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EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Concordant and Discordant Patterns of Parental Racial Socialization among Biracial Black-White Adolescents: Correlates and Consequences

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Abstract

Multiracial-Black youth are one of the fastest-growing populations in the U.S., but little is known about their racialized developmental experiences. This study uses Latent Profile Analysis to identify patterns of parental racial socialization among Biracial Black-White adolescents and explore whether those profiles relate to demographics and racial identity outcomes. The sample consisted of 330 Biracial Black-White adolescents living in the U.S. (67% boys; *Mage* = 14.8, SD = 1.5). The analysis yielded a four-profile solution based on (1) the frequency of socialization messages youth received and (2) the concordance of those messages across both of their parents (i.e., whether socialization frequency is similar or different between Black and white parents). Profile membership differed based on youth gender and racialized appearance (i.e., whether youth presented physically as Black, white, or racially ambiguous). Ultimately, adolescents in the profile with the highest frequency and concordance of parental racial socialization reported more adaptive racial identity attitudes including a sense of pride in being Black and Biracial. Youth in that profile also felt the most comfortable navigating the intersections of their racial identities, which coupled with racial pride has promising implications for their development and wellbeing.

Keywords Adolescence · Black · Multiracial · Parental racial socialization · Racial identity

Introduction

As of 2018, less than half of U.S. residents under the age of 18 are non-Hispanic white, making non-white children the majority for the first time in U.S. American history (Frey, 2021). This demographic shift is largely driven by the rapid and consistent growth of Multiracial[1] children, who currently comprise 15% of the youth population. Despite the growth of this demographic, Multiracial youth remain largely invisible in developmental research. This gap in the literature is concerning considering Multiracial adolescents report disparate mental health outcomes including a higher prevalence of substance use and suicidal thoughts and attempts than non-Hispanic white, Black, and Asian monoracial youth (Subica & Wu, 2018). The current study begins to address this gap by examining how racial identity and parental racial socialization, which are important promotive and protective processes, function among Multiracial youth.

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[1] In this text, Multiracial is used as an umbrella term that can include first-generation Biracial people (e.g., those with parents from two different monoracial groups), second-generation Multiracial people (e.g., those with have one Biracial parent and 1 monoracial parent), and individuals who have two Multiracial parents. Please see Atkin et al. (2022) for a detailed explanation of terminology pertaining to Multiracial populations in research.

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Why Racial Identity and Parental Racial Socialization?

During adolescence, youth begin to think critically about who they are and where they "fit" or belong in the world (Erikson, 1968). This identity exploration is influenced by the social groups that adolescents belong to—especially their racial group(s) (Albarello et al., 2018). Racially marginalized adolescents who develop a strong attachment to and pride in their race (e.g., an important dimension of racial identity) report fewer mental health symptoms and greater psychosocial adjustment than those who do not (Wantchekon & Umaña-Taylor, 2021). Youth high in racial pride are also less vulnerable to the deleterious effects of racism (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021), which youth begin to experience more frequently as they transition through adolescence (Hughes et al., 2016). Racial pride, therefore, has important implications for fostering healthy development among racially marginalized youth.

While most of the literature on racial pride has been conducted with monoracial samples, there is a burgeoning line of research that positions it as a valuable resource among Multiracial young adults. In one study, for instance, participants who felt proud of being Multiracial reported higher self-esteem and social connectedness than those who reported lower levels of Multiracial pride (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Scholars have more recently demonstrated that racial pride is negatively associated with depressive symptoms among Multiracial emerging adults, and it can diminish the effects of discrimination on psychological distress (Christophe et al., 2021). That study also found a direct link between racial identity and parental racial socialization—or parent-child communication about race among Multiracial emerging adults. This finding is novel for a Multiracial sample, but consistent with decades of empirical and theoretical literature that positions parental racial socialization as one of the most meaningful predictors of racial identity among monoracial-Black young people (Neblett et al., 2013). However, additional research is needed to better comprehend racial socialization and racial identity among Multiracial youth, specifically during the developmental period of adolescence.

Uncovering and understanding the relationship between parental racial socialization and racial pride among Multiracial adolescents has promising implications for improving the health and development of this growing population. Evidence-based programs that serve monoracial-Black adolescents, for instance, already leverage parental racial socialization and racial identity as assets that can combat racial trauma (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019) and promote positive psychosocial outcomes (e.g., reducing risky behaviors, improved parent-child relationships, emotion regulation; Brittian Loyd & Williams, 2017). Related programs might be of great value to Multiracial adolescents, but research must first examine the unique racial socialization experiences of this population and how they might relate to the attitudes that Multiracial youth adopt about race.

There are many unique aspects of Multiracial socialization and identity that often do not align with monoracial experiences and warrant future study. With respect to socialization, Multiracial individuals are in the unique position of having biological parents who do not share the same racial backgrounds and racialized experiences as their children (Csizmadia et al., 2014). This results in situations where parents may give messages about a group they are not a part of—for example, a white parent telling their Biracial Black-White child about racism experienced by those in the Black community. There are also multiple groups that parents could target in their racial socialization messages; parents of a Black-White Biracial child could socialize their children around blackness, whiteness, and/or around them being a Biracial person. With respect to racial identity, Multiracial individuals may also have differing levels of pride in their monoracial identity group membership (e.g., Black or white), which may itself differ from their feelings of pride in being Multiracial. Finally, Multiracial individuals may show flexibility in how they identify across context and development; this identity flexibility is also known as protean identity (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002). Despite all of the unique aspects of socialization and identity at play among Multiracial individuals, there is still a dearth of quantitative research illustrating these phenomena and examining the associations between socialization and identity in this rapidly growing population. The current study extends this scholarship by using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA) to explore parental racial socialization and racial identity outcomes among Biracial Black-White adolescents (e.g., one of the largest sub-groups of Multiracial youth).

Notably, one previous study has used LPA to understand racial socialization and racial identity among a diverse group of Multiracial young adults (Christiophe et al., 2021). In that investigation, researchers examined reports of parental racial socialization among first-year college students with biological parents of different racial groups and found evidence for four profiles, a group who received very few messages (low frequency profile), a group high in messages about mistrusting other racial groups (high mistrust profile), a group near the mean across messages (typical profile), and a group who received more messages around racial pride and preparation for bias around their racially minoritized identity (minority profile). Analyses further demonstrated that Multiracial participants who heard more frequent messaging about racial pride and coping with racial reported a greater exploration of their racial identity, understanding of what their race means to them, more positive feelings about their racial groups, and lower levels of internal conflict between their monoracial

group memberships (Christiophe et al., 2021). While valuable in giving an initial picture of patterns of racial socialization across Multiracial young people, this study was not able to fully capture nuances that may be present within specific subgroups. For example, Biracial Black-White youth are members of groups that have the greatest historical and continued differences in power and privilege (Csizmadia et al., 2014), and these differences may have unique implications for socialization and racial identity outcomes. Considering these gaps, this study explores patterns in the parental racial socialization experiences of Biracial Black-White adolescents and subsequently examines how these patterns relate to (1) demographic characteristics and (2) youth racial identity.

The Continuum of Biracial Identity: An Ecological Model

The study is rooted in the Continuum of Biracial Identity (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005), which serves as a strong conceptual frame for understanding parental racial socialization and racial identity among Biracial Black-White adolescents. Historically, Multiracial identity scholars have attempted to position one racial identity as superior to another (e.g., a Black identity is healthier than a Biracial identity), but the Continuum of Biracial Identity is rooted in the belief that the racial label a person uses is far less important than whether they have "integrated and accepted their mixed ancestry into [their] sense of self and have a peaceful relationship with it" (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005, p. 19). Accordingly, this model shifts the scope of identity research among Biracial participants from "labels" to the degree to which a person emotionally and psychologically accepts their Multiraciality. This psychological acceptance can manifest through *racial pride*, which is a central focus of the current study. Notably, the model contends that racial pride can revolve around being Biracial and/or being Black, as opposed to rejecting or resenting either of their non-white identities (Hughes et al., 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2014). Moreover, racial identity is especially fluid during adolescence (Reece, 2019), meaning the consideration of multiple forms of racial pride is necessary to fully understand identity development among Biracial Black-White adolescents. Within this context, scholars must also examine how comfortable Biracial adolescents are with navigating their multiple racial identities, as the ability to "juggle" multiple racial realities can impact how proud Biracial people are of their racial heritage (Cheng & Lee, 2009; Sanchez et al., 2009).

From a developmental perspective, it is important to explore potential antecedents of these promotive racial attitudes as intervention and prevention programs can target these factors to better support Biracial Black-White youth, protect them against the pernicious effects of discrimination, and reduce disparities in health and well-being. The Continuum of Biracial Identity suggests that racial identity, including pride and flexibility, likely emerge through social pathways during adolescence. *Parental racial socialization* is one primary pathway that the model highlights, proposing that all parents "send their children messages about how to view and respond to matters of race and how to understand themselves racially." (p. 60). These messages are often multidimensional in nature ranging from communication that diminishes the importance of race (e.g., color-evasive), promotes racial and cultural pride, and prepares youth for racial bias (Hughes et al., 2006). Notably, the latter two forms of parental socialization can occur around Biracial pride and bias but are far less understood due to a reliance on monoracial frameworks (see Harris, 2016 for more information) and measures that do not account for participants' membership in multiple racial groups. The current study overcomes this gap by utilizing a novel measure of racial socialization that accounts for multiple forms of pride promotion and bias preparation.

Finally, the Continuum of Biracial Identity positions parent and child demographics as key factors to consider when studying racial socialization in Multiracial-Black families (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). Parent race is particularly important to examine as white and Black parents have unique racialized experiences that shape their attitudes around race. These attitudes influence how parents approach racial socialization (Yasui, 2015). Thus, it is not uncommon for white and Black parents to adopt unique approaches to racial socialization that can lead them to deliver different and potentially contradictory messages about race. Black parents, for instance, are more likely to perceive their Biracial children as "just Black" than white parents due to the widespread adoption of the hypodescent rule (or "one drop" rule) in Black communities (Ho et al., 2017; Stokes et al., 2021). This may lead Black parents to deliver more messages around Black experiences than white parents. Similarly, white parents may de-emphasize the importance of race or highlight their child's Biracial heritage more frequently to establish a sense of familial connection to them (Porow, 2014). Grounded in research on racial socialization in monoracial white families, it is also possible that white parents of Biracial Black-White children avoid discussions of race out of fear that talking about race amplifies racial differences leading to racial bias or that race and racism aren't directly relevant to child's life (Wu et al., 2022). Similarly, white parents may adopt a more reactive approach to racial socialization (Zucker & Patterson, 2018) than Black parents who feel the need to proactively prepare their children for racial circumstances.

Racial differences in parental approaches to racial socialization can also be influenced by child characteristics like gender and racialized appearance (Rockquemore &

Laszloffy, 2005). Parents of Biracial-Black boys, for instance, may deliver more messages around anti-Black racism because they fear for their son's physical safety due to the criminalization of Black masculinity in the U.S. (Newman, 2019). The delivery of more anti-Black racism messages is also plausible for parents of children who present more physically as Black (e.g., darker skin, tightly coiled hair; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005) because they believe that others in the world will perceive and interact with their children as Black. There is a dearth of research with Multiracial families, however, that empirically links racial socialization to parent and adolescent characteristics.

The Current Study

The promotive and protective benefits of racial socialization and racial identity for Black adolescents are well established in the developmental literature. Biracial Black-White adolescents, however, are underrepresented in this scholarship, despite the intricacies of socialization and identity in this population (e.g., parents with different racialized experiences, multiple ways of flexibly identifying, etc.). The current study begins to address this gap by (1) using latent profile analysis (LPA) to identify patterns of racial socialization from biological parents among Biracial Black-White adolescents and (2) link those patterns to meaningful demographics and racial identity attitudes based on the Continuum of Biracial Identity. Using LPA allowed us to best capture the variety and patterns of messages Biracial youth receive from both of their parents, providing a more nuanced representation of their socialization experience than a variable-centered approach. LPA also enables us to more closely examine how different sociodemographic variables predict the patterns of racial socialization Black-White Biracial youth experience and better understand the joint influence of different socialization messages on youth's racial identity outcomes. Based on previous literature, it was hypothesized that four profiles would emerge, which would vary based on the frequency of racial socialization messages youth report across different topics. It was also expected that these could differ by parent race. Finally, youth in profiles where racial socialization was more frequent were expected to report more adaptative racial identity outcomes.

Methods

Participants

The participants were 330 self-identified first-generation Biracial Black-White adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 ($M = 14.82$, $SD = 1.51$). Most of (67.3%) of the adolescents were cisgender male, with the remaining being cisgender female (32.4%). One participant was a transgender male. Most of the adolescents (92.4%) were heterosexual. The remaining were bisexual (3.9%), gay or lesbian (3.3%), and pansexual (0.3%). Over half of the participants (68.5%) had white mothers and Black fathers, which is reflective of the interracial marriage rate in the U.S. (Livingstone & Brown, 2017). Regarding ethnicity, most participants reported that their Black parents had African American (75.8%) or African (16.4%) ancestry with the remaining reporting their Black parents as Afro-Latinx (6.2%), Afro-Caribbean/West Indian (1.7%), and Multiethnic (1.5%). Youth reported that their white parents had English (40.9%), Irish (11.8%), French (10.6%), German (9.7%), Italian (7.9%), Scottish (6.7%), Polish (4.5%), Multiethnic (3.6%), unreported (3.1%) or something else (1.2%). Nearly half of the respondents reported that their mothers (49%) and fathers (45%) had a bachelor's or graduate degree. Most of the participants either lived in a single home with both of their biological parents (80.7%) or in separate homes with each of them part of the time (12.8%). The respondents resided in the southeastern (40%), northeastern (12%), midwestern (17%), and western (31%) regions of the U.S. Participants reported their zip codes which were used to record neighborhood-level characteristics using social mobility data from the U.S. Census Bureau (Mast & Din, 2021). With that data, it was determined that on average participants lived in neighborhoods where the average annual household income was $56,157.76.00, the poverty rate was 19%, and the fraction of non-white residents was 40%.

Procedure

Data for the current study comes from a national cross-sectional survey that examined racial socialization, racial identity, and well-being among Biracial Black-White adolescents living in the U.S. The participants for this study were recruited through a purposive sampling technique, which consisted of targeting parents of Biracial adolescents through social media advertisements. Parents were asked to follow a link to a brief eligibility questionnaire on Qualtrics, where they were presented with a PDF copy of the parental permission form. Parents provided permission for their child to participate by clicking "next" on the webpage and were instructed to allow their adolescent to complete the remaining questions independently. Then, the adolescent participant was presented with a PDF copy of the assent form and was asked to indicate assent by clicking next. Adolescents who provided assent proceeded with the eligibility questionnaire. Youth were eligible to participate if they were (1) between the ages of 12–17, (2) had one biological monoracial Black and one biological monoracial white parent, and (3) lived with at least one of their biological parents in the U.S. To protect data

quality, participants who met the eligibility criterion were asked to provide an email address so the principal investigator could send an anonymous link to the official survey via Qualtrics. On average, the survey took about 35 min to complete. Three attention checks were implemented throughout the survey and participants who failed two or more ($n = 3$) were excluded from data analysis, (Curran, 2016). Participants were compensated with a $10 electronic gift card. The study protocols were approved by the host university's Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Racial socialization

The Racial Socialization Questionnaire for Biracial Adolescents (RSQ-BA; Stokes, 2021) was used to assess racial socialization around Black experiences, Biracial experiences, and color-evasion. The RSQ-BA is a multi-scale questionnaire that was designed to examine explicit parental socialization (e.g., direct messages about race) among Biracial Black-White adolescents. Each of the explicit scales is multidimensional and represent distinct forms of racial socialization based on the content of the messages, which are described below. Notably, the structure of each scale is identical in that they assess the frequency of socialization messages using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = "Never to 4 = "Often"). Participants were asked to complete all items twice, once for their mothers and once for their fathers. If they didn't have a relationship with one of their parents, they were asked to answer the questions based on an alternative mother or father figure if applicable. Participants were also asked to report on the race of that alternative parental figure. Ultimately, 9 participants did not have a relationship with their biological mothers, nor did they have an alternative mother figure. Twenty-four participants did not have a relationship with biological fathers, and only one of them reported having an alternative father figure, who was his grandfather, but the participant didn't specify the race of that grandparent. For the current study, the items from each subscale were averaged to create separate composite scores for Black parents and white parents given our research aims.

Black socialization The Monoracial Black scale includes 8 items across two subscales (e.g., Monoracial Black Pride Reinforcement and Preparation for Monoracial Black bias) that examine what Biracial youth hear about monoracial Black people and experiences from their parents. The Black pride subscale contains 5 items (e.g., "My [parent] says I should be proud to be Black") and demonstrated strong internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.90$). The preparation for Black bias subscale consists of 3 items (e.g., *"My [parent] says people will treat me differently because I am Black"*) and demonstrated good internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.86$).

Biracial socialization Racial socialization around Biracial experiences was measured with 8 items from the Biracial scale on the RSQ-BA. Like the Black scale, the Biracial scale includes two sub-scales with one assessing Biracial Pride Reinforcement and one assessing Preparation for Biracial Bias. The Biracial pride sub-scale includes 5 items (e.g., *"My [parent] says that I should be proud to be Biracial"*) and had good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.86$). The preparation for Biracial bias contains 3 items (e.g., "My parent tells me that Black people might exclude me because I am Biracial") and demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.88$).

Color-evasive socialization Racial socialization that de-emphasizes the importance of race was captured with the 7-item Color-Evasive scale, which also contains 2 subscales. The first subscale assesses general color-evasive socialization with 3 items (e.g., *"My [parent] tells me that we are all equal and that no race is greater than the other"*; $\alpha = 0.84$). This type of socialization is also referred to as "egalitarian socialization" in the literature (Hughes et al., 2006). The second sub-scale assesses a more unique form of "internalized" color-evasion, which are racialized messages that seek to influence a Biracial child's identity more directly (e.g., *"My [parent] encourages me to identify as "human" instead of using a racial label."*). There are 4 items on this sub-scale, and items had good internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.89$).

Racial identity

Three forms of racial identity were assessed including Black pride, Biracial pride, and identity flexibility. Black pride was captured with the 3-item private regard subscale from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t; Scottham et al., 2008). Participants responded to the items (e.g., *"I am proud to be Black")* on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). The items had strong internal consistency ($a = 0.90$). Biracial pride was assessed with the 5-item pride subscale from the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Youth responded to the items (e.g., "*I love being Biracial*") on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 6 = *Strongly agree*). The subscale had strong internal consistency ($a = 0.89$). Finally, identity flexibility was examined with the 5-item malleable racial identification scale from Sanchez et al. (2009) investigation. Participants responded to the questions *"In different situations, I will identify more closely with one of my racial identities than another"*) on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). The items demonstrated sufficient internal consistency ($a = 0.78$).

Youth and family characteristics

Several family characteristics are included in the analyses including youth racialized appearance, maternal closeness, and paternal closeness. Racialized appearance was assessed with one item, which asked youth "*Which of the following best describes your physical appearance?*" based on Rockquemore and Brunsma's (2002) study. The response options were: (1) I look Black, and most people assume I'm Black, (2) My physical features are ambiguous, people assume I am a person of color mixed with another race, (3) My physical features are ambiguous, people question what I am and their assumption of what I am frequently changes, and (4) I physically look white; I could "pass" (as white)." Most participants (69%) selected option two indicating that their features are ambiguous, but others typically assume that they are a person of color. The adolescent's perception of closeness to each parent was measured with a single item (e.g., *How close do you feel to your mother figure? and How close do you feel to your father figure?*). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = "*Not Close at All*" to 5 = "*Extremely Close*."

Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis proceeded in several steps. Correlations among main study variables and tests of mean-level differences of racial socialization messages between Black and white parents were first conducted. This assessed the general frequency of different forms of socialization and depicted how individual message frequency differed by parental race. Next, latent profile analyses between 2 and 5 classes were run to determine how many profiles, or patterns, of socialization messages Biracial Black-White youth received from their parents. Model fit indices were used to determine the best fitting model, including the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), a BIC adjusted for sample size (SSABIC), the Lo-Mendel Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LRT), and a bootstrapped form of the LRT (BLRT). Lower values on the AIC, BIC, and SSABIC indicate better model fit, but—similar to assessing eigenvalues in the context of exploratory factor analysis, a more optimal solution is reached at the point where decreases in these values begin to level off as additional profiles are estimated (B. O. Muthén, personal communication, June 5, 2013). A significant p-value for both the LRT and BLRT indicate that a model with *k* profiles fits significantly better than does a solution with *k-1* profiles. For each profile solution, the graph of standardized values was also examined. Altogether, a final profile solution was chosen based on a combination of the above fit indices, theory, and interpretability of profiles based on their graphed values. Although not used in determining the optimal number of profiles, the model entropy, a measure of how accurately participants are sorted into profiles, was considered. A commonly used lower cutoff value for 'good' entropy is 0.80 (Muthén, 2007).

After identifying the correct profile solution and describing the characteristics of our profiles, the *R3Step* procedure in MPlus was used to examine whether relevant variables such as parental race (i.e., whether participants had a Black Mom and white Dad or vice versa), youth racialized appearance, youth gender, neighborhood racial diversity, and closeness to mothers and to fathers influenced the likelihood of exposure to one pattern of socialization versus another. The *R3Step* procedure is the preferred method for examining how factors influence profile membership (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2020), and involves conducting multinomial logistic regressions to determine how a 1-unit increase in the predictor impacts the odds of belonging to one profile versus another. Odds ratios were determined to be statistically significant if their 95% confidence interval did not cross 1. Confidence intervals around odds ratios are preferable over p-values because, unlike p-values, confidence intervals in this application do not make the (incorrect) assumption of a symmetric distribution of the odds ratios (Muthén, 2020).

Finally, after examining predictors of profile membership, the relationship between different patterns of parental socialization and racial identity outcomes was explored using the BCH procedure (Bakk et al., 2013). The BCH procedure is the preferred method for examining outcomes associated with latent profiles (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2020), and it was used to examine mean-level differences between profiles on Black pride, Biracial pride, and identity flexibility.

Missing data

Missing data were handled differently depending on the stage of data analysis. When conducting latent profile analyses, missing data on profile indicators (socialization messages) were handled using Full Information Maximum Likelihood. When examining predictors of profile membership and mean-level differences between profiles, listwise deletion was utilized, resulting in a total N of 303 for these analyses. In terms of our profile indicators, maximum missingness on any given variable was 5.76%.

Results

Descriptives and Mean Level Socialization Differences

Descriptively, and across the entire sample, mean levels of socialization fell between 2.58 and 3.18 on a 1 to 4 scale. Internalized ($M_{\text{Black parent}} = 3.13$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 3.15$) and general color-evasive socialization messages (M_{Black}

Table 1 Model fit indices

Number of Profiles	AIC	BIC	Sample Size Adjusted BIC	Entropy	LRT (p)	Bootstrapped LRT (p)
2	9267.96	9408.53	9291.17	0.95	1479.53 (<0.001)	1499.16 (<0.001)
3	8993.49	9183.45	9024.85	0.91	296.54 (0.258)	300.47 (<0.001)
4	**8765.18**	**9004.52**	**8804.69**	**0.93**	**251.00 (0.013)**	**250.98 (<0.001)**
5	8603.30	8892.04	8650.96	0.93	185.42 (0.090)	187.88 (<0.001)

Fit indices for the final profile solution are bolded

$_{\text{parent}} = 3.15$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 3.18$) appeared to be the most commonly administered forms of socialization across Black and white parents. Behind these messages in frequency were Biracial pride messages ($M_{\text{Black parent}} = 2.96$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 3.09$), followed closely by Black pride messages ($M_{\text{Black parent}} = 2.88$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 2.87$), Biracial preparation for bias ($M_{\text{Black parent}} = 2.77$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 2.82$), and Black preparation for bias ($M_{\text{Black parent}} = 2.58$, $M_{\text{White parent}} = 2.63$). In the sample, tests of mean level differences revealed that Black and white parents gave all messages with the same frequency except for Biracial pride messages, which white parents delivered with higher frequency than did Black parents ($\Delta = 0.13$, $p = 0.009$). Correlations between socialization and all study variables may be seen in Supplementary Table 1. Given our interest in examining whether Biracial Black-White youth experience different patterns of racial socialization, the latent profile analysis was conducted next.

Model Fit

Decreases in AIC, BIC, and SSABIC slowed more greatly between 2 and 3 and between 3 and 4 profiles than they did between 4 and 5 profile solutions. Additionally, although the LRT indicates that a 3-class model did not fit the data better than did a 2-profile model, the LRT for a 4-profile solution was significant ($LRT = 251.00$, $p = 0.013$), indicating that a 4-profile solution fit better than a 3-profile solution. Examining graphs of the 3- and 4-profile solutions, adding a 4$^{\text{th}}$ profile disentangled groups of individuals who received different levels of socialization depending on the race of the parent from those who received largely similar frequencies of socialization across their Black and white parent. Altogether, based on the favorable, albeit not perfectly clear model fit indices, and the substantive information gained by including a 4$^{\text{th}}$ profile, the 4$^{\text{th}}$ profile was deemed to provide the best fit to the data (see Table 1).

Final Profile Solution

Profiles were named based on the degree to which Black and white parents were similar, or concordant, in the frequency of different socialization messages, whether the Black or white parent's messages were dominant, or more frequent (e.g., Black Parent Dominant), and the overall frequency of messaging across parents (e.g., infrequent). The first and largest profile ($N = 155$) was titled the *Concordant High-Volume* profile. Biracial Black-White youth in this profile reported that parents, regardless of their race, gave similar and high levels of all types of socialization (see Fig. 1). The second largest profile was titled the *Concordant Mean-level* profile ($N = 86$). Youth in this profile had parents who, regardless of race, gave similar amounts of socialization. Specifically, the frequency of these messages closely mirrors the overall sample mean, with only slight variations above and below the mean depending on message type. Third was the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile ($N = 56$). Youth in this profile reported receiving consistently low levels of socialization; however, their Black parent nonetheless delivered more socialization than did their white parent. Youth in this profile, interestingly, reported very low levels of Biracial pride messages from their white parents alongside very low levels of general and internalized color-evasive socialization from their white parents. The smallest profile was named the *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile ($N = 33$). This profile, which consisted of only 10% of the sample, also generally reported a low number of socialization across the racial socialization subscales. However, white parents of these youth tended to deliver more socialization than Black parents, with white parents of these youth even giving above average levels of Biracial pride and color-evasive socialization. Unstandardized profile means may be seen in Supplementary Table 2.

Predictors of Profile Membership

The *R3step* procedure (see Table 2) revealed that profile membership varied based on parent race. Youth with white moms and Black dads had higher odds of being in the *Concordant High-Volume* profile than the *Concordant Mean-level* (OR = 0.23, 95% CI = 0.11–0.47) and *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* (OR = 0.09, 95% CI = 0.03–0.23) profiles. More specifically, youth who

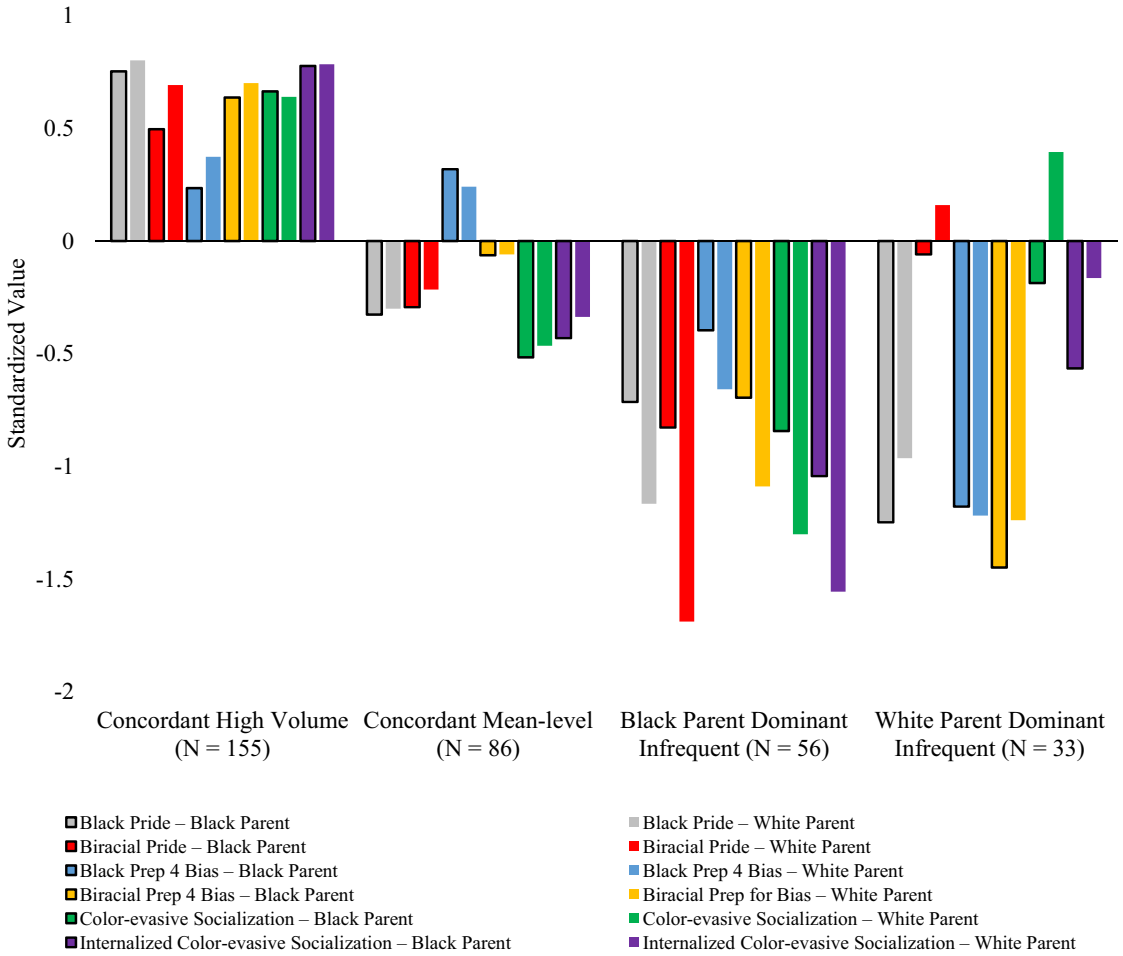

Fig. 1 ERS messages are organized by color. Bars with black outlines correspond to ERS messages that are delivered by Black parents

reported having a white mom and a Black dad were more likely to be in the *Concordant Mean-Level* and *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* profiles than the Black Parent Dominant Infrequent profile. Altogether, a general trend emerged where youth with white moms and Black dads were the most likely to be in the *Concordant High-Volume* profile and the least likely to be in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile.

Small differences were found with respect to gender, youth racialized appearance, and closeness to dads. Females were overrepresented in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* (OR = 7.24, 95% CI = 2.84–18.47) and *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* (OR = 3.92, 95% CI = 1.58–9.74) profile relative to the *Concordant High-Volume Profile*. Females were also overrepresented in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile relative to the *Concordant Mean-level* profiles (OR = 4.29, 95% CI = 1.69–10.89). Youth whose racialized appearance more closely resembled monoracial white people had greater odds of being in the *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* socialization profile than the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile (OR = 2.71, 95% CI = 1.11–6.65). Finally, youth who reported greater closeness with their fathers had greater odds of being in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile relative to the *Concordant Mean-level* profile. Maternal closeness and neighborhood racial diversity were not related to socialization profile membership among our sample of Biracial Black-White youth.

Profile Differences In Identity Outcomes

Biracial youth in the *Concordant High-Volume* profile endorsed the most adaptive outcomes relative to youth in other profiles (see Table 3). For instance, youth in the *Concordant High-Volume* profile endorsed higher levels of Black pride, Biracial Pride, and identity flexibility than youth in all other profiles (all p's < 0.001). All other profiles were similar to one another on Black pride and Biracial pride. Youth in the *Concordant Mean-level* profile endorsed

Table 2 Predictors of profile membership

Profile Predictor	OR (SE)	95% CI
Concordant High Volume v. Concordant Mean-level		
White Mom Black Dad	**0.23 (0.08)**	**0.11–0.47**
Youth Phenotype	0.95 (0.26)	0.55–1.62
Female Gender	1.69 (0.65)	0.79–3.604
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	0.10 (0.01)	0.99–1.01
Mom closeness	0.93 (0.23)	0.58–1.50
Dad closeness	0.98 (0.22)	0.64–1.51
Concordant High Volume v. Black Parent Dominant Infrequent		
White Mom Black Dad	**0.09 (0.04)**	**0.03–0.23**
Youth Phenotype	0.58 (0.21)	0.28–1.20
Female Gender	**7.24 (3.46)**	**2.84–18.47**
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	1.01 (0.01)	0.99–1.02
Mom closeness	0.62 (0.15)	0.38–1.01
Dad closeness	**0.50 (0.12)**	**0.32–0.79**
Concordant High Volume v. White Parent Dominant Infrequent		
White Mom Black Dad	0.45 (0.24)	0.16–1.27
Youth Phenotype	1.58 (0.55)	0.80–3.14
Female Gender	**3.92 (1.82)**	**1.58–9.74**
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	1.00 (0.01)	0.99–1.01
Mom closeness	0.87 (0.23)	0.51–1.47
Dad closeness	0.81 (0.21)	0.48–1.35
Concordant Mean-level v. Black Parent Dominant Infrequent		
White Mom Black Dad	**0.38 (0.18)**	**0.15–0.96**
Youth Phenotype	0.62 (0.24)	0.29–1.32
Female Gender	**4.29 (2.04)**	**1.69–10.89**
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	1.01 (0.01)	0.99–1.02
Mom closeness	0.67 (0.20)	0.38–1.19
Dad closeness	**0.51 (0.12)**	**0.32–0.82**
Concordant Mean-level v. White Parent Dominant Infrequent		
White Mom Black Dad	1.99 (1.01)	0.74–5.40
Youth Phenotype	1.67 (0.69)	0.74–3.76
Female Gender	2.32 (1.19)	0.85–6.36
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	1.00 (0.01)	0.99–1.02
Mom closeness	0.93 (0.30)	0.50–1.75
Dad closeness	0.83 (0.24)	0.47–1.46
Black Parent Dominant Infrequent v. White Parent Dominant Infrequent		
White Mom Black Dad	**5.21 (2.91)**	**1.75–15.55**
Youth Phenotype	**2.71 (1.24)**	**1.11–6.65**
Female Gender	0.54 (0.31)	0.18–1.64
Neighborhood Racial Diversity	0.99 (0.01)	0.98–1.01
Mom closeness	1.40 (0.43)	0.77–2.56
Dad closeness	1.62 (0.46)	0.94–2.81

Bold values were determined to be significant based on a 95% confidence interval that did not cross 1

slightly greater levels of identity flexibility than did youth in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile ($\Delta = 0.42$, $\chi^2 = 9.13$, $p = 0.003$).

Discussion

Parental racial socialization and racial pride are some of the most valuable processes in the lives of Black adolescents (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Anderson et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2020). However, the extant literature has yet to thoroughly explore racial socialization and racial pride among Black youth with mixed racial heritage. The current study contributes to this scholarship by identifying profiles of racial socialization among Biracial Black-White adolescents and exploring how they relate to racial identity. Collectively, the findings illuminate that Biracial Black-White adolescents receive different patterns of racial socialization messages that vary based on parent race, child gender, and child racialized appearance. The analysis of mean level differences in socialization frequently by parental race indicated that white and Black parents deliver a large majority of the assessed racial socialization messages with similar frequency; however, the latent profile analysis provided the added benefit of examining patterns of multiple messages, which revealed racial differences not detectable via other, variable-centered methods. The study findings further indicate that various patterns of racial socialization received from both parents may be differentially associated with racial identity attitudes among Biracial Black-White adolescents.

Racial Socialization Profiles and Demographic Correlates

Four distinct profiles of racial socialization emerged based on message frequency and consistency of messaging between white and Black parents, which is consistent with the quantity of profiles reported by Christophe et al. (2021) in their sample of diverse Multiracial emerging adults. However, the profiles in this differed from the Christophe et al. study in that there were not major differences in the *types* of racial socialization reported across profiles. This discrepancy may be due inherent differences in our samples in which the participants in Christophe's study were several years older, there was an overrepresentation of female participants, and not all of the participants had a white parent and a black parent. Moreover, Christophe and colleagues assessed racial socialization domains around each parent's race, while this study assessed socialization around Black, Multiracial, and Color-Evasive domains. It is, therefore, not entirely surprising that our profiles differed qualitatively.

Adolescents in the largest profile, *Concordant High-Volume*, received a high frequency of socialization from both of their parents (i.e., concordance) around a myriad of topics including preparing for Black and Biracial forms of bias, being proud of being Black and Biracial, and the

Table 3 Mean-level profile differences in racial identity

Outcome	Concordant High-Volume Socializers (P1)	Concordant Mean-level Socializers (P2)	Black parent Dominant Infrequent Socializers (P3)	White parent Dominant Infrequent Socializers (P4)	Profile Differences (Chi-square)	P's
Black Pride	4.18 (0.05)	3.39 (0.11)	3.33 (0.12)	3.43 (0.20)	P1 > P2 (43.92)	<0.001
					P1 > P3 (44.12)	<0.011
					P1 > P4 (12.71)	<0.001
					P2 = P3 (0.15)	0.700
					P2 = P4 (0.03)	0.861
					P3 = P4 (0.19)	0.666
Biracial Pride	4.96 (0.05)	3.99 (0.09)	3.80 (0.13)	3.97 (0.14)	P1 > P2 (91.04)	<0.001
					P1 > P3 (71.75)	<0.001
					P1 > P4 (42.26)	<0.001
					P2 = P3 (1.47)	0.226
					P2 = P4 (0.01)	0.904
					P3 = P4 (0.77)	0.381
Identity Flexibility	4.75 (0.04)	3.91 (0.09)	3.49 (0.10)	3.68 (0.16)	P1 > P2 (70.57)	<0.001
					P1 > P3. (127.60)	<0.001
					P1 > P4 (41.17)	<0.001
					P2 > P3 (9.13)	0.003
					P2 = P4 (1.505)	0.220
					P3 = P4 (0.96)	0.326

importance of racial equality. The *Concordant Mean-level* profile, which was the second largest, followed the same pattern but the frequency of messages was closer to the sample average with the exception for a higher occurrence of messages around anti-Black racism. Notably, frequency levels of socialization were similar for both Black and white parents in the two largest profiles, which is contrary to theoretical and empirical reports that most Black and white parents will deliver different and contradictory messages about race (Stokes, 2021). There is some evidence to support this claim, however, in the smaller profiles where youth received a low frequency of racial socialization (e.g., below the sample mean) which also varied by topic and parent race. For example, 16% of the adolescents were represented in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile where Black parents delivered more socialization than white parents, but the overall frequency of messages was still low. Youth in this profile also received the least frequent socialization around Biracial pride. The remaining 10% of youth were in the *White parent Dominant Infrequent* profile which followed a similar pattern to the third profile except white parents were the primary agents of socialization rather than Black parents. However, youth in the *White parent Dominant Infrequent* profile received above average levels of socialization that promoted racial equality and Biracial pride from white parents. They were also the least likely to receive socialization around coping with Black and Biracial forms of bias than youth from all other profiles.

In addition to the ability to look at patterns of racial socialization, a more ecologically-valid conception than examining messages in isolation (Neblett et al., 2016), a key advantage of the latent profile analytic approach in this study is the ability to explore whether demographic characteristics influenced profile membership. This nuance is valuable as it highlighted how parent race *and* gender combinations influenced racial socialization patterns. For instance, adolescents with Black mothers and white fathers were more likely to be in the *Concordant Mean-level and Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profiles than the *Concordant High-Volume* profile, which was composed mostly of youth with white mothers and Black fathers. This finding suggests that youth with Black moms and white dads generally received less racial socialization than their counterparts, but that when these youth do receive messages about race, Black moms may play more of an active role in the socialization of their Biracial children than white dads. However, preliminary research indicates that white fathers of Biracial-Black children do report being particularly concerned about their child's exposure to anti-Black racism (Durrant & Gillum, 2018; Durant & Gilum, 2021). This may help explain why adolescents in the concordant high-volume profile reported similar amounts of socialization around anti-Black racism from Black and white parents. However, there is a dearth of literature that thoroughly examines interracial couple dynamics around racial socialization, so future research examining how Black-White

interracial couples' approach and navigate socialization is warranted. Actor-partner analytical approaches may be useful in this context, as they can help determine the degrees and ways in which parents of different racial groups influence each other's racial socialization practices (see Jones & Neblett, 2019 for example in Black monoracial couples).

Several meaningful differences in profile membership based on youth gender, racialized appearance, and father-adolescent closeness also emerged. For example, Biracial Black-White females were overrepresented in both *Infrequent* profiles, meaning they commonly received less racial socialization than Biracial Black-White males and that their socialization differed based on parent race. The gendered findings are tentative, however, as this comparison was significant for 3 of these 4 comparisons. Youth gender notably did not differ when comparing *Concordant Mean-level* youth with *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* youth. Consistent with the Continuum of Biracial Identity (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005), the results indicated that parents may socialize their children differently based on their racialized appearance. Specifically, adolescents who physically resembled monoracial white people were more likely to be in the *White Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile than the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile. So, in families where racial socialization is infrequent, it appears that white parents may be more likely to take on the socialization role if their Biracial child presents more as white. This finding may also explain why preparation for Black bias was exceptionally low in this profile, as white parents (1) may feel like their children's vulnerability to Black bias is low so it is not necessary to discuss and (2) may not have the knowledge or confidence to discuss it with them (Stokes et al., 2021). Youth who felt closer to their fathers were also more likely to be in the *Black Parent Dominant Infrequent* profile relative to the *Concordant Mean-level* profile. However, mother-child closeness was not significantly related to profile membership and there isn't enough empirical literature on parent-child closeness and racial socialization in Multiracial families to fully understand this discrepancy. Ultimately, parent-child closeness was incorporated more as a covariate rather than a central variable in this study, but the role of parent-child closeness should be further examined in future research, particularly in how closeness to one parent of a particular race relative to the other parent of a different race may influence how racial socialization messages predict biracial youth's racial identity.

Notably, neighborhood racial diversity was not significantly related to profile membership. This finding is inconsistent with prior research indicating that neighborhood diversity does shape the frequency and types of racial socialization that monoracial Black and other youth of color experience (Stevenson et al., 2005). However, this research used subjective measures of neighborhood diversity and an objective measure based on social mobility data from the U.S. Census Bureau (Mast & Din, 2021) was used in this study. It is plausible that youth perceptions of their neighborhoods are more meaningful in shaping racial socialization patterns. Furthermore, zip codes were used as a proxy for neighborhoods, but "zip codes are inconsistently defined and do not necessarily correspond to psychological perceptions of neighborhoods" (Byrd & Ahn, 2020, p. 1957). Future research should, therefore, employ more subjective and precise measures of neighborhood characteristics to better understand how they might impact racial socialization patterns among Biracial Black-White youth. This scholarship should also expand the scope of ecological settings to consider the role of school racial diversity, as it may also be a meaningful predictor of racial socialization (Csizmadia et al., 2014; Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Racial Socialization Profiles and Racial Identity Patterns

Considering the promotive and protective benefits of racial identity during adolescence, a secondary aim of the study was to examine whether racial socialization profiles were associated with racial pride and flexibility. Youth in the *Concordant High-Volume* profile reported higher levels of Black pride, Biracial pride, and felt more comfortable navigating their multiple racial identities (e.g., flexibility) than youth in all other profiles. This finding is somewhat contradictory to the associations that Christophe et al. (2021) found among their sample of Multiracial youth in which the "Minority profile" (a profile representing parental discordance with higher frequency of pride and preparation for bias around minoritized identities) had youth with the highest affirmation, resolution, and exploration of all profiles. The findings highlight the potential importance of hearing Biracial pride specific messaging in addition to Black pride specific messaging from *both* parents for youth's positive identity adjustment. The finding is also noteworthy as it quantitatively links various forms of racial socialization to adaptive racial identity attitudes among Biracial Black-White adolescents specifically (as opposed to a diverse multiracial sample) and for the first time, which has important research and practice implications that are discussed below. In addition, the results demonstrate that racial socialization (1) from both parents and (2) around different domains is meaningful for Biracial Black-White adolescents' racial identity development. This trend is consistent with existing qualitative research linking monoracial Black socialization and Biracial socialization to racial pride among Biracial Black-White emerging adults (Samuels, 2010). It also complicates existing findings that

suggest that parents of Biracial Black-White children, especially white parents, endorse color-evasive forms of socialization more frequently than other forms and that parents from different races deliver contradictory messages (Stokes et al., 2021; Rauktis et al., 2016; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Upon reflection, generational differences and the marital status of the participant's parents may be key determinants of these divergent findings.

From a generational standpoint, some argue that conversations about race and racism have become more frequent and salient in society over the past few decades due to events like the election of President Barack Obama in 2008 and the tragic murder of Trayvon Martin in 2012. Parents of Black and Biracial-Black children have directly reported that these events and related discourse influenced the ways they talked about race with their children (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). Parents of Biracial Black-White children also have access to significantly more parenting education and resources for socializing Biracial children around race than parents did even a decade ago. It is, therefore, plausible that Biracial Black-White adolescents today are receiving more racial socialization around a range of topics than older generations of Biracial Black-White people did. In addition, over 80% of the respondents in the sample were residing in a home with both of their biological parents who were still married. This is incredibly rare as interracial couples are significantly less likely to be married or stay married than parents of monoracial children (Amato, 2010; Brown et al., 2018). More discordance in socialization by parent race may have surfaced if the sample consisted of more youth with unmarried or divorced parents.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this study contributes to the literature in meaningful ways, it is not without limitation. First, Biracial Black-White adolescent males with married Black fathers and white mothers were overrepresented in the sample. This restricts the generalizability of the findings to a narrower sub-group of Biracial Black-White adolescents. In addition, due to sampling restraints, reports on racial socialization by parent race were collapsed which limited the ability to fully examine profile differences. For example, it could not be determined if Black fathers socialize their Biracial sons differently than their Biracial daughters or if white mothers socialize their Biracial daughters differently than Black mothers. Gender differences in the association between racial socialization profile and racial identity outcomes were also unable to be assessed. For instance, do high rates of concordant racial socialization, or parents of different races giving similar amounts of the same messages, impact the racial identity of Biracial Black-White females and males in the exact same way? It is also important to acknowledge that racial socialization messages are often gendered (Thomas et al., 2013), in ways that the measure in this study did not capture. Given the gendered nature of the practice, research should further consider how racial socialization manifests within Multiracial-Black families with LGBTQ + parents (Goldberg et al., 2022). Similarly, it will be important for future scholarship to recruit larger and more diverse samples of Biracial Black-White and other Multiracial-Black subgroups and incorporate more nuanced measurement to holistically capture the racial socialization experiences of Multiracial-Black adolescents. This study is also limited by the cross-sectional nature of the data, so future research should incorporate longitudinal designs to examine racial socialization across adolescence and determine if it is a causal predictor of racial identity outcomes.

Strengths and Implications

Despite the notable limitations, this study is novel and undoubtedly pushes the scholarship on racial socialization and racial identity during adolescence forward. More specifically, the measure of racial socialization that was used was advantageous because it captured a diverse range of racial socialization messages that Biracial Black-White youth receive from *each* parent. Existing studies of racial socialization among Multiracial populations have typically relied on measures for monoracial groups that do not fully capture socialization around Biracial experiences or only have youth report on one of their parents. The use of a more robust measure coupled with the person-centered analytic approach allowed us to better understand the unique racial socialization experiences of Biracial Black-White youth and link them to important demographic characteristics and racial identity outcomes. Accordingly, the findings were able to confirm existing theories and hypotheses in the literature as well as challenge others. A key finding was that racial socialization was in fact related to advantageous racial identity attitudes among Biracial Black-White adolescents. Moreover, this study was strengthened by using three measures of racial identity including Black pride, Biracial pride, and racial flexibility. Prior research typically only measures Black forms of racial identity or Biracial forms (which includes flexibility), but the use of all three provides a richer picture of how Biracial Black-White youth understand themselves racially. It also challenges harmful notions of racial essentialism in this scholarship by illuminating and legitimizing the multiplicity of belonging to more than one racial group (Gaither, 2018).

Altogether, the findings have implications for advancing research and practice that can promote healthy development among Biracial Black-White adolescents. First, it quantitatively demonstrates that a relationship between racial socialization and racial identity exists among Biracial

Black-White adolescents. Second, it offers a better preliminary understanding of how different types of socialization might work together to shape adaptive racial identity outcomes among Biracial Black-White youth. In addition to the recommendations above, future research should examine whether racial socialization and racial identity relate to important mental health outcomes among Biracial Black-White youth, like they do for monoracial-Black youth. This scholarship also has real-world implications for helping parents understand the utility of racial socialization and how it can impact their Biracial child's identity and wellbeing. One white mother in a qualitative study, for instance, admitted that she "could have used some help" in understanding how to socialize her Biracial Black-White daughter around race "instead of raising her to think of herself as white" because her daughter was now struggling to understand her racial reality and position in society (Harris, 2013). Accordingly, practitioners should prioritize psychoeducation around racial socialization with parents of young Biracial Black-White youth to ensure they have the knowledge and resources to engage in the practice with their children in a proactive and protective manner. Moreover, researchers and clinicians should further consider whether adaptations of existing racial socialization programs could be made to serve Biracial Black-White adolescents and their parents. The Engaging Managing and Bonding through Race (EMBRace) program may be a particularly good fit for Multiracial Black-White families because it provides psychoeducation around racial socialization and works to strengthen parent-child communication (Anderson et al., 2018).

Conclusion

Multiracial-Black adolescents are one of the fastest growing youth populations in the U.S. but remain nearly invisible in developmental research. Increasing the representation of Multiracial-Black youth in the literature on race-based promotive practices like racial socialization and racial identity is vitally important as they face anti-Black racism and Multiracial forms of bias that increase their risk of psychological distress. This study contributes to that scholarship by illuminating common patterns of racial socialization in Multiracial Black-White families and linking those to parent and youth demographics in addition to adaptative racial identity attitudes. Specifically, the current study finds evidence for four distinct patterns of racial socialization messages received by Black-White Biracial youth that differ in the frequency of messaging (infrequent to high volume/frequent) and the differences in message frequency across parental race, where a majority of participants received consistent levels of messages across parents, while a smaller but meaningful proportion of the sample received socialization either guided by their Black parents or their white parent. The pattern of socialization parents delivered had large implications for the identity beliefs of their Black-White Biracial children, with youth who received more frequent messages that were consistent across parents generally having the greatest amounts of pride in being Black and Biracial, as well as a greater ability to flexibly identity depending on the context. The findings suggest that future socialization-focused interventions serving families with Black-White Biracial youth may benefit from working to increase the frequency of racial socialization and helping parents get on the same page with respect to the content of the socialization messages they deliver and the frequency of such messages.

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Data Sharing and Declaration The datasets generated and/or analyzed during the current study are not publicly available but are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare no competing interests.

Ethical Approval This study involved human participants and was conducted in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional review board (North Carolina State University Institutional Review Board Protocol 209260).

Informed Consent Informed assent was obtained from all participants in the study.

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