial/ethnic group] are all the same?
- 3) . . . people notice that you are [racial/ethnic group] before they notice anything else about you?
- 4) . . . you deal with people in your job who are prejudice against your ethnic group?

Preparation for Bias (Adapted from Hughes, 2003;

Hughes et al., 2009)

Please tell us how often, it at all, your parents have said any of the following things to you—either now or when you were younger. How often have you parents said the following:

(1 = *never*, 2 = *a few times*, 3 = *a lot of times*)

- 1) You may have hard times being accepted in this society because of your race or ethnicity.
- 2) Some people may treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity.
- 3) People of your race or ethnicity are more likely to be treated poorly or unfairly than people of other races.
- 4) Some children may exclude from activities because of your race or ethnicity.
- 5) You may experience discrimination and prejudice because of your race or ethnicity.

Cultural Socialization (Adapted from Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2009)

Please tell us how often, it at all, your parents have said any of the following things to you—either now or when you were younger. How often have you parents said the following:

(1 = *never*, 2 = *a few times*, 3 = *a lot of times*)

- 1) You should be proud to be the race or ethnicity you are.
- 2) It is important to follow the traditions of your racial or ethnic group (like eating ethnic foods and keeping ethnic values).
- 3) People are all equal regardless of the race or ethnicity they are.
- 4) It is important to know about the important people and events in the history or your racial or ethnic group.
- 5) It is important to appreciate people from all races and ethnic background.
- 6) It is important to get along with people of all races and ethnicities.