Parental Influence on Racial Awareness: the Impact of Ethnic-Racial Socialization on White Adolescents' Critical Reflection

Sanne Dijkstra (5735158)

Ymke de Bruijn

Youth Development and Social Change

June 2025

5943 words

Disclaimer: *This thesis has been written as a study assignment under the supervision of a Utrecht University teacher. Ethical permission has been granted for this thesis project by the ethics board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University, and the thesis has been assessed by two university teachers. However, the thesis has not undergone a thorough peer-review process so conclusions and findings should be read as such.*

Abstract

This study examines the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization (PERS) and critical reflection on racism among White late adolescents in the Netherlands, aged 17-21 (M = 19.45, *SD* = 1.31). While previous research on PERS has mainly focused on families of color, little is known about how White parents' racial messages shape their children's critical reflection. This study investigates two forms of PERS: egalitarian messages and messages about discrimination against other groups. The mediating role of general just world beliefs (GJWB) is examined. Data were collected from 296 White adolescents (79.4% female, 20,6% male) through an online survey. Linear regression and mediation analyses were conducted. Results showed that PERS about discrimination against other groups was positively associated with critical reflection. In contrast, PERS about egalitarianism did not directly predict critical reflection, but was positively related to GJWB, which in turn negatively predicted critical reflection. Mediation analyses showed that GJWB fully mediated the relationship between egalitarianism and critical reflection. No mediation was found for the other PERS form. These findings suggest that PERS about discrimination against other groups can promote critical reflection, even among youth not personally affected by racism. Conversely, egalitarianism messages may reinforce beliefs that the world is fair, reducing awareness of racism. The study highlights the importance of color-consciousness parenting approaches. For meaningful change, parents and educators should go beyond ideals of equality and engage in honest, open discussions about racism. Only then can the next generation of adolescents fight against racism and strive for an inclusive society.

Keywords: PERS, critical reflection on racism, GJWB, White adolescents

Introduction

Although racism is legally prohibited by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (United Nations, 1965), it remains a pervasive societal issue. Racism can take many forms, from unequal treatment and racist slurs to violence (Tierolf et al., 2018). For example, people with a migration background face disadvantages in labor and housing markets (Andriessen, n.d.; Felten et al., 2021). Racism is not only an individual problem but also a structural one embedded in institutions with far-reaching consequences (Corrias, 2020). On an individual level, it can cause mental and physical health problems such as psychological distress or hypertension (Riley, 2017; Stopforth et al., 2022). Structurally, it leads to socio-economic disparities like higher unemployment and residential segregation (Riley, 2017; Stopforth et al., 2022).

Despite growing public awareness, including through movements like Black Lives Matter in the Netherlands, people differ greatly in their understanding and recognition of racism (Mesman et al., 2022). Research shows that individuals from underrepresented racial and ethnic backgrounds tend to exhibit higher critical reflection on racism than White individuals, as they more often experience racism directly (Bonilla-Silva, 2022). In contrast, White individuals often show lower awareness or even denial (Neville et al., 2013). Avoiding discussions about racism does not reduce it, rather it reinforces it, consciously or unconsciously (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Son & Shelton, 2012).

A key factor influencing critical reflection is parental ethnic-racial socialization (PERS) (Hughes et al., 2006). PERS varies, some parents emphasizing egalitarian messages, while others highlight the racism faced by other groups. Prior research shows that PERS plays a role in shaping critical reflection among underrepresented groups (Bañales et al., 2019; Diemer et al., 2006; Meija et al., 2024), but little is known about its role among White adolescents. Additionally, general just world beliefs (GJWB), the idea that people get what

they deserve, affect perceptions of justice and inequality. These beliefs serve as a psychological function but can reduce the recognition of inequality (Hafer & Choma, 2009; Lerner, 1983). Despite its relevance, little is known about how GJWB mediates between different PERS approaches and critical reflection. This study addresses these gaps by examining how PERS and GJWB relate to critical reflection among White adolescents in the Netherlands aged 17 to 21. Understanding this advances theories of critical consciousness by integrating socialization and psychological factors, and it addresses the lack of research focused on White adolescents, a group whose racial awareness is crucial.

Focusing on White adolescents is essential because adolescence is a critical developmental period for forming awareness of racism (Diemer et al., 2006). As White individuals often hold structural privilege, their awareness influences their engagement in anti-racist actions (Loyd & Gaither, 2018). Improving critical reflection among White adolescents can reduce colorblind attitudes and encourage active participation in combating racism. Additionally, this research can inform parenting and educational strategies to promote critical reflection on racism early, contributing to societal efforts toward racial equality and justice. Therefore, the research questions are:

Does PERS about egalitarianism and discrimination against other groups, relate to critical reflection on racism among White late adolescents between the age of 17 and 21 years old? And are these relations mediated by GJWB?

Theoretical Framework

Critical reflection

According to Freire's (1973) Critical Consciousness Theory, an individual's awareness of racial inequality and oppressive systems, along with the empowerment to act against these structures, is defined as critical consciousness. Watts et al. (2011) expanded this into three components: critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action. Critical reflection involves being aware that achievement gaps are influenced by inequality, and it includes recognizing both individual and structural causes behind these disparities (Bañales et al., 2019). Critical motivation involves the personal drive and determination to act against injustices (Diemer et al., 2015), while critical action entails changing these circumstances and deconstructing unjust systems (Golden & Byrd, 2022). Together, these components make critical consciousness a valuable developmental tool and a way to empower people, especially for those who are underrepresented due to race (Diemer et al., 2016; Christens et al., 2015). Although critical consciousness has traditionally been studied in adults, adolescence is a key period for its development (De Bruijn, 2025). Adolescents develop more advanced social cognitive abilities, which help them recognize injustice (De Bruijn, 2025). Originally, critical consciousness helped oppressed groups recognize systematic inequality, but research shows that White individuals also can develop critical reflection by acknowledging racism and their privileges (De Bruijn, 2025; Diemer et al., 2016). This study focuses specifically on critical reflection, as it represents the first essential step toward critical motivation, which can eventually lead to critical action.

The Developmental Model of Children's Racial Perspective-Taking Ability (Quintana, 2008) explains how awareness of race develops. Young children focus on physical traits, while adolescents begin to understand race as socially meaningful and connected to systematic inequality. However, not all individuals progress at the same rate, as their

development is influenced by their environment, interactions, and willingness to engage in discussions about race.

PERS and Critical Reflection on Racism

Parental ethnic racial socialization (PERS) refers to "the mechanisms through which parents transmit information, values, and perspectives about ethnicity and race to their children" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 747). Early studies on PERS focused mainly on families of color, where it plays an important role in shaping children's understanding of racism and coping with racism (Abaied & Perry, 2021). In contrast, White families tend to avoid discussing racism. (Abaied et al., 2022; De Bruijn, 2025; Pahlke et al., 2012; Zucker & Patterson, 2018), which may unintentionally teach children to ignore racial issues (Abaied & Perry, 2021). However, some White parents do address race, and those who do tend to have children with more positive interracial attitudes (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004).

Four primary PERS approaches have been identified in White families: egalitarianism, history of other groups, preparation for bias, and discrimination against other groups (Pahlke et al., 2012). Egalitarianism emphasizes that the world should be equal, and that people should be judged based on personal qualities rather than race (Zucker & Patterson, 2018; Pahlke et al., 2012). It is the most common approach in White families (Hazelbaker et al., 2022; Hughes et al., 2006), often used out of fear of encouraging prejudice or due the belief race does not matter (Pahlke et al., 2012; Abaied et al., 2022). However, while egalitarianism promotes the idea of equality, it can also contribute to messages of colorblind racism (Ferguson et al., 2021). Colorblindness is a prevalent phenomenon in which White individuals deny or minimize the existence of racism, often under the belief that racial differences should not influence how people are treated (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Bonilla-Silva, 2022; Evans et al., 2012). PERS about discrimination against other groups acknowledges that individuals from underrepresented backgrounds still face racism (Pahlke et al., 2012), which can be in

line with color-consciousness, which emphasizes recognizing racism (Abaied et al., 2021; Perry et al., 2019). This study focuses on PERS about egalitarianism and PERS about discrimination against other groups, as they represent two distinct approaches in White families, one that minimizes racism and one that acknowledges it.

According to the Developmental Model of Anti-Racism (Hazelbaker et al., 2022), White children's racial attitudes and anti-racist behavior are shaped by psychological and social influences, with home socialization playing a key role. The extent to which parents discuss race influences children's ability to recognize and analyze racial inequality (Hazelbaker et al., 2022). While the model does not explicitly distinguish between different PERS approaches, it emphasizes the contrast between color-consciousness and colorblindness. When parents take a colorblind approach, White children often learn to avoid the topic of race and become less able to recognize racial differences (Hazelbaker et al., 2022). In contrast, color-conscious parenting promotes awareness of privilege, reduces bias, and encourages anti-racist actions (Hazelbaker et al., 2022).

Empirical findings support this distinction. Among families of color, Anyiwo (2018, 2021) found that when Black parents prepare their children for racial bias and foster cultural pride, it increases children's critical reflection. While studies on White families are limited, recent findings suggest similar patterns. Curran et al. (2023) found that White parents can transmit anti-racist values. Similarly, Heberle et al. (2023) reported that participation in an anti-racist parenting program increased critical reflection among White children. More specifically, color-consciousness parenting has been linked to increased awareness of institutional injustices (Barr & Neville, 2008; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Zucker & Patterson (2018) found that White adolescents exposed to this approach showed more critical views of structural inequality. Likewise, Barr & Neville (2008) reported that open family discussions about race contributed to more nuanced awareness of institutional injustice, whereas

colorblindness hinder such awareness (Hazelbaker et al., 2022). Apfelbaum et al. (2010) found that colorblindness reduced White children's awareness of racial bias. Similarly, colorblind approaches can contribute to a lack of awareness about the societal impacts of race (Hughes et al., 2006).

Although these studies refer to colorblindness and color-consciousness, they reflect similar underlying dynamics to the two PERS approaches: egalitarianism and discrimination against other groups (Perry et al., 2019). Based on these theoretical and empirical insights, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1a: *There is a negative relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and critical reflection on racism in late adolescents.*

H1b: *There is a positive relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and critical reflection on racism in late adolescents.*

PERS and GJWB

The belief in a just world refers to the idea that the world is fundamentally fair, and people get what they deserve (Lerner, 1983). While children often adopt this belief early on, adolescents develop more advanced cognitive abilities that allow them to question these beliefs (Scholz & Strelan, 2021). During this period of identity formation, they may also adopt ideological beliefs (De Bruijn, 2025). As a result, adolescents may become more aware of unfairness in the world (Dalbert and Sally, 2004).

Just world beliefs are divided into two types, personal just world beliefs (PJWB) and general just world beliefs (GJWB). PJWB relate to the perceived fairness in one's own life (Silva et al., 2024), while GJWB focuses on the beliefs about justice in the world more broadly (Wu et al., 2010) This study focuses on GJWB, as they reflect how adolescents

perceive societal fairness, which is particularly relevant when examining racial awareness among White adolescents.

According to Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), individuals form attitudes and beliefs by observing and interacting with influential individuals, especially parents. In early life, parents influence the values of their children (Scholz & Strelan, 2021; Vitrupp, 2016), but also shape the environments and social circles children are exposed to (Mesman et al., 2022)

To further understand how the different PERS approaches relate to GJWB, it is useful to consider System Justification Theory. This theory posits that individuals are motivated to perceive existing social, political, and economic systems as fair, legitimate, and stable, even when these systems disadvantage themselves or others (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Just world beliefs function as a psychological mechanism supporting system justification, especially among dominant social groups (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Different PERS approaches may reinforce or challenge these system-justifying beliefs. For example, PERS about egalitarianism, often aligned with a colorblind approach, can support the belief that society is fair and equal (Ferguson et al., 2021). In contrast, PERS about discrimination against other groups, which can be associated with color-consciousness, may challenge system-justifying beliefs by highlighting injustices (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

While no empirical studies have directly examined the relationship between different PERS approaches and GJWB, empirical studies on color-consciousness and colorblind approaches provide insights. Kestner (2009) found that colorblind messages were associated with higher GJWB, suggesting that racial unawareness may reinforce beliefs that society is fundamentally fair. In contrast, conversations about racism have been linked to greater awareness of privileges and, consequently, weaker GJWB (Vittrup, 2016). Similarly, Pahlke et al. (2012) found that discussions about race and inequality in White families were

associated with adolescents' perceptions of reduced societal fairness, potentially associated with lower GJWB. Therefore, the following hypotheses are expected:

H2a: *There is a positive relation between PERS about egalitarianism and GJWB*

H2b: *There is a negative relation between PERS about discrimination against other groups and GJWB*

GJWB and Critical Reflection on Racism

Just world beliefs help individuals to maintain a sense of control over their own fate and provide a sense of psychological security (Lerner, 1983). According to Just World Theory (Lerner, 1977), people have a fundamental need to believe that the world is fair, and this belief contributes to a broader motivation to seek justice.

However, just world beliefs can also have some unintended social consequences (Hafer, 2000a). They may lead to the devaluation of victims, as people with strong GJWB tend to blame victims of injustice for their situation in order to preserve their belief that the world is fair (Hafer, 2000a; Hafer, 2002; Ross & Miller, 2002). Certain victims challenge an individual's belief in a just world. As a result, people react by assigning blame or devaluing the victim to restore a sense of justice (Hafer, 2002; Ross & Miller, 2002). This process of victim blaming is described in the experimental work of Hafer (2000b), which shows that individuals with a strong focus on long-term goals and moral pathways to achieve these goals are more likely to blame and negatively evaluate victims when confronted with injustice.

This process of victim blaming is particularly relevant to understand critical reflection on racism. Rather than recognizing racism as a systemic problem rooted in historical and structural inequalities, individuals with strong GJWB may explain racial disparities by attributing them to individual failings (Bonna-Silva, 2022; Linhares et al., 2022). In doing so, they fail to critically engage with the broader social and institutional forces that maintain

racial inequality (Perez & Salter, 2020). In this way, victim blaming can be seen as the opposite of critical reflection. Whereas critical reflection seeks to expose and challenge systemic injustice (Bañales et al., 2019), strong GWJB promotes the rationalization of injustice and the denial of racism as a societal problem (Bonna-Silva, 2022; Linhares et al., 2022; Perez & Salter, 2020).

Empirical studies support this idea. Individuals with high GJWB are less likely to recognize discrimination against underrepresented groups (Hafer & Choma, 2009). Additionally, these individuals are more likely to view the current political and social system as fair, even when these systems are unequal or harmful to certain groups (Hafer & Sutton, 2016; Hafer & Olson, 1989; Jost & Hunyady, 2005;) Also, these individuals tend to be less involved in political activism (Furnham, 2003). In contrast, individuals who hold lower GJWB are more aware of injustices in society (Scholz & Strelan, 2021).

Overall, while GJWB can provide individuals with psychological comfort and stability, they may contribute to the justification of systemic injustice and reduce support for social change. Therefore, the following hypotheses are expected:

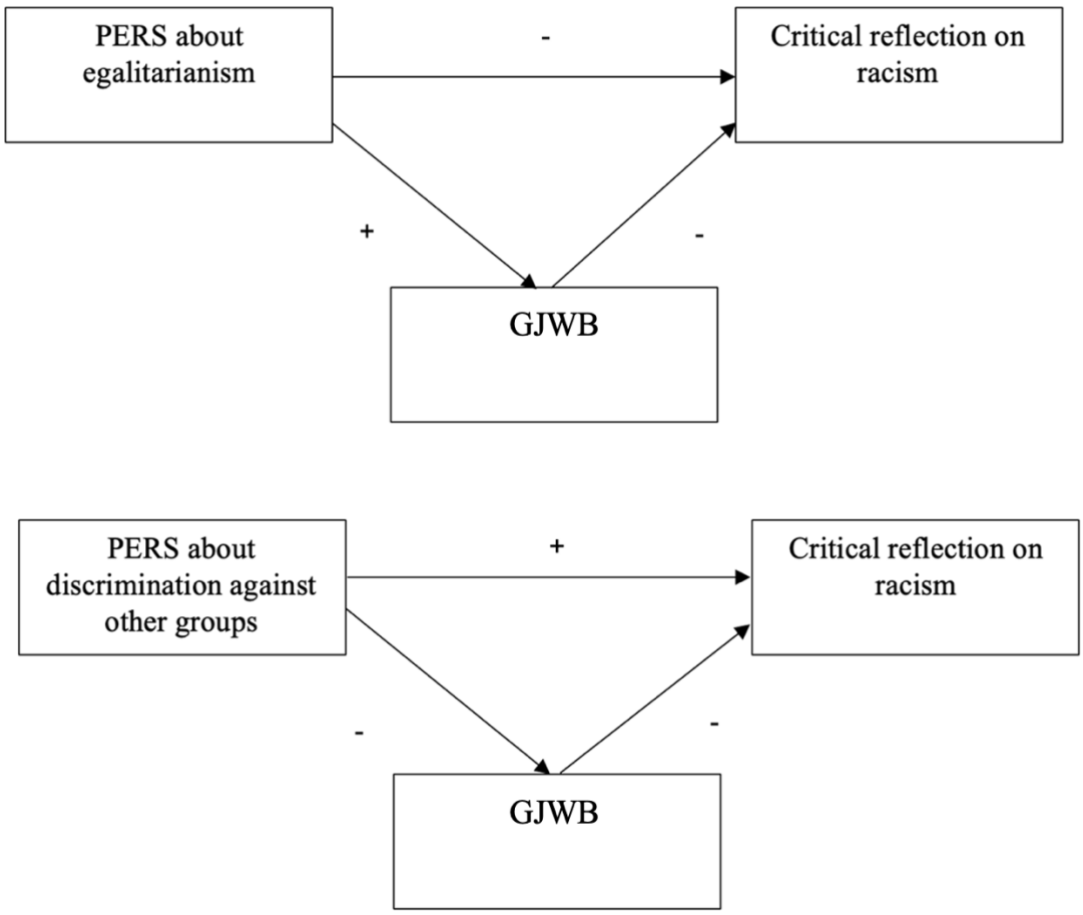
H3: *There is a negative relation between GJWB and critical reflection on racism.*

H4a: *GJWB mediates the relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and critical reflection on racism.*

H4b: *GJWB mediates the relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and critical reflection on racism.*

Figure 1

Conceptual Models



Note. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. GJWB stands for general just world beliefs.

Methods

Participants and Design

The data were derived from the cross-sectional Jong en Betrokken Project, examining the relationships between key variables at a single point, without testing for causality. The original dataset included 403 late adolescents from the Netherlands. Only White participants, defined in the questionnaire as individuals with a light skin tone and European ancestry, were included. Additionally, only participants aged 17 to 21 were included, aligned with the study's target population (M = 19.45, SD = 1.31). Participants were excluded if they completed less than half of a scale, when they identified with a gender other than male or female, chose not to disclose their gender, or some were identified as certain statistical outliers. After applying these criteria, the final sample consisted of 296 participants, of whom 79.4% were female (N = 235) and 20.6% male (N = 61). Educational backgrounds varied, with 61.1% attending university (N = 181), 14.5% higher professional education (N = 43), 6,8% vocational education (N=20), and 7.5% not reporting their education (N = 22). Recruitment methods included face-to-face approaches on the Utrecht University campus, distribution through student associations and youth organizations, snowball sampling through researchers' networks, and promoted posts on Instagram. These methods may have introduced selection bias, as the sample likely overrepresents individuals connected to universities or the researchers' networks. Therefore, results may not generalize to all White late adolescents in the Netherlands.

Procedure

Data were collected through an online Dutch questionnaire hosted on Qualtrics. Participants accessed the questionnaire via a link or a QR-code. Before starting, they received an information letter detailing study information, estimated completion time (30

minutes), and withdrawal rights. The letter stated no names would be collected, but personal data such as ethnicity and opinions on social issues would be. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained prior to beginning the questionnaire. As an incentive, participants could receive a 5-euro gift card upon completion by submitting the questionnaire. Ethical approval was obtained from the Ethics Assessment Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences at University of Utrecht. Data were securely stored for ten years in accordance with university guidelines.

Measurements

PERS about Egalitarianism

One independent variable was measured using the egalitarianism subscale from the adopted Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors scale (Pahlke et al., 2012). This 5-item subscale (item 1 till 5) assesses how often parents told adolescents about equality and fairness across ethnicities and backgrounds (Pahlke et al., 2012). In this study, adolescents reported on their parents' behaviors, whereas the original scale was designed for parents to report. Example items include: "Indicate how often your parents have told you that people of all ethnicities and backgrounds have an equal chance in life" and "Indicate how often your parents have told you that people are equal, regardless of their ethnicity or background". Responses ranged from (1) "never" to (5) "very often". Higher scores reflect more frequent egalitarianism messages. A composite score was calculated by averaging all five items. The subscale demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .84$), similar to previous findings of Pahlke et al. (2012) ($\alpha = .89$). All the items are listed in Appendix I.

PERS about Discrimination against Other Groups.

The second independent variable was measured using a 7-item subscale (item 9 till 25) from the adopted Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors scale (Pahlke et al., 2012). This subscale assesses how often parents discussed racism experienced by other groups (Pahlke et al., 2012). This scale was also originally intended for parents, but adolescents reported on their parents' behavior in this study. Example items include: "Indicate how often your parents have told you about discrimination or prejudice against other ethnic groups or backgrounds" and "Indicate how often your parents have told you that people from your ethnic group or background have better opportunities than those from other ethnic groups or backgrounds". Responses were given on a 6-point scale from (1) "never" to (6) "very often", with higher scores indicating more frequent discussions about racism. A composite score was calculated by averaging all seven items. Internal consistency was high in both the original study of Pahlke et al. (2012) ($\alpha = .92$). and in the current study ($\alpha = .89$). All items can be found in Appendix I.

Critical Reflection on Racism.

The dependent variable was measured using the structural subscale of the Critical Reflection scale by Bañales et al. (2019). Based on prior factor analysis, five items (item 1 till 5) were used to assess recognition of structural inequalities affecting individuals with a migration background (Bañales et al., 2019). Example items include: "Young people with a migration background do not have as many advantages at school as those without a migration background" and "Young people without a migration background go mostly of the time to better schools than young people with a migration background". Responses ranged from (1) "strongly disagree" to (6) "strongly agree", with higher scores reflecting greater recognition of structural inequality. A composite score was calculated by averaging the five

items. Reliability was adequate both in the original study of Bañales et al. (2019) (α = .78) and in the current study (α = .77). All items are provided in Appendix I.

GJWB

The mediator was measured using the Just World Scale (Dalbert, 1999). Based on previous factor analyses, six items (item 1 till 6) were selected to assess adolescents' belief that the world is fundamentally fair. Examples items include: "I believe that the world is fundamentally a just place" and "I believe that people largely get what they deserve". Responses ranged from (1) "strongly disagree" to (6) "strongly agree", with higher scores indicating a stronger belief in a just world. A composite score was calculated by averaging the six items. The original study of Dalbert (1999) reported good reliability (α = .78). and internal consistency was also good in the current study (α = .81). The full scale is available in Appendix I.

Gender

Gender was included as a control variable and measured with the item: "What is your gender identity?". Only male or female responses were analyzed, in line with previous studies focusing on these identities. Prior studies suggest that parents, across Black, White, and families of color, discuss race more with daughters than sons (Brown et al., 2007). However, findings are mixed, with some studies suggests no gender differences (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thompson et al., 2000). Among White adolescents, gender differences remain understudied. Wray-Lake et al. (2022) found that girls, including White girls, reported higher levels of critical consciousness than boys. PERS also appears to impact emotions differently, African American boys reported more sadness and hopelessness, while girls reported less

(Hughes et al., 2006). These emotional differences may influence the development of GJWB, justifying the inclusion of gender as a control variable.

Analyses

Data were analyzed using JASP. First, data were cleaned by identifying and handling missing values and outliers. Participants were removed if they had completed less than half of a scale, identified themselves with a gender other than female or male, or if they chose not to disclose their gender. Several outliers were identified, two of these were removed for giving identical responses across items. Next, reliability analyses were evaluated using Cronbach's alpha to assess the internal consistency and test whether the scales reliably measured the constructs. Then, key assumptions for statistical analyses were tested. Absence of multicollinearity was checked by examining the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF), ensuring all values were below 10. Outliers and influential cases were evaluated using Cook's distance (<1) and Standardized Residuals (<3). Linearity and homoscedasticity were checked via residual scatterplots. Finally, a residual histogram was created to assess normality, which had to be normally distributed. Descriptive statistics were computed, including means, minimum, maximum, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables.

To test the first five hypotheses (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3) a series of linear regression analyses were conducted, with gender as a control variable. Each hypothesis was tested separately with a regression analysis. For hypothesis 1a, PERS about egalitarianism predicted critical reflection on racism. For hypothesis 1b, PERS about discrimination against other groups predicted critical reflection on racism. For hypotheses 2a and 2b, the two subscales of the independent variable PERS were used to predict GJWB. Finally, hypothesis 3 tested whether GJWB predicted critical reflection on racism.

Finally, mediation hypotheses (4a and 4b) were tested using the SEM mediation module in JASP. Hypothesis 4a examined whether GJWB mediated the relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and critical reflection on racism. Hypothesis 4b examined whether GJWB mediated the relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and critical reflection on racism. Gender was included as a control variable in both analyses.

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

The descriptive statistics and Pearson correlations for the main variables can presented in Table 1. Results revealed that PERS about egalitarianism showed a small but significant positive correlation with GJWB. PERS about discrimination against other groups had a small significant positive correlation with critical reflection on racism. Additionally critical reflection was significantly negatively correlated with GJWB, showing a medium effect size. Gender was significantly negatively correlated with PERS about egalitarianism, PERS about discrimination against other groups, and critical reflection, each showing small effect sizes.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations of the Main Variables

					Correlations			
	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. PERS about egalitarianism	1	5	2.98	.96	-	-	-	-
2. PERS about discrimination against other groups	1	5	2.77	.87	-	-	-	-
3. Critical reflection on racism	1	5	3.67	.70	.08	.21***	-	-
4. GJWB	1	5.83	2.96	.87	.13*	<.01	-.33***	-
5. Gender	0	1	.21	.41	-.13*	-.14*	-.20***	.02

Note. *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. GJWB stands for general just world beliefs. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

Association Between PERS and Critical Reflection on Racism

To test hypotheses 1a and 1b, two linear regression analyses were conducted to examine the effects of the two PERS approaches on critical reflection on racism, controlling for gender (path C). Results are shown in Table 2. Regression model 1a, with PERS about egalitarianism as the independent variable, was statistically significant $F(2, 293) = 6.456$, $p < .01$, explaining 4.2% of the variance ($R^2 = .042$, adj. $R^2 = .036$). However, PERS about egalitarianism was not a significant predictor of critical reflection, thus hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Regression model 1b, with PERS about discrimination against other groups as the independent variable, was also statistically significant $F(2, 293) = 11.461$, $p < .001$, explaining 7.3% of the variance ($R^2 = .073$, adj. $R^2 = .066$). PERS about discrimination against other groups was a significant positive predictor of critical reflection, supporting hypothesis 1b. Gender was a significant negative predictor of critical reflection in both models.

Table 2

Results of the Regression Analyses for PERS and Critical Reflection on Racism

		B	SE(B)	β	95% CI
Model 1a	Constant	3.62	.14		[3.35], [3.89]
	PERS about egalitarianism	.04	.04	.06	[-.04], [.13]
	Gender	-.33	.10	-.19**	[-.53], [-.13]
Model 1b	Constant	3.32	.14		[3.06], [3.59]
	PERS about discrimination against other groups	0.15	.05	.19**	[.06], [.24]
	Gender	-.30	.10	-.17**	[-.49], [-.11]

Note. **$p < .01$. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

Association Between PERS and GJWB

To test hypotheses 2a and 2b, two linear regression analyses were conducted to examine the effects of the two PERS approaches on GJWB (path A), controlling for gender. Results are shown in Table 3. Regression model 1a, with PERS about egalitarianism as the independent variable, was statistically significant $F(2, 293) = 2.713$, $p = .068$, explaining 1,8% of the variance ($R^2 = .018$, adj. $R^2 = .011$). PERS about egalitarianism was a significant positive predictor of GJWB, supporting hypothesis 2a. Regression model 1b, with PERS about discrimination against other groups as the independent variable, was not significant $F(2, 293) = 0.075$, $p = .928$, explaining 0,1% of the variance ($R^2 = .001$, adj. $R^2 = -.006$). PERS about discrimination against other groups was not a significant predictor of GJWB, thus hypothesis 2b was not supported. Gender was not a significant predictor in either model.

Table 3

Results of the Regression Analyses for PERS and GJWB

		B	SE(B)	β	95% CI
Model 1a	Constant	2.58	.17		[2.25], [2.92]
	PERS about egalitarianism	.12	.05	.13*	[.02], [.23]
	Gender	.08	.13	.04	[-.16], [.33]
Model 1b	Constant	2.94	.18		[2.59], [3.29]
	PERS about discrimination against other groups	.01	.06	.01	[-.11], [.12]
	Gender	.05	.13	.02	[-.20], [.30]

Note. *$p < .05$. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

Association Between GJWB and Critical Reflection on Racism

To test hypothesis 3 (path B), a linear regression analysis was conducted with GJWB predicting critical reflection on racism, controlling for gender. As shown in Table

4, the regression model was statistically significant $F(2, 293) = 24.420$, $p<.001$, explaining 14,3% of the variance ($R^2 = .143$, adj. $R^2 = .137$). GJWB was a significant negative predictor of critical reflection, supporting hypothesis 3. Gender was also a significant negative predictor.

Table 4

Results of the Regression Analysis for GJWB and Critical Reflection on Racism

		B	SE(B)	β	95% CI
Model 1	Constant	4.51	.14		[4.24], [4.77]
	GJWB	-.26	.04	-.32***	[-.34], [-.17]
	Gender	-.33	.09	-.19***	[-.51], [-.15]

Note. ***p <.001. GJWB stands for general just world beliefs. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

Association Between PERS and Critical Reflection on Racism, Mediated by GJWB

To test hypotheses 4a and 4b, two mediation analyses were conducted to examine whether GJWB mediates the relationship between the two different PERS approaches and critical reflection on racism. Gender was included as a control variable. Results showed a significant indirect effect of PERS about egalitarianism on critical reflection via GJWB. Despite non-significant direct and total effects, this indicates full mediation, supporting hypothesis 4a (see Table 5).

Table 5

Mediation Analysis with PERS, Critical Reflection on Racism, and GJWB

Effect	B	SE(B)	*p*	95% CI
GJWB → Critical reflection on racism	-.27	.05	<.001	[-.36], [-.17]
PERS about egalitarianism→ Critical reflection on racism	.07	.04	.069	[-.01], [.16]
PERS about egalitarianism →GJWB	.12	.06	<.05	[.01], [.25]
Gender → PERS about egalitarianism	-.30	.15	<.05	[-.57], [-.01]
Gender → GJWB	.08	.12	.483	[-.15], [.34]
Gender →Critical reflection on racism	-.31	.11	<.01	[-.51], [-.09]
Direct effects	.07	.04	.069	[-.01], [.16]
Indirect effects	-.03	.02	<.05	[-.07], [-.01]
Total effects	.04	.04	.325	[-.04], [.12]

Note. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. GJWB stands for general just world beliefs. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

The results of the second mediation analysis, with PERS about discrimination against other groups as the independent variable, are presented in Table 6. Both the direct effect and total effects were significant, but the indirect effect was not significant, indicating no mediation. Therefore, hypothesis 4b was not supported.

Table 6

Mediation Analysis with, Critical Reflection on Racism, and GJWB

Effect	B	SE(B)	*p*	95% CI
GJWB → Critical reflection on racism	-.26	.04	<.001	[-.34], [-.18]
PERS about discrimination against other groups → Critical reflection on racism	.15	.04	<.001	[.07], [.23]
PERS about discrimination against other groups → GJWB	.01	.06	.937	[-.11], [.12]
Gender → PERS about discrimination against other groups	-.29	.12	<.05	[-.53], [-.05]
Gender → GJWB	.05	.13	.699	[-.20], [.30]
Gender → Critical reflection on racism	-.29	.09	<.01	[-.47], [-.11]
Direct effects	.15	.04	<.001	[.07], [.23]
Indirect effects	<.01	.02	.937	[-.03], [.03]
Total effects	.15	.05	<.01	[.06], [.24]

Note. PERS stands for parental ethnic-racial socialization. GJWB stands for general just world beliefs. Gender is coded as 0 for female and 1 for male.

Discussion

This study examined how PERS, specifically messages about egalitarianism and discrimination against other groups, relate to critical reflection on racism among White adolescents, and whether GJWB mediates these relationships. PERS about egalitarianism was indirectly associated with lower critical reflection through increased GJWB. In contrast, PERS about discrimination against other groups was positively associated with critical reflection, with no evidence of mediation by GJWB.

Hypothesis 1a, predicting a negative relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and critical reflection on racism, was not supported. This contrasts earlier studies showing that egalitarianism messages, often reflecting a colorblind approach, are associated with lower awareness of structural racism (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2006). A possible explanation is that adolescents interpret egalitarianism differently. Some view it as

colorblindness, implying racism is no longer an issue (Ferguson et al., 2021), while others see it as equal treatment that recognizes race and values positive intergroup relations (Hughes et al., 2006; Pahlke et al., 2020; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). This distinction may explain why no significant association was found, as differing conceptualizations could have canceled out the expected negative relationship.

Hypotheses 1b, predicting a positive relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and critical reflection on racism, was supported. When parents acknowledge such discrimination, adolescents are more likely to recognize racial injustice. This supports earlier findings showing that parental discussions about racism targeting other groups increase critical awareness among White adolescents (Zucker & Patterson, 2018; Bar & Neville, 2008). It also supports the model of Hazelbaker et al. (2022) which links a color-consciousness approach to greater awareness of structural inequality. This study adds to existing research by highlighting this effect in the Dutch context, where such messaging among White families remains understudied.

Hypothesis 2a, predicting a positive relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and GJWB, was supported. Adolescents who received these messages were more likely to believe the world is fair. This fits with System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), which suggests that individuals are motivated to see society and its systems as fair. It also algins with Social Learning Theory, which suggests that individuals form beliefs through observation and interaction (Bandura, 1977). Similarly, Kestner (2009) found that a colorblind approach can reinforce the belief in societal fairness, thereby strengthening GJWB. This study extends prior studies by directly linking PERS about egalitarianism to GJWB, an understudied connection compared to the focus on colorblindness in earlier studies.

Hypothesis 2b, predicting a negative relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and GJWB, was not supported. This indicates that such messages do not

affect adolescents' beliefs about societal fairness. One explanation is that parents discussing discrimination against other groups often downplay or overlook its ongoing presence and impact (Zucker & Patterson, 2018; Vittrup, 2016), by emphasizing historical rather than current examples of racial injustice (Zucker & Patterson, 2018; Vittrup, 2016). As a result, adolescents may perceive these messages as referring to past events, which could weaken their connection to ongoing social inequality.

Furthermore, hypothesis 3 predicting a negative relationship between GJWB and critical reflection on racism, was supported. Adolescents who strongly believed the world is fair were less likely to recognize systemic racism. This aligns with previous research showing that belief in a just world can encourage victim-blaming and denial of structural inequality (Hafer & Choma, 2009; Hafer & Olson, 1989; Hafer & Sutton, 2016; Jost & Hunyady, 2005), as people attribute disparities to personal failings rather than systemic justice (Bonna-Silva, 2022; Linhares et al., 2022; Perez & Salter, 2020). This study extends previous research by exploring this relationship among the understudied group of White adolescents in the Netherlands, contributing to generalizability beyond the US.

Hypothesis 4a, predicting GJWB mediates the relationship between PERS about egalitarianism and critical reflection on racism, was supported. Mediation analysis revealed a significant indirect effect, indicating that these messages predicted higher GJWB, which in turn predicted lower awareness of racial inequality. Neither the direct nor total effects were significant, indicating full mediation. As Hayes (2009) explains, a significant total effect is not required to detect mediation, since direct and indirect effects can work in opposite directions, canceling each other out. These results align with previous research showing that just world beliefs act as a psychological barrier to recognize inequality (Jost & Banaji, 1994). PERS about egalitarianism, often linked to colorblindness, is associated with higher GJWB, which is associated with reduced awareness of racial injustices (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Jost

& Banaji, 1994). It extends previous research by showing this mediation specifically among White Dutch adolescents. While prior studies linked GJWB to lower critical reflection (Hafer & Choma, 2009; Hafer & Olson, 1989; Hafer & Sutton, 2016; Jost & Hunyady, 2005), few have examined it as a mediator in the context of PERS or outside the US.

The last hypothesis 4b, predicting GJWB mediates the relationship between PERS about discrimination against other groups and critical reflection on racism, was not supported. Mediation analysis showed a significant direct effect, but no significant indirect effect through GJWB. This suggests that such messages increase adolescents' awareness of racial injustices directly, independent of beliefs about societal fairness. Other, yet unidentified mechanisms may explain this association, highlighting the need for future research to explore alternative pathways beyond GJWB.

In evaluating the study's contributions, it is important to consider strengths, limitations, and future directions. A key strength is the focus on White adolescents, often overlooked in research on critical reflection and PERS. This study used well-validated scales with strong reliability and an adequate sample size. Additionally, the mediation analysis provided valuable insights into the underlying psychological mechanisms linking PERS and critical reflection. However, limitations must be considered. The cross-sectional design limits causal interpretations. Future longitudinal research is needed to assess developmental trajectories and causality. Second, the use of self-report via an online questionnaire, particularly regarding PERS, may introduce bias. As Pahlke et al. (2020) highlighted, adolescents' recollections can be shaped by personal interpretation and adolescents may report messages in line with their own beliefs. Moreover, how participants remember and interpret PERS may have stronger influence on their values and worldviews than the actual messages (Prioste et al., 2015). Future research could address these issues by using multi-method approaches, for example parent reports or conducting in-depth interviews with both

adolescents and parents. Finally, the sample may be biased toward more socially engaged youth, since recruitment occurred through university platforms and researcher's personal networks, which limits generalizability. Future studies should focus on different social and educational contexts, as PERS and its interpretation may vary based on socioeconomic status or educational level among adolescents and their parents (Hughes et al., 2006).

To address racism as a persistent societal issue, it is crucial to understand how White adolescents develop awareness of racial injustice and how PERS shapes this process. This study contributes both theoretical and practically. Theoretically, it extends literature by examining how different PERS approaches function within White families, an often-understudied group. Notably, mechanisms linking PERS to critical refection differ by message types. PERS about discrimination against other groups positively predicted critical reflection, supporting previous research (Hazelbaker et al., 2022). While PERS about egalitarianism was associated with lower critical reflection, indirectly through increased GJWB. This aligns with System Justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), showing that these messages may unintentionally reinforce belief in a fair society, reducing critical reflection. Including GJWB as a mediator adds methodological depth by revealing these indirect effects, showing that not all PERS messages promote critical reflection equally. Practically, these findings are relevant for parents, educators, youth workers and policymakers who aim to foster racial awareness. Promoting PERS about discrimination against other groups, often aligned with a color-consciousness approach, can strengthen adolescents' critical reflection. Egalitarianism messages may hinder it, underscoring the importance for intentional, open conversations to counter structural inequalities.

Conclusion

In sum, this study examined how PERS about egalitarianism and discrimination against other groups influence White late adolescents' critical reflection on racism, focusing on the mediating role of GJWB. PERS about discrimination against other groups, often associated with color-consciousness, fosters critical reflection on racism. Conversely, PERS about egalitarianism, often aligned with colorblindness, reduces critical reflection through GJWB. This highlights that not all well-meaning PERS promotes racial awareness. To support meaningful change, parents must go beyond a "everyone is equal" message and have honest, open conversations about racial inequality. Only then can the next generation of adolescents fight racism and strive for an inclusive society.

References

Abaied, J. L., & Perry, S. P. (2021). Socialization of racial ideology by White parents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *27*(3), 431–440. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000454

Abaied, J. L., Perry, S. P., Cheaito, A., & Ramirez, V. (2022). Racial Socialization Messages in White Parents' Discussions of Current Events Involving Racism With Their Adolescents. *Journal Of Research On Adolescence*, *32*(3), 863–882. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12767

Apfelbaum, E. P., Pauker, K., Sommers, S. R., & Ambady, N. (2010). In Blind Pursuit of Racial Equality? *Psychological Science*, *21*(11), 1587–1592. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610384741

Apfelbaum, E. P., Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2012). Racial color blindness. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *21*(3), 205–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721411434980

Andriessen, I. (n.d.). *Institutioneel racisme in Nederland.* Verwey-Jonker Instituut (pp. 1111–1313). https://www.wbs.nl/sites/default/files/2020-10/04.%20I%20Andriessen_Institutioneel%20racisme%20in%20NL_SD_2020_5_0.pdf

Anyiwo, N., Bañales, J., Rowley, S. J., Watkins, D. C., & Richards-Schuster, K. (2018). Sociocultural Influences on the Sociopolitical Development of African American Youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, *12*(3), 165–170. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12276

Bañales, J., Marchand, A. D., Skinner, O. D., Anyiwo, N., Rowley, S. J., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2019). Black Adolescents' Critical Reflection Development: Parents' Racial

Socialization and Attributions About Race Achievement Gaps. *Journal Of Research On Adolescence*, *30*(S2), 403–417. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12485

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, *84*(2), 191–215. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.84.2.191

Barr, S. C., & Neville, H. A. (2008). Examination of the link between parental racial socialization messages and racial ideology among Black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*(2), 131–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798408314138

Bonna-Silva, E. (2022). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (6th edition).

Brown, T. N., Tanner-Smith, E. E., Lesane-Brown, C. L., & Ezell, M. E. (2007). Child, Parent, and Situational Correlates of Familial Ethnic/Race Socialization. *Journal Of Marriage And Family*, *69*(1), 14–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00339.x-i1

Christens, B. D., Winn, L. T., & Duke, A. M. (2015). Empowerment and Critical Consciousness: A Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *Adolescent Research Review*, *1*(1), 15–27. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-015-0019-3

Corrias, L. (2020). *Institutioneel racisme, Black Lives Matter, en de rechtsstaat*. (2020, 2 juli). Bij Nader Inzien. https://bijnaderinzien.com/2020/07/03/institutioneel-racisme-Black-lives-matter-en-de-rechtsstaat/

Curran, T., Arroyo, A., Fabbricatore, J., & Jiao, J. (2023). White privilege critical consciousness, racial attitudes, and intergroup anxiety among parents and adult children in White families. *Communication Monographs*, *90*(2), 246–270. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2023.2202712

Dalbert, C. (1999). The World is More Just for Me than Generally: About the Personal Belief in a Just World Scale's Validity. *Social Justice Research*, *12*(2), 79–98. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022091609047

Dalbert, C. & Sally, H. (2004). The justice motive in adolescence and young adulthood. In *Routledge eBooks*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203575802

De Bruijn, Y. (2025). Critical Reflection into Action: Facilitating Conditions of Antiracist Action among White Youth in the Netherlands. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-025-02169-w

Diemer, M. A., Kauffman, A., Koenig, N., Trahan, E., & Hsieh, C. (2006). Challenging racism, sexism, and social injustice: Support for urban adolescents' critical consciousness development. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *12*(3), 444–460. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.3.444

Diemer, M. A., McWhirter, E. H., Ozer, E. J., & Rapa, L. J. (2015). Advances in the Conceptualization and Measurement of Critical Consciousness. *The Urban Review*, *47*(5), 809–823. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-015-0336-7

Evans, A. B., Banerjee, M., Meyer, R., Aldana, A., Foust, M., & Rowley, S. (2012). Racial Socialization as a Mechanism for Positive Development Among African American Youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*(3), 251–257. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2011.00226.x

Felten, H., Does, S., De Winter Koçak, S., Asante, A., Andriessen, I., Donker, R., & Brock, A. (2021). *Institutioneel racisme in Nederland: Literatuuronderzoek naar de aanwijzingen voor institutioneel racisme op de domeinen arbeidsmarkt, woningmarkt, onderwijs en politie*. https://www.kis.nl/sites/default/files/2022-06/institutioneel_racisme_in_nederland_-_literatuuronderzoek1.pdf

Ferguson, G. M., Eales, L., Gillespie, S., & Leneman, K. (2021). The Whiteness pandemic behind the racism pandemic: Familial Whiteness socialization in Minneapolis following #GeorgeFloyd's murder. *American Psychologist*, *77*(3), 344–361. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000874

Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Furnham, A. (2003). Belief in a just world: research progress over the past decade. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *34*(5), 795–817. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0191-8869(02)00072-7

Golden, A. R., & Byrd, C. M. (2022). Examining Critical Reflection as a Mediator Between School Racial Climate Experiences and Anti-Racist Action. *Journal Of Research On Adolescence*, *32*(3), 1109–1119. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12778

Hafer, C. L. (2000a). Do innocent victims threaten the belief in a just world? Evidence from a modified Stroop task. *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology*, *79*(2), 165–173. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.2.165

Hafer, C. L. (2000b). Investment in Long-Term Goals and Commitment to Just Means Drive the Need to Believe in a Just World. *Personality And Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*(9), 1059–1073. https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672002611004

Hafer, C. L. (2002). Why we reject innocent victims. In *Cambridge University Press eBooks* (pp. 109–126). https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511499975.007

Hafer, C. L., & Choma, B. L. (2009). CHAPTER 5 Belief in a just world, perceived fairness, and justification of the status quo. In *Oxford University Press eBooks* (pp. 107–125). https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195320916.003.005

Hafer, C. L., & Olson, J. M. (1989). Beliefs in a Just World and Reactions to Personal Deprivation. *Journal Of Personality*, *57*(4), 799–823. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1989.tb00495.x

Hafer, C. L., & Sutton, R. (2016). Belief in a just world. In *Springer eBooks* (pp. 145–160). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4939-3216-0_8

Hayes, A. F. (2009). Beyond Baron and Kenny: Statistical Mediation Analysis in the New Millennium. *Communication Monographs*, *76*(4), 408–420. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637750903310360

Hazelbaker, T., Brown, C. S., Nenadal, L., & Mistry, R. S. (2022). Fostering anti-racism in White children and youth: Development within contexts. *American Psychologist*, *77*(4), 497–509. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000948

Heberle, A. E., Hoch, N., Wagner, A. C., Cruz, A. G. C., Zhou, L., & Khan, A. K. (2023). Examining feasibility, acceptability, and participant experiences of an anti-racist parenting intervention for White U.S. parents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *94*(1), 33–47. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000703

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and What Parents Tell Children About Race: An Examination of Race-Related Socialization Among African American Families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*(4), 200–214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' Ethnic–Racial Socialization Practices: A Review of Research and Directions for Future Study. In *Developmental Psychology* (pp. 747–770). https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal Of Social Psychology*, *33*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x

Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2005). Antecedents and Consequences of System-Justifying Ideologies. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(5), 260–265. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00377.x

Kestner, J. M. (2009). *Relating color blind racial attitudes, social dominance orientation and just world beliefs* (Doctoral dissertation, Loyola University Chicago). Loyola eCommons. https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/235

Lerner, M. J. (1977). The justice motive: Some hypotheses as to its origins and forms1. *Journal of Personality*, *45*(1), 1–52. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1977.tb00591.x

Lerner, M. J. (1983). The Belief in a Just World: A Fundamental Delusion. *American Journal Of Sociology*, *88*(5), 1048–1050. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2779460.pdf?casa_token=92yCFu_fRzkAAAAA:HKkmCzasNuKD2Mu9DovFejRii3x0xZWi_qrtNuMzSB395ji2TrHwnpX8NoJ8Cw-Qo8OGsx9rDenQkvGYwfmgbp56auQ8VYwRRz5sZptkPXrdzrfLCn5A

Linhares, L. V., Torres, A. R. R., De Lucena, A. K. V., & De Napolis, N. S. C. (2022). Blaming the Black Victim: the Victim's Skin Color and Belief in a Just World. *Trends in Psychology*, *31*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43076-021-00134-7

Loyd, A. B., & Gaither, S. E. (2018). Racial/ethnic socialization for White youth: What we know and future directions. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *59*, 54–64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2018.05.004

Mejia, Y., Christophe, N. K., Lobo, F. M., Desmarais, A., & Stein, G. L. (2024). Critical consciousness and anti-racist action as rooted in family processes. *Family Process*, *63*(2), 630–647. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.13025

Mesman, J., De Bruijn, Y., Van Veen, D., Pektas, F., & Emmen, R. a. G. (2022). Maternal color-consciousness is related to more positive and less negative attitudes toward

ethnic-racial outgroups in children in White Dutch families. *Child Development*, *93*(3), 668–680. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13784

Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Bluemel, J., & Chicago School of Professional Psychology. (2013). Color-Blind Racial Ideology Theory, Training, and Measurement Implications in Psychology. In *American Psychologist* (Vol. 68, Nummer 6, pp. 455–466). https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033282

Pahlke, E., Bigler, R. S., & Suizzo, M. (2012). Relations Between Colorblind Socialization and Children's Racial Bias: Evidence From European American Mothers and Their Preschool Children. *Child Development*, *83*(4), 1164–1179. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01770.x

Pahlke, E., Patterson, M. M., & Hughes, J. M. (2020). White parents' racial socialization and young adults' racial attitudes: Moral reasoning and motivation to respond without prejudice as mediators. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *24*(8), 1409–1426. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220941065

Perez, M. J., & Salter, P. S. (2020). A critical race reading of collective victimhood. In *Oxford University Press eBooks* (pp. 319–336). https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190875190.003.0015

Perry, S. P., Skinner, A. L., & Abaied, J. L. (2019). Bias Awareness Predicts Color Conscious Racial Socialization Methods among White Parents. *Journal Of Social Issues*, *75*(4), 1035–1056. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12348

Prioste, A., Narciso, I., Gonçalves, M. M., & Pereira, C. R. (2015). Adolescent Parents' Values: The Role Played by Retrospective Perceptions of The Family-of-Origin. *Journal Of Child And Family Studies*, *25*(1), 224–231. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0211-x

Quintana, S. M. (2008). Racial Perspective Taking Ability: Developmental, Theoretical, and Empirical Trends. *Handbook Of Race, Racism And The Developing Child*, 16–36. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118269930.ch2

Richeson, J. A., & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias. *Journal Of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*(3), 417–423. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2003.09.002

Riley, A. R. (2017). Neighborhood Disadvantage, Residential Segregation, and Beyond—Lessons for Studying Structural Racism and Health. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, *5*(2), 357–365. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-017-0378-5

Ross, M., & Miller, D. T. (2002). The justice motive in everyday life. In *Cambridge University Press eBooks*. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511499975

Scholz, D., & Strelan, P. (2021). In control, optimistic, and resilient: Age-related effects of believing in a just world among adolescents. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *171*, 110474. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110474

Silva, C., Pedrero, V., Barrientos, J., Manzi, J., & Reynaldos, K. (2024). Just-world beliefs, system justification, and their relationship with people's health-related well-being: A narrative review. *Behavioral Sciences*, *14*(10), 941. https://doi.org/10.3390/bs14100941

Son, D., & Shelton, J. N. (2012). You deplete me: The cognitive costs of colorblindness on ethnic minorities. *Journal Of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*(2), 562–565. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.09.010

Stopforth, S., Kapadia, D., Nazroo, J., & Bécares, L. (2022). The enduring effects of racism on health: Understanding direct and indirect effects over time. *SSM - Population Health*, *19*, 101217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2022.101217

Thompson, C. P., Anderson, L. P., & Bakeman, R. A. (2000). Effects of racial socialization and racial identity on acculturative stress in African American college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *6*(2), 196–210. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.6.2.196

Tierolf, B., Drost, L., Kapel, M. V., Willem Wagenaar, & Anne Frank Stichting. (2018). *Zevende rapportage racisme, antisemitisme en extreemrechts geweld in Nederland*.

United Nations. (1965). *Internationaal Verdrag inzake de uitbanning van alle vormen van rassendiscriminatie.* https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBV0002911/1972-01-09

Vittrup, B. (2016). Color Blind or Color Conscious? White American Mothers' Approaches to Racial Socialization. *Journal Of Family Issues*, *39*(3), 668–692. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x16676858

Watts, R. J., Diemer, M. A., & Voight, A. M. (2011). Critical consciousness: Current status and future directions. *New Directions For Child And Adolescent Development*, *2011*(134), 43–57. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.310

Wray-Lake, L., Alvis, L., Plummer, J. A., Shubert, J., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2022). Adolescents' developing awareness of inequality: Racial and ethnic differences in trajectories. *Child Development*, *94*(2), 439–457. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13870

Wu, M. S., Yan, X., Zhou, C., Chen, Y., Li, J., Zhu, Z., Shen, X., & Han, B. (2010). General Belief in A Just World and Resilience: Evidence from A Collectivistic Culture. *European Journal Of Personality*, *25*(6), 431–442. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.807

Zucker, J. K., & Patterson, M. M. (2018). Racial Socialization Practices Among White American Parents: Relations to Racial Attitudes, Racial Identity, and School

Diversity. *Journal Of Family Issues*, *39*(16), 3903–3930. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x18800766

Appendix I: Scales

Gender

Question	Variable name	Label	Value
Wat is je genderidentiteit?	Gender	Vrouw	1
		Man	2
		Non-binair	3
		Anders dan bovenstaand	4
		Wil ik niet zeggen	5

Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors (egalitarianism) subscale

Question	Variable name	Label	Value
je hebben verteld dat je moet proberen vrienden te worden met mensen van alle etniciteiten en afkomsten.	Parental_ERS_1	Nooit	1
		Bijna nooit	2
		Soms	3
		Vaak	4
		Heel vaak	5
je hebben verteld over het belang van goed kunnen opschieten met mensen van alle etniciteiten en afkomsten.	Parental_ERS_2	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat mensen van alle etniciteiten en afkomsten een gelijke kans hebben in het leven.	Parental_ERS_3	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat het belangrijk is om mensen van alle etniciteiten en afkomsten te waarderen.	Parental_ERS_4	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat mensen gelijk zijn, ongeacht hun etniciteit of afkomst.	Parental_ERS_5	IDEM	IDEM

Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors (discrimination against other groups) subscale

Question	Variable name	Label	Value
je hebben verteld over discriminatie die mensen uit andere etnische groepen of van andere afkomsten in het	Parental_ERS_19	Nooit	1
		Bijna nooit	2
		Soms	3
		Vaak	4
		Heel vaak	5

verleden hebben meegemaakt.			
je hebben verteld over discriminatie of vooroordelen tegen andere etnische groepen of afkomsten.	Parental_ERS_20	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat mensen uit andere etnische groepen of van andere afkomsten soms nog steeds gediscrimineerd worden vanwege hun etniciteit of afkomst.	Parental_ERS_21	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat in het verleden, mensen uit andere etnische groepen of van andere afkomsten gediscrimineerd werden vanwege hun etniciteit of afkomst.	Parental_ERS_22	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat mensen uit jouw etnische groep of van jouw afkomst betere kansen hebben dan mensen uit andere etnische groepen of van andere afkomsten.	Parental_ERS_23	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld over iets oneerlijks dat ze hebben gezien dat kwam door discriminatie tegen een andere etnische groep of afkomst.	Parental_ERS_24	IDEM	IDEM
je hebben verteld dat ze iets hebben gezien dat wees op slechte behandeling van verschillende etnische groepen of afkomsten anders dan de jouwe.	Parental_ERS_25	IDEM	IDEM

Critical Reflection scale

Question	Variable name	Label	Value
Jongeren met een migratieachtergrond doen het in Nederland gemiddeld minder goed op school dan jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond. Er zijn veel theorieën en ideeën over waarom dat zo is. Wat denk jij dat de belangrijkste reden is? (open question)		CritcalROpen	
Hieronder volgen verschillende theorieën en	Variable name	Label	Value

ideeën over waarom jongeren met een migratieachtergrond het minder goed doen op school dan jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond. Geef aan in hoeverre je denkt dat dit verschil wordt veroorzaakt door het volgende. Question			
Jongeren met een migratieachtergrond hebben niet zoveel voordelen op school als jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond. (S)	CritcalRScale_1	Sterk oneens Oneens Niet eens/niet oneens Eens Sterk Eens	1 2 3 4 5
Door hun achtergrond krijgen jongeren met een migratieachtergrond meestal een lager schooladvies dan jongeren zonder een migratieachtergrond. (S)	CriticalRScale_2	IDEM	IDEM
Jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond gaan vaak naar betere scholen dan jongeren met een migratieachtergrond. (S)	CriticalRScale_3	IDEM	IDEM
Leraren verwachten dat jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond het beter doen op school dan jongeren met een migratieachtergrond. (S)	CriticalRScale_4	IDEM	IDEM
Jongeren met een migratieachtergrond worden vaak ontmoedigd om een hoger schoolniveau te doen. (S)	CriticalRScale_5	IDEM	IDEM

Just World Scale

Question	Variable name	Label	Value
Ik denk dat de wereld in principe een rechtvaardige plek is.	GeneralJWB_1	Sterk oneens Oneens Een beetje oneens Een beetje eens Eens Sterk eens	1 2 3 4 5 6
Ik geloof dat mensen grotendeels krijgen wat ze verdienen.	GeneralJWB_2	IDEM	IDEM

Ik ben er zeker van dat rechtvaardigheid onrechtvaardigheid altijd overwint.	GeneralJWB_3	IDEM	IDEM
Ik ben ervan overtuigd dat mensen op de lange termijn gecompenseerd worden voor onrecht.	GeneralJWB_4	IDEM	IDEM
Ik geloof stellig dat onrechtvaardigheden op alle gebieden van het leven (bijvoorbeeld werk, familie, politiek) eerder uitzondering dan regel zijn.	GeneralJWB_5	IDEM	IDEM
Ik denk dat mensen proberen eerlijk te zijn wanneer ze belangrijke beslissingen nemen.	GeneralJWB_6	IDEM	IDEM

Appendix II: Artificial Intelligence

During the writing of this thesis, I made use of Artificial Intelligence. The use of AI was limited to assistance and did not replace my own work or insights. Specifically, AI was used in the following ways:

- Topic inspiration: AI was used to help me brainstorm about the topic.
- Translation: AI was served as a translation tool to convert Dutch sentences into grammatically correct English sentences.
- Spelling and grammar check: AI was used to check spelling and grammar by identifying and correcting grammatical errors, sometimes improving sentence structures if I did not manage to do it on my own, and ensuring consistent language use throughout the text.
- Text reduction: AI was used in some sentences to help reduce longer pieces of text while maintaining clarity and relevance.
- Analytical support: AI was used as a tool to verify whether pieces of analysis and reasoning made sense and were logic.

Appendix III: Reflection on the Interdisciplinarity of the Thesis

This thesis adopts an interdisciplinary perspective to explore how two types of PERS, messages about egalitarianism and messages about discrimination against other groups, affect White adolescents' critical reflection on racism in the Netherlands, and if this relation is mediated by GJWB. This study combines theoretical and empirical insights from different fields: developmental psychology, social psychology, and sociology. The use of theoretical and empirical insights from multiple disciplines improves the understanding, because racism is a social issue that cannot be explained by one perspective only. Psychological theories can explain how adolescents form beliefs and attitudes, but this discipline does not address how these beliefs are influenced by broader social interaction and social structures. Social psychology fills part of this gap by explaining how views, such as GJWB, are formed through daily interactions with parents. It can highlight the role of PERS in shaping adolescents' view on fairness and inequality in the world. Meanwhile, sociological theories help explain racism as a systematic issue but do not focus on the developmental processes or daily interactions through which individuals come to understand it. By combining these disciplines, it provides a comprehensive analysis of how and why White adolescents develop (less) critical reflection on racism. The disciplines, developmental psychology, social psychology, and sociology are relevant for the research question. Developmental psychology is meaningful because adolescents is a crucial period for the development of social and moral thinking. Theories such as Freire's Critical Consciousness framework and Quintana's Developmental Model of Children's Racial Perspective-Taking Ability are used to explain how youth their understanding and awareness of structural inequality is developed. Social psychology contributes to the important Social Learning theory, where behavior is learned by observing the behavior of others. Additionally, the model of Hazelbaker shows the social psychology side of this study also by showing that learning occurs through family socialization and

internalized cultural beliefs. Finally, sociology brings in the structural dimension of racism. The critical race theory explains this, by suggesting that racism is a structural and historical force rather than merely an individual one. This combination of the different disciplines is important for this study, since the topic of racism and young people's beliefs about justice is complex to understand form just one academic perspective. Racism is embedded in society, with psychological, cultural, and institutional dimensions. Additionally, adolescence is a time were adolescents their development and cognitive maturation are psychological processes shaped by social contexts, such as parents. Perspectives from stakeholders outside academia would also contribute to understanding the research problem. For instance, insights from parents, teachers, or youth professionals working on inclusion, influenced the interpretation of how PERS is practiced in everyday life. These professionals play an important role in shaping the social environments in which adolescents develop their views and awareness on racism and justice. For example, parenting programs and youth organizations can apply these insights to encourage open, but also consciousness conversations about racism. By connecting research to practice, this study shows how academic knowledge can support real-world situations to promote social justice and inclusive education/parental socialization messages. A monodisciplinary approach would not have been adequate in this study. For example, psychology might examine adolescent's development of critical reflection but overlook the influence of social structures, like parents. Additionally, only a sociological discipline might focus on systematic racism without addressing how beliefs about racism are developed. Therefore, the interdisciplinary approach is essential, only then it is possible to understand how structural inequalities are developed through parenting and GJWB. Furthermore, the thesis uses a quantitative, cross-sectional approach. The interdisciplinarity framework shows that the use of mixed method could provide more depth in future research. For example, if future research uses a quantitative and a qualitative method, the study can uncover not only

what adolescents interpret, but also how they interpret their parent's messages about race. Moreover, a longitudinal design could provide insight into the development of critical reflection over time. Additionally, the thesis is engaged in multiple analytical levels. At the micro level, it examines how adolescents' beliefs and are shaped through interaction with their parents. At the macro level, the study considers how PERS reflect broader beliefs about race, fairness, and justice. For example, messages about discrimination against other groups acknowledge structural inequalities. By analyzing the micro and the macro level, the thesis bridges the gap between personal and systematic forces. In short, this thesis used an interdisciplinary approach to understand how different forms of PERS affect White adolescents' critical reflection on racism, mediated by GJWB. It combines insights from developmental psychology, social psychology and sociology. By doing so, the thesis offers a comprehensive and meaningful view of how racial understanding and awareness is formed by White adolescents and how it can be reinforced in ways that are socially transformative (PERS) and psychological transformative (GJWB).