ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:	RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, OBSERVED MATERNAL CONFLICT BEHAVIORS, AND EXTERNALIZING PROBLEMS IN BLACK MOTHER-ADOLESCENT DYADS
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African Americans living in the United States face unique stressors as a result of being part of a marginalized group that has been consistently at the bottom of the social structure system. We see the impact of systemic racism when we look at the racial disparities associated with various economic, political, and civil rights in our society. The emphasis on rules and strict parenting in African American families is related to the need that many African American parents feel to protect and inform their children of the many forms of racial discrimination they will face in American society. In order to raise children who are less likely to be engaged in risk behaviors and better prepared for the environment they are living in, African American parents enforce stricter rules and discipline for their children and utilize racial socialization as a unique parenting strategy. Adolescents who struggle for behavioral autonomy in areas where parents try to

emphasize their control, often engage in deviant behavior and are more at risk of struggling to be compliant with rules and adjusting as they grow and develop.

Some research has indicated that parent-child conflict has increased when there has been a focus on rules due to adolescents' desire for autonomy. The role of maternal conflict as a contextual factor when delivering racial socialization messages has not been studied and may have significant impacts on the transmission and reception of such messages. This study aims to address the gap in research and connect the contextual factors of parent-child relationship quality in influencing the transmission and reception of racial socialization messages as seen by the impact on externalizing behaviors in adolescents.

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, OBSERVED MATERNAL CONFLICT BEHAVIORS,

AND EXTERNALIZING PROBLEMS IN BLACK MOTHER-ADOLESCENT DYADS

by

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Chapter 1: Literature Review

The recent police killings of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and Breonna Taylor have sparked a strong response from organizations such as Black Lives Matter in denouncing police brutality and pushing for systemic restructuring of policing. These police killings of unarmed African Americans are only one indicator of the pervasive racism in American society (Bor et al., 2018; Jones, 2000; Saleem et al., 2020). African American children and adolescents experience greater rates of racial discrimination in comparison to other racial groups which has profound impacts on their psychological and physiological health (Anderson et al., 2018; Braveman et al., 2011; Burt et al., 2012; Carter, 2007; Murry et al., 2001; Trent et al., 2019). Black youth who are impacted by various forms of racism may be negatively impacted when it comes to their capacity to meet developmental milestones and become successful adults (Trent et al., 2019).

The mental health consequences of racism and discrimination for Black youth show up in several ways, including but not limited to trauma, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, internalizing symptoms, lower self-concept, hopelessness, and externalizing behaviors (Ajrouch et al., 2010; Majeno et al., 2018; Sellers et al., 2003; Stock et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2019). Experiences of discrimination can also negatively affect peer relationships, adolescents' sense of belonging, feelings of loneliness, and feelings of safety (Majeno et al., 2018). Stressors that are experienced during adolescence can potentially impact the individual into adulthood (Chaby et al., 2017). This gives African American parents the critical responsibility of teaching their

children coping skills in order to reduce the racial stress or trauma experienced as a result of racial discrimination (Anderson et al., 2018).

Burt, Simons, and Gibbons' (2012) describe the process of racial socialization as a type of protective parenting practice that occurs in ethnic minority families. Racial socialization is a process in which Black parents teach their children about their racial group and culture in order to promote a sense of pride and esteem in one's heritage (Neblett et al., 2012). In addition to passing along messages that cultivate pride in one's culture, racial socialization also serves to provide children with the knowledge of possible challenges they can anticipate due to their membership of a specific racial group (Wang et al., 2019). By engaging in racial socialization, African American parents are seeking to raise children who are "protected, supported, and resilient" (Blanchard et al., 2019, p. 387).

This master's thesis will address the role that maternal-child conflict plays in moderating observed racial socialization practices and externalizing behaviors in youth. I will begin by providing an overview of the theory and key definitions for racism and discrimination. I will review the literature on the different dimensions of racial socialization and provide a brief literature review of the studies that have been conducted related to these dimensions. I will review the research and connections between racial socialization and Black youth's developmental outcomes. Furthermore, I will explore how the context of the racial socialization messages, specifically, maternal conflict, is critical in better understanding youth externalizing behaviors. The terms Black and African American will be used interchangeably throughout this proposal.

Racism and Discrimination: An Overview of Theory and Key Terms

Racism is defined by Williams and Mohammed (2009) as "an organized system [of power in the United States] that categorizes population groups into 'races' and uses this ranking to preferentially allocate societal goods and resources to groups regarded as superior" (p. 21). It is "the system by which racial discrimination thrives within the United States…typically benefited European Americans while harming members of other racial groups" (Saleem et al., 2020, p. 2). It influences all aspects of American society. It manifests in the language of policies and laws, economic practices, societal rules and customs (Harrell, 2000).

It is also demonstrated in the ways Whiteness is centered in American culture and the arts (Harrell, 2000). Other ways the impacts of racism appear in society is through racial disparities which exist in education, income, employment, health metrics among others (Harrell, 2000; Williams & Collins, 2001; Wooten & Couloute, 2015). In any index tracked, data reveal that African Americans are on losing end of these metrics in the form of the racial wealth gap (Shapiro et al., 2013), educational disparities (Quintana & Mahgoub 2016; Wegman & Smith 2019), health disparities (Bailey et al., 2017), and experiences in the criminal justice system (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018).

Racial discrimination is defined as the unfair treatment of a person or group of people based on perception of "racial" characteristics – especially skin color (Cheeks et al., 2020). According to theory, the principles of systemic racism justify discrimination against African Americans and other people of color. Repeated exposure to and high levels of racial discrimination have been found to be associated with challenges in mental

health (Williams and Mohammed, 2009; see also Ajrouch et al., 2010; Anderson et al., 2018).

There is an important distinction to be made regarding the variety of ways racial discrimination manifests in American culture. Interpersonal racism is defined as comparing the personal character of one person from a minority group against a social standard which has been determined by a majority group (Carter, 2007). On the other hand, looking at a macrolevel, "systemic racism" is a form of racism that "operates as a system of power that has developed over time to structure social relations and differentially distribute social, economic, and political advantages" (Hodges, 2018, p. e165). This form of racism can impact everyday activities of an individual such as "job loss, financial strain, and stressful life events" and it serves as an external stressor in African Americans' lives (Murry et al., 2001, p. 917). Additionally, although it is the individual who is experiencing racism in this form, what may happen is that the individual may share their experience with family members, and thus transform it into a family issue (Murry et al., 2001).

Racial discrimination is negatively associated with positive internalizing behaviors such as: resilience, self-worth, self-esteem, and psychological adaption in youth (Cheeks, 2020, p. 2124). Additionally, racial discrimination has been found to be a strong risk factor in predicting externalizing behaviors such as violent behavior in young adults (Caldwell, 2004). Coping with racial discrimination burdens individuals as it requires the use of "cognitive energy, hypervigilance, and coping" (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005, p. 575).

The Theory of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Hughes and colleagues' (1999; 2006) Theory of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization is the most influential theoretical framework in the field at present. They describe 4 constructs that outline the content that parents communicate to children regarding ethnic-racial issues: (1) *cultural socialization*, (2) *preparation for bias*, (3) *promotion of mistrust*, and (4) *egalitarianism and silence about race* (Blanchard et al., 2019; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). As this field has advanced, there is growing recognition that this is more complex than originally thought (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang et al., 2020). Specifically, the 4 dimensions Hughes mentions can be further broken down and explored.

Understanding these constructs is essential to gain insight into the complexity of racial socialization processes. *Cultural socialization* is interchangeably referred to as cultural pride reinforcement; messages that convey knowledge, ancestry, history, racial pride, and cultural heritage (Saleem & Lambert, 2016). *Preparation for bias* occurs when parents share information or advice with youth that is designed to prepare them for the societal challenges that come with their minority status by creating awareness of racial bias and sharing ways to cope with racial discrimination. *Promotion of mistrust* is when parents communicate a level of distrust for groups that historically have been associated with racial injustice. The construct *Egalitarianism/Silence about race* is when parents emphasize to children that "they are just as good as everyone else," and stress equality amongst all racial groups, or rarely if ever, bringing up the topic of race in their conversations (Blanchard et al., 2018, p. 389).

Hughes and colleagues (1999; 2006), also outlined four tenets or assumptions about how racial socialization occurs. First, racial socialization consists of verbal and nonverbal components. Verbal communication about race involves explicitly discussing topics of race, racial identity, racism, and discrimination with children, or implicitly discussing them through related topic. Nonverbal means include modeling behaviors, selectively reinforcing the child's behavior, structuring the child's environment with cultural items, cooking traditional foods, and/or speaking a native language.

Second, the process may be deliberate or unintended. Deliberate messages are those that the caregiver may intentionally transmit to children. Unintended messages occur when a child witnesses an automatic response by parents to a situation involving a racial issue. Third, messages may be proactive or reactive, proactive messages being ones that are planned messages that align with parents' values, goals, worldviews, and experiences, and reactive messages being in response to events that occur in the family members' lives. Fourth, racial socialization is a bidirectional process, messages may be intentionally sent and whether those messages are received, understood, missed, or ignored by children is important to recognize, as well as whether the child initiates racial socialization themselves (Hughes & Chen, 1999). Parents may use these methods in various combinations when conveying racial socialization messages to their children. In the next section, I review the four constructs of racial socialization in more detail based on the literature.

Cultural Socialization. *Cultural socialization* is a method of racial socialization that is practiced quite often by African American parents and discussed often in the literature (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). This technique involves immersing

children in African American culture, heritage and history through a multitude of strategies. Hughes and colleagues' give examples of cultural socialization techniques such as: "talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books; artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 749). Parents may also intentionally structure the child's environment with cultural items or seek out protective environments with like-minded African Americans (such as churches, mosques, or events that take place at Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Blanchard et al., 2019; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Exposure to Black cultural ideas and concepts encourages a strong sense of cultural, racial, and ethnic pride in children's identity and a positive self-concept (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Neblett et al., 2012)

Preparation for Bias. Another major technique that African American parents' employ in protecting their children is engaging in the teaching of preparation for racial bias. According to Scott et al. (2019), preparation for bias is defined as parents making their children aware of the racial discrimination they may face and how to cope with it (Burt et al., 2012). Whitaker and Snell describe the process of preparation for bias as "the Talk." They state, "Contrary to popular thought, 'the Talk' is not about avoiding criminal behavior; rather, it is about avoiding the *perception* of criminal behavior... is about preparing a child to take responsibility for the actions of the adults he may encounter" (Whitaker & Snell, 2016, p. 304).

Conversations about preparation for racial tend to increase in frequency as the child's age increases (Hughes & Chen, 1999). Preparation for bias is one aspect of racial

socialization (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). African American families help children cope with the variety of racial discrimination stress they face through the process of racial socialization (Hughes, 1999; see also T.N. Brown et al., 2020).

Promotion of Mistrust. *Promotion of mistrust* occurs when parents transmit messages to children that relay caution or warning about associating with other racial groups as they may prove to be barriers for their success (Hughes et al., 2006). In the 2001 study conducted by Hughes and colleagues, results indicated that both parents and children who reported unfair treatment of children by adults or peers, were associated with implementing promotion of mistrust more frequently (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Overall, the literature indicates this form of racial socialization messages are least reported by parents (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006)

Egalitarianism or Silence About Race. *Egalitarianism/Silence about race* can take place when parents emphasize racial socialization messages that communicate the value of a strong work ethic and racial equality. In studies cited by Hughes et al. (2006), African American parents were interviewed about their racial socialization practices, and the authors noted that many African American parents responded that "emphasizing hard work, virtue, self-acceptance, and equality is the primary ethnic-racial socialization strategy that they use" (p. 757).

Contrastingly, there have not been many studies that focus on whether there is a lack of racial socialization messages from parents to children about race. Specifically, the authors describe this as being more difficult to research although they acknowledge the lack of messages about racial issues can also influence children's perspectives on race and racial issues (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, when there is no direct communication

about race or racial issues among parents and children of color, this can be harmful as it may mean that "prevalent stereotypes remain unchallenged" (Spencer, 1983 as cited by Hughes & Chen, 1999, p. 478).

Status of the Research on Racial Socialization in Black Youth

A critical challenge that is faced by African American parents is the "need to find a balance between teaching children about race related issues in a way that promotes positive self-concept without overwhelming them or creating hypersensitivity to race" (Thomas et al., 2010, p. 410). Current findings have been mixed in regard to which specific racial socialization strategies lead to a more positive self-concept and favorable youth outcomes. For example, when parents emphasized racial or cultural pride through cultural socialization, youth were found to have more positive self-concepts, and positive impacts on self-esteem (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, 2003). Studies involving preparation for racial bias have shown to be protective in some cases but not others (e.g., Osborne et al., 2020). Additionally, variation in how preparation for bias is measured also seems to be responsible for mixed findings. As such, the conditions under with certain socialization practices are protective needs to be further explored (Wang et al., 2020).

Meanwhile, parents who overemphasized racial bias and discrimination (preparation for bias and mistrust), have shown mixed results on youth outcomes, with some adolescents appearing to have lower self-esteem as it may create a sense of helplessness or loss of control to constantly be reminded of these situations they may face (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, 2003; T.L. Brown et al., 2009 as cited by T.N. Brown et al., 2020). Conversely, other researchers have found that "an awareness of racial

discrimination in society was related to better academic and social outcomes for African American youth" (Caldwell et al., 2004, p. 94).

Saleem and Lambert (2016), explored the impact of racial socialization on African American youth by focusing on whether messages of cultural and racial pride serve as protective factors against anger and depressive symptoms due to experiences of personal and institutional racial discrimination. Institutional discrimination may impact African American adolescents through "the quality of schools and neighborhood resources youth access, and indirect such as transmitted via parents' employment status or place and quality of residence" (p. 1386). The literature suggests that adolescents (aged 13-18) who are more aware of the presence of institutional racial discrimination had less self-esteem and more depressive symptoms.

The sample consisted of African American adolescents and their maternal caregivers. Results indicate that cultural pride reinforcement and cultural alertness to discrimination serves as a protective factor against anger and depressive symptoms for both female and male adolescents against personal racial discrimination. However, these factors did not impact adolescents' anger and depressive symptoms in response to institutionalized racism. The authors posit that perhaps this is due to the developmental stage that adolescents are at, and their lack of being fully involved at the societal level with institutionalized functioning such as housing, labor markets, health care, etc.

Racial barrier messages are important to discuss with their children as those who receive "few messages about racial discrimination may be inadequately prepared and may experience psychological problems such as anger or depressive symptoms" (Saleem & Lambert, 2016, p. 1393). Racial socialization strategies that emphasize instilling

cultural pride messages in children serve as a protective factor (Copeland-Linder et al., 2011; Saleem & Lambert, 2016). Most critically, the authors emphasize the importance of delivering these messages with proper guidance and providing support for children regarding how to handle racial discrimination.

Cultural Socialization and Externalizing Behavior in Adolescents

The impact of being part of a minority community that experiences greater rates of racial discrimination in comparison to other racial groups has profound impacts on the psychological and physiological health of African American children and adolescents. For children who are growing up in hostile social or environmental conditions without social support, they are likely to have detrimental health effects; one such effect could be the child responding with externalizing behaviors (Brook et al., 2011). Externalizing behaviors are a type of behavioral problems that manifest externally; examples of such behaviors includes: disruptive, hyperactive, and aggressive behaviors (Jacob et al., 2014). Children with these types of behaviors are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior as they age and become criminal or violent as adults (Jacob et al., 2014).

On the contrary, internalizing behaviors are those that are not visible outwardly, and instead are taking place within an individual. Internalizing behaviors can be behaviors such as: "anxious/depressive symptoms, social withdrawal, somatic complaints, and traumatic stress" (Jacob et al., 2014, p. 101). African American youth who experience discrimination distress are at a higher risk for internalizing behaviors such as depression and anxiety (Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009).

In a metanalysis conducted by Wang et al. (2020), the authors reviewed 102 studies that investigated parents' racial socialization practices and the association

between youth's psychosocial well-being. Additionally, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2020), reviewed 259 empirical articles on families' ethnic-racial socialization practices with youth from the 2010 decade. I will examine how the results these authors, among others, found provide evidence on the impact of the racial socialization messages on youth outcomes and adolescent development.

Cultural socialization is the dimension of racial socialization that emphasizes cultural pride and ethnic traditions and history. Wang et al. (2020), found that the literature has consistently emphasized positive associations between cultural socialization and positive psychological outcomes and decreased externalizing problems in youth. In one article specifically, cultural socialization was associated with decreased externalizing symptoms measured through the behavior of decreased reports of anger. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2020), reaffirm this idea and discuss how cultural socialization has a strong positive association between positive youth development of internalizing behaviors such as ethnic-racial identity, self-esteem, and psychological well-being; additionally, there were positive externalizing behaviors shown among youth who were exposed to cultural socialization messages which include: healthy academic adjustment and adaptive coping (p. 248).

The literature is clear in its findings that African American parents aim to instill racial pride in youth by emphasizing messages of cultural socialization. Messages that invoke racial pride and increased self-worth lead to positive psychological youth outcomes and fewer externalizing and internalizing behaviors and serve as a protective factor against the impacts of exposure to racial discrimination (Cheeks, 2020, p. 2125). This occurs by reinforcing resiliency factors of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and meaning

making or beliefs "regarding the role of race in youth's lives" (Hughes et al., 2006 as cited by Cheeks, 2020).

Alertness to Discrimination and Externalizing Behavior in Adolescents

The construct promotion of mistrust is defined as the practice of teaching children to distrust individuals from other racial-ethnic backgrounds (Hughes et al., 2006). Promotion of mistrust has generally been linked with negative developmental outcomes in children of color, likely because it heightens a sense of threat and danger children might encounter. The literature indicates that specific racial socialization strategies such as promotion of mistrust appear to increase as children age as it may be more developmentally appropriate for older children to hear such messages as opposed to younger ones (Blanchard et al., 2018; Hughes et al., 2006; Wang et al., 2020).

Limited empirical data suggest that the practice is rare. When asked open-ended questions or responding to surveys, only a minority of parents report utilizing this strategy. Social desirability may be a factor in capturing accurately the degree to which the practice is used in Black families. However, in one study that worded items with terms such as "discrimination" rather than "caution" or "warning," 65% of parents reported using the strategy (Caughy et al., 2002 as cited by Hughes et al., 2006). The authors postulate that the change in wording may have led to a greater endorsement of the strategy as compared to other studies which reported lower usage.

For the purposes, of this study alertness of discrimination will be framed as a type of promotion of cultural mistrust because its focus on framing racism and discrimination as dangerous threats to Black youth wellbeing (Stevenson et al., 2002). Findings are

mixed in regards to the impact of alertness to discrimination on children's behavioral outcomes. Some studies suggest that preparedness for racial barriers that youth may face serves as a protective factor for children and decrease externalizing behaviors, while other studies suggest that messages regarding obstacles may be detrimental for children's development and lead to greater internalizing behaviors (Dunbar et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2020). For this reason, there must be a delicate balance between the messages parents convey about alertness to discrimination and cultural socialization messages that instill cultural pride so as not to have negative developmental consequences (Dunbar et al., 2017; Saleem & Lambert, 2016). Further research is needed in order to investigate this idea and the impact of alertness to discrimination on children's adjustment.

To date racial socialization is often examined outside consideration of details about the parent-child relationship and yet all racial socialization happens in that context (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). To date, a small number of studies have considered aspects of the parent-adolescent relationship along with racial socialization (Frabutt et al., 2002; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Smalls, 2009, 2010).

Gender Differences in Racial Socialization Practices

Caregivers appear to vary on the types of racial socialization messages given to their sons versus daughters. Grills and colleagues' (2016) summarize the literature which suggests that different racial socialization strategies are implemented based on negative stereotypes about African Americans that are associated with each gender in society. The impact of these messages on youths' externalizing behavior appear to vary based on the limited literature on the topic. Additionally, gender differences may also be due to the

way that each gender receives and interprets these messages, or how the caregivers are transmitting them.

Cultural Socialization and Externalizing Behaviors. When investigating the literature on cultural socialization practices, studies indicate that although parents transmit messages of racial pride to both boys and girls, there are more racial pride messages transmitted to girls (Bowman & Howard, 1985 as cited by Thomas & Speight, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). This likely stems from parents wishing to combat the negative stereotypes which portray African American girls as "nurturing, threatening, or overly sexualized", by transmitting messages that emphasize building strong, independent women, who are well-educated and avoid premarital sex (Grills et al., 2016, p. 347). Additionally, findings indicate that cultural socialization messages played an important role in identity formation for girls and lead to greater feelings of affirmation and belonging compared to boys who receive similar messages (Hughes et al., 2009).

T.L. Brown and colleagues (2009), investigated the relationship between racial and ethnic socialization messages on academic outcomes of male and female African American youth. The authors found that African American boys who received messages of ethnic socialization or African American heritage from caregivers were found to have higher grades then those who did not (T.L. Brown et al., 2009). This finding aligns with other literature such as McHale and colleagues (2006), who also found that cultural socialization (specifically, ethnic identity), was positively associated with youths' functioning.

Interestingly, African American girls who received higher levels of ethnic socialization messages around African American heritage were associated with having

lower academic grades. The authors postulate that it may be that receiving too many messages on this topic may lead to girls becoming hypersensitive to these issues which could lead to a detrimental effect for girls' functioning (T.L. Brown et al., 2009). This suggests the need to further explore the impact of racial socialization messages on boys and girls, especially looking at the frequency and types of messages.

Alertness to Discrimination and Externalizing Behavior. Previous literature has viewed alertness to discrimination as being similar in nature to preparation for bias as it aims to inform youth of racial barriers or bias they may encounter in society (Davis et al., 2017). Our paper differs in that we categorize alertness to discrimination as being more aligned with promotion of mistrust. This is due to a key factor of preparation for bias that is missing from alertness to discrimination – the teaching of coping skills.

The current literature has focused on the impact of alertness to discrimination messages on internalizing symptoms rather than externalizing symptoms. Findings are clear on the sensitive nature of such messages such that, too frequently shared or shared on their own without messages of cultural pride, alertness to discrimination messages may lead to feelings of helplessness or depression in youth; however, if not enough messages are shared with adolescents, it may ill-prepare them for the challenges they will face in society (Davis et al., 2017; McHale et al., 2006).

There is overwhelming consensus in the literature that African American males are more likely to receive messages about racial barriers than African American females (T.L. Brown et al., 2010; Friend et al., 2011; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2009; McHale et al., 2006; Thomas and Speight, 1999). Most authors reason that the frequency of these messages is due to the pervasive stereotype of African American boys being

viewed by society as threatening (Blanchard et al., 2019; Grills et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2009).

Saleem and Lambert (2016) investigated the impact of alertness to discrimination messages on African American adolescents and found that these messages did serve as a protective factor from anger and depressive symptoms due to personal racial discrimination (p. 1390). The authors reason that youth who are not mentally prepared for racial discrimination "may not understand the causes of unfair treatment and may attribute it to individual characteristics, possibly leading to anger and depressive symptoms... [or] may be caught off guard … and react with anger and sadness" (Saleem and Lambert, 2016, p. 1391). Findings from this study suggest the important role of such messages in preparing youth for the challenges they may face in society.

Beyond this, the limited literature that looks at promotion of mistrust and gender has mixed results, possibly due to the differences in methods and measurements used. Further research is needed to explore the relationship between gender and specific forms of racial socialization.

It is important to keep in mind that gender differences are simply one factor that may interact with racial socialization messages and youths' discrimination experiences which may impact youths' outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents may also choose to socialize differently as children age, implementing specific strategies based on their child's gender (Saleem & Lambert, 2016). While discussing gender differences and racial socialization effects on African American adolescents, it is incumbent upon us to emphasize the critical challenge that sexual and gender minority youth face as they have a double minority status which puts them at greater risk to discrimination (Stein et al.,

2018). Further research that is conducted on gender differences on racial socialization messages and their impact should consider the effects such messages may have on sexual and gender minority youth.

Racial Socialization in the Context of the Parent-Adolescent Relationship

Currently, only a few studies recognize the significance of the parent-child relationship in the context of racial socialization messages (Frabutt et al., 2002; Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). Umaña-Taylor et al. (2020) state the following on the current state of the literature, "it is less clear whether parent-child relationship quality may be critical for conveying messages to youth that prepare them for bias and discrimination" (p. 255).

Frabutt et al.'s 2002 study was among the first to address aspects of the parent-child relationship in conjunction with racial socialization. The authors examined the mother-child relationship by using observational measurements of the following constructs: negativity, warmth, communication, involvement, and child monitoring in a sample of 66 African American early adolescents and their mothers. They measured racial socialization via self-report questionnaires of both mothers and their children.

Results indicated that mother-child relationships in which a moderate amount of racial socialization messages were being conveyed to children, the relationships were strongest. When the mother-child relationship was rated as warm, highly communicative, and low on dyadic negativity, the children in these relationships also expressed the least negativity and most positivity in comparison to children in other groups (high or low amounts of racial socialization messages). Mothers in this group also displayed the highest levels of child monitoring, which was operationalized by the accuracy in mothers

being able to express knowledge about their child's activities, behaviors, and social involvement (Frabutt et al., 2002).

Cooper and McLoyd (2011) investigated how the quality of mother-adolescent relationships influenced racial barrier socialization and adolescent adjustment. 190 African American mothers and their children (aged 12-16 years old) were sampled for this study. The quality of the mother-child relationship was measured using an adapted version of Swanson's Parent-Child Relationship Scale. They confirmed the hypothesis that the quality of the relationship was a strong predictor of adolescents' psychological functioning. The authors further encouraged the need for future studies to explore moderators of the link between racial barrier socialization and adolescent well-being.

Elmore and Gaylord-Harden (2013) investigated the interaction between supportive parenting and racial socialization on children's internalizing and externalizing behaviors (p. 66). The researchers sampled a population of 150 African American parents with children who were in the fourth to eighth grade. The authors emphasize the importance of supportive parenting in aiding in positive youth development and positive youth outcomes. The authors define supportive parenting as, "a set of parental behaviors characterized by warmth, sensitivity, empathy, playfulness and acceptance" (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013, p. 64). This type of parenting has been associated with stronger parent-child relationships and positive externalizing outcomes such as educational attainment, and protective against negative externalizing outcomes such as aggression and delinquency.

The results from this study were unclear – neither racial pride nor racial bias messages were associated with behavioral outcomes, although supportive parenting

behaviors were associated with less internalizing and externalizing behaviors. The authors suggest the reason for this lack of clarity in the results may be due to a lack of accurate reporting by the parents on the self-response questionnaires. Authors suggest that children may be able to provide a more accurate report of the racial socialization strategies utilized. Evidence in the literature suggests that children are often more accurate at describing relationship quality and relationship strength in comparison to parents (Gonzales et al., 1996; Jaccard, Dittus, & Gordon, 1998).

Harris-Britt and colleagues' (2007) investigated the impact of specific types of racial socialization messages on perceived discrimination and self-esteem. The sample population consisted of 128 African American students with a mean age of 13.9 years, 68 of whom were girls, and 60 of whom were boys. Adolescents' reports indicated that racial pride messages as a specific racial socialization strategy appear to be a direct buffer on perceived racial discrimination effects on youth. Contrastingly, overemphasis on messages of bias and racial barriers from parents may lead to lower self-esteem and feelings of helplessness or a lack of control. Racial pride and racial culturalization methods served as a buffer against the harmful effects of racial discrimination and had the least impact on adolescent's self-esteem which is significantly important for adolescent development.

Smalls (2009; 2010) conducted two studies with the same sample consisting of 94 African American adolescents between the ages of 11-14 years old, 42 of whom were female and 52 of whom were male. Smalls (2009) is the first to investigate the role of parenting style as a moderator for multiple racial socialization messages (p. 210). She examined the impact of the types of parenting strategies utilized for the transmission of

multiple racial socialization messages to children and how that affects children's academic engagement outcomes. She examined two outcome variables: (a) *task persistence* defined as the likelihood a child is to continuously attempt a task in spite of difficulty or discouragement, and (b) *emotional school engagement,* defined as youths' "emotions and attitudes towards schoolwork and achievement" (p. 208).

Findings indicate that when mothers utilize democratic-involved parenting, where the mother is involved in the child's life and encourages youth decision-making, it led to higher levels of children's engagement. In addition, democratic-involved parenting may "facilitate youths' use of active coping responses to experiences with discrimination" (p. 211). Smalls suggests that supportive parenting, or democratic-involved parenting style and parents' racial socialization efforts appear to have "buffered negative effects of perceived racial discrimination among African American adolescents" (p. 210). This is because democratic-involved parenting and racial pride were both connected to positive youth outcomes of academic engagement.

Importantly, Smalls notes that the democratic-involved parenting style which exudes warmth, reasoning, and avoidance of rejection is critical in youths' positive reception of racial socialization messages. Smalls (2009), emphasizes that racial socialization messages can be beneficial for early adolescent outcomes when they are provided in a context that is supportive and encouraging of youths' autonomy and involvement. This highlights the importance of a high-quality parent-child relationship in order to transmit sensitive messages in an effective manner and to maintain adolescent well-being.

Smalls (2010) found that higher positive parenting affect or high-quality parenting was associated with positive externalizing outcomes such as academic and task engagement. There were also positive associations between ethnic pride socialization (i.e., cultural socialization) and elevated warmth and adaptive communication. Results indicate that youth who received a higher frequency of racial socialization messages had higher levels of engagement compared to their counterparts. Specifically, Smalls suggests that youth who have "high indicators of affective quality of relationship [between parent and child] and coupled with both racial pride and barrier socialization" messages, are most likely to have the best youth outcomes. This reinforces the idea that a specific balance of racial socialization messages in conjunction with a positive parent-child relationship is likely to lead to healthy youth adjustment.

Smith-Bynum and colleagues (2016) measured racial socialization processes in African American mother-adolescent dyads processes via video-recorded conversations about hypothetical discriminatory incidents The authors assessed the expression of positive emotions: warmth and supportiveness, by mothers during these conversations. Results indicated that mothers' supportiveness was consistent across all conversations. In the study, there were two types of scenarios: (a) discrimination by a White teacher and (b) discrimination by a White salesperson at a local mall. The results indicated that mothers' warmth and emotional support of adolescents during the brief discussions varied by the type of vignette (i.e., *The Teacher*, *The Mall*). Whereas trained African American observers rated mothers as similarly supportive of their adolescents' efforts to respond the two racial dilemmas, the degree of general warmth displayed dropped in the

context of discussion of *The Mall* vignette. The authors speculate that the warmth dropped off because of mothers' frustration with harsher treatment in The Mall vignette.

Williams and Smalls-Glover (2014), examined the importance of looking at context of racial socialization messages (the reason behind racial socialization messages being shared). The authors emphasize the importance of parent-child relationship context when transmitting racial socialization messages. Findings indicate that youth who viewed these messages being given out of love and care reported higher frequencies of racial socialization messages and if youth viewed messages as coming from love, it was a predictor of private regard. "With this in consideration, it may be beneficial for African American parents to be aware of the affective context in which they provide racial socialization messages to their adolescents." (Williams & Smalls-Glover, 2014, p. 77).

The importance of considering the mother-child relationship quality on the child outcomes and racial socialization message transmission has been identified often in the literature (Frabutt et al., 2002; Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Smalls, 2010; Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). Specifically, the impact of emotional context when communicating racial socialization messages on child outcomes needs more attention. The emotional context may affect the impact of messages on youth, just as emotional context and quality of parent-child relationships has been found to impact parent-child relationship satisfaction and adolescent adjustment (Sillars et al., 2005; Stanik et al., 2013).

The Role of Emotion in Racial Socialization Communication

Recent research is pointing to the need for expanded attention to the role of emotions in racial socialization specifically (Dunbar et al., 2017; Saleem et al., 2020; Smith-Bynum et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2020; Umana-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Research

supports the idea that when children are under the age of five and experiencing negative emotions, parents' supportive responses are critical for child development (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013). Supportive responses include "encouraging children to understand and express their emotions, problem-solving, comforting, and redirecting," as opposed to non-supportive, or suppression responses (Dunbar et al., 2021, p. 2).

However, more recent findings indicate that the literature on emotion is nuanced when exploring the impact of parents' supportive versus suppression responses to negative emotions expressed by children at a developmental shift that occurs around the age of five or six. In one study conducted by Mirabile et al. (2018, as cited by Dunbar et al., 2021), supportive responses lowered internalizing and externalizing problems in children of ages 3 and 4, and either a reduced or reverse effect was found for children from ages 5 to 6. In another study, "suppression responses predicted increased externalizing behaviors at age 5 but decreased externalizing behaviors at age 7" (Dunbar et al., 2021, p. 2). This research adds to the findings in the current literature and further exploration of parental techniques and the impact on children's internalizing and externalizing problems is necessary.

Research supports the notion that, "Black parents value and support their children's expressions of all emotions" (Parker et al., 2012 as cited by Dunbar et al., 2021, p. 2). However, Dunbar and colleagues (2021) note that there are negative repercussions to Black children's expression of negative emotions due to stereotypes and racial bias. For this reason, Black parents may express a suppressive response as a means of protecting their children from possible future negative repercussions in societal settings.

Furthermore, the role of emotion, especially negative affect and conflict, has received limited attention in the racial socialization literature. Greater attention to this issue may help to further explore the complexity of the findings regarding the impacts of racial socialization on African American youth development and mental health (Wang et al., 2020). The proposed study will address this topic by looking at the role of maternal conflict behavior as it occurs in conversations about racial discrimination between African American mothers and their adolescents. The proposed study will also examine how maternal conflict during such discussions interacts with youth's self-reports of specific racial socialization messages from parents to impact youth's externalizing behaviors.

Parent-Adolescent Conflict: A Brief Overview

Given that the consideration of maternal conflict in the parent-adolescent relationship in the context of racial socialization research is novel, an overview of research on parent-adolescent conflict is provided here. Parent-child conflict is defined by the "mutual negative behaviors of both the parent and child" (Weaver et al., 2015, p. 95). Mundane, low-level conflict about everyday matters is considered normative during adolescence (Branje, 2018; Laursen et al., 1998; Sillars et al., 2005; Skinner & McHale, 2016; Smetana & Gaines, 1999).

Conflicts may center around simple day-to-day tasks such as schoolwork, curfew, appearance, money and spending, chores, peer relationships, and other interpersonal issues (Skinner & McHale, 2016; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). During these periods of conflict, adolescents are attempting to renegotiate parents' authority and boundaries in order to become more individuated. The push to become autonomous and independent

from the parental subsystem may come across in discordant ways with negative interactions occurring from both parents and adolescents (Branje, 2018). Interactions that define parent-child conflict are those that lead to disagreement, arguments, and bitterness that occur from both the parent and child, which lead to a negative display of emotions and behaviors (Weaver et al., 2015).

The frequency of conflict appears to be at its greatest at the start of adolescence, and then appears to decrease as children reach late adolescence (Laursen et al., 1998; Sillars et al., 2005). Although a certain amount of conflict is normative and healthy for adolescent development and establishing independence, too much conflict has been associated with increased adjustment problems and is risky for adolescent well-being (Branje, 2018). In fact, greater conflict has been associated with increased externalizing and internalizing problems in adolescents (Branje, 2018).

Parent-child conflict can have an impact on child development, the parent-child relationship, and may lead to negative behavioral outcomes for children (El-Sheikh & Elmore-Station, 2004; Skinner & McHale, 2016). El-Sheikh and Elmore-Station (2004), found that parent-child conflict had a partial influence on child psychopathology, especially when it came to externalizing problems. More specifically, mother-child conflict was found to be a predictive factor for higher levels of externalizing behaviors in children (El-Sheikh & Elmore-Station, 2004). Some research has also suggested a link between parent-child conflict and increased internalizing problems, although more research is warranted to further explore this connection (Skinner & McHale, 2016; Weaver et al., 2015).

When parent-child relationships were positive as measured by higher paternal-warmth and parental-involvement, externalizing behaviors were lower in youth (Stanik et al., 2013). The literature suggests that a high-quality parent-child relationship is more likely to predict and affect youth outcomes than the frequency of parent-child conflict (Branje, 2018; Smalls, 2009; Stanik et al., 2013). Branje (2018) emphasizes the importance of parent's emotional variability in communicating with youth in times of conflict. When parents can be emotionally expressive in their communication, it allows youth an opportunity to learn and grow, to be able to connect with parents and strengthen their relationship, as well as provides an opportunity for better conflict management.

Measuring Parent-Adolescent Conflict

Across studies, various assessments have been used to measure parent-child conflict that either rate the conflict or account for the frequency of conflict (Missotten et al., 2018). Widely used measures consists of self-report and observational measures of parent-child conflict. Measures that have been used to determine the frequency of conflicts include: Issues Checklist (including the brief version), affective expression using the Conflict Behavior Questionnaire, Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale (CTSPC), and "an adapted version of the interpersonal conflict questionnaire [or ICQ]" (Missotten et al., 2018, p. 264). Skinner and McHale (2016), have measured the frequency of conflict was using an adaption of a scale used by Smetana (1988).

Rating scales that have been used to measure the level of conflict include: a subscale of the Adult-Child Relationship Scale (ACRS), and the Network of Relationships Inventory which has been used to describe the "general impressions of conflict in a relationship" (Laursen et al., 1998, p.822). Conflict has also been measured

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through the conflict resolution style inventory questionnaire which focused more on conflict management (Missotten et al., 2018) as well as interaction techniques used by parents using the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Sagrestano et al., 1999). In addition to these measures, semi-structured interviews have also been utilized by researchers to further explore responses given on the formal measures; interviews were videotaped and then coded by researchers (Smetana & Gaines, 1999).

Gonzales' and colleagues (1996) study was likely the first study that examined the ways African American mother-adolescent dyads made sense of conflict related communication in their family discussion. They examined the "extent of agreement between mothers and daughters in their reports of maternal support, maternal restrictive control, and parent-adolescent conflict" (p. 1484). Results from this study showed that adolescents have a more accurate response in comparison to the mothers' reports of relationship and other matters.

Especially notable is that non-African American coders who were viewing mothers' behaviors rated the mothers as being more controlling and having more conflictual relationships in comparison to the African American coders. This is a remarkable finding to note, especially due to the fact that all of the coders completed cultural training to educate themselves on cultural dimensions of communication in this population. It is possible that these biases would have been even more pronounced in the research if the coders had not been subjected to this training. This finding highlights the importance of looking at conflict related communication in African American families and how it may play out in the racial socialization context.

The Present Study

As noted in this review, the quality of the relationship between parents and adolescents in the context of racial socialization has received limited attention by the field. Attention to the role of negative parental emotion is even more limited. The purpose of the present study is to look at the ways maternal conflict impacts the racial socialization process in Black families. Specifically, the following main research question will guide this inquiry:

> *Does maternal conflict moderate the relationship between*
>
> *self-reported and observed forms of racial socialization and*
>
> *youth externalizing behaviors?*

The specific research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

- *Research Question 1:* Does maternal conflict moderate the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and youth externalizing behaviors?

- *Hypothesis 1*: Maternal conflict will moderate the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and youth externalizing behaviors. Specifically, the youth externalizing behaviors will be lower for youth who report high levels of cultural pride reinforcement and who have mothers who are rated as low on maternal conflict when compared to their counterparts experiencing high levels of maternal conflict.

- *Research Question 2:* Does maternal conflict moderate the relationship between alertness to discrimination (i.e., promotion of mistrust) and youth externalizing behaviors?

- *Hypothesis 2:* Specifically, the youth externalizing behaviors will be lower for youth who report low levels of alertness to discrimination and who have mothers who are rated as low on maternal conflict when compared to their counterparts experiencing high levels of maternal conflict.

Chapter 2: Method

Sample

The data for the proposed study come from a larger study on racial socialization with African American mother-adolescent dyads. The current sample consists of 111 mother-adolescent dyads. Adolescents ranged in age from 14-17 years. The average age was 15.51. Slightly over 50 percent of the sample was female (55.9% girls; 44.1% boys). A total of 89.2% of the adolescent sample identified as African American. The remaining ethnicities were as follows: (4.5% Biracial/Multiracial; 3.6% Afro-Caribbean; 1.8% other ethnicities).

Consistent with the patterns of family role flexibility in African American families, the female caregivers in the sample, hereafter referred to as "mothers" were as follows: 94.6% biological mothers; 1.8% stepmothers; .9% aunt; 2.7 % other female caregivers. Mothers ranged in age from 33 to 64 years. The mean age was 44.26. Over 90% of the mothers in the sample (93.7%) identified as African American. The remaining ethnicities were as follows: 3.6% Afro-Caribbean; 1.8% Biracial; .9% Black Central American. A total of 78% of the mothers were employed with a median income for the sample ranging from $60,000-$69,000 out of a potential range of "Below $5,000" to "$100,000 or higher."

Measures

Racial Socialization

Adolescents completed two subscales of the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale to assess two constructs of interest: ***Cultural Pride Reinforcement*** subscale (9 items) and the *Alertness to Discrimination* subscale (6 items; Stevenson et al.

2002). The Cultural pride reinforcement subscale assessed adolescents' perceptions of the frequency with which parents taught them (a) knowledge of and pride in African American culture; (b) fostered a positive racial identity; (c) realities of contemporary racism; and (d) perseverance in the face of adversity. Sample items include the following: (a) "Never be ashamed of your color"; (b) "Work hard, overcome barriers"; and (c) "We live in two worlds—Black and White." The subscale yielded a strong alpha score (α = .83) in the validity sample. *Alertness to discrimination* assessed adolescents' perceptions of the frequency of messages about the existence of racism, the Black-White racial divide, and its impact on opportunities for Black advancement. Sample items are as follows: (a) "Blacks don't have same opportunities as Whites"; and (b) "Whites make it hard for Blacks to get ahead." The subscale yielded acceptable internal consistency (α = .76). Respondents indicated the frequency of messages on all items on a 3-point scale: "1" for *never*, "2" for *a few times*, and "3" for *lots of times.* Validated in a sample of 263 African American adolescents from an urban community (mean age = 14.3; 52% female). Construct validity was established by a principal components analysis with an equimax rotation. In addition to factors for cultural pride reinforcement and alertness to discrimination, the analysis yielded three other factors: Cultural Legacy Appreciation, Cultural Coping with Antagonism, and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream. The Chronbach's alpha for the Cultural Pride Reinforcement subscale in the current sample was .65. The Chronbach's alpha for the Alertness to Discrimination subscale is .83.

Maternal conflict

Maternal conflict was measured from an adapted version of the Level of Conflict code in the African American Families Macro Coding System (Smetana & Abernethy,

1998). Mothers were rated on the degree to which they displayed verbal and nonverbal indicators of conflict behavior. Examples included the following: overreacts towards the adolescent, verbally defensiveness, not taking responsibility for own actions or thoughts, interrupting abruptly another in a rude manner member's speech to impose own ideas; speaking loudly to the adolescent. Nonverbal indicators included the following: looking bothered, body gesture expressions of excitement or hesitation, tension between participants. Conflict was rated on a 5-point scale ranging from "1" for *Almost Not At All* to "5" for *Very Much*. To rate maternal conflict in each discussion, coders assigned a score between "1" and "5" for each 30-second interval of each discussion. The rating scores for all of the 30-second intervals were added up. Next, the total rating scores for both discussions were added up for a total index of mothers' observed conflict behaviors.

Externalizing behaviors

To assess externalizing behaviors, adolescents completed the Externalizing Behaviors scale of Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). Externalizing problems assessed by the scale address a wide array of behaviors such as argumentativeness, preference for older peers, smoking, truancy, lying, teasing, property destruction, stealing, running away from home, and setting fires. The scale contains 32 items. Respondents indicated the frequency of the behaviors on a 3-point response format ranging from "0" for *Not True* to "2" for *Very True or Often True*. T-scores of 70 or above are considered clinically significant.

The Youth Self Report was validated on a nationally representative sample of adolescents between the ages 11 to 18 ($N = 1,057$). The YSR has excellent psychometric properties. The Externalizing Behaviors scale has strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$)

and test-retest reliability ($r = .89$). The YSR has demonstrated evidence of criterion validity (i.e., clinic-referred status) and discriminant validity.

Demographic Background

Mothers and adolescents completed demographic forms that covered a variety of topics. Examples of information collected included participants' age, ethnicity, gender, household composition, and perceived racial composition of neighborhood. One item assessed mothers' marital status (Married, Divorced, Separated, Widowed, Never Married). Options for ethnic group for mothers and adolescents were as follows: Black/African American, Black/Central American, Afro-Caribbean, African, Black/South American, Biracial/Multiracial, Other Racial/Ethnic background. Mothers self-reported their household income (1 - *below $5,000* to 12 - *$100,000 or higher*) and their education (1 - *grade school* to 12 - *Doctoral degree, Ph.D./Ed.D.*).

Procedure

Data were collected between 2010 and 2011. Participants were recruited from the Washington, DC metropolitan area through advertisements in free publications and news media. Trained research staff screened prospective research participants via telephone interviews to ensure that prospective mothers and adolescents identified as African American and that the adolescents met the age criterion (ages 14-17). Research staff members also explained the informed consent and assent process to prospective participants.

The data collection process was explained and sensitive survey items were presented to prospective participants over the phone to ensure that parents could decline to participate over the telephone if they did not like the study activities. Research

assistants also explained the assent procedures for their adolescents and the need for mothers to provide a separate space in the home for adolescents to receive a description about the study and assent to the enroll in the study. Mothers who met the screening criteria and who found the details of the study activities acceptable were scheduled for an in-home visit.

A pair of trained research assistants conducted the data collection home visits that lasted 2 hours. All interview pairs had at least one Black staff member. In all but 11 cases, interviews were conducted by a pair of African American interviewers. Upon arriving at the home, each research assistant worked with the mother and adolescent separately in completing the informed consent process. After informed consent was completed, the mother-adolescent dyads completed a set of questionnaires that addressed an array of topics (i.e., parenting, parent-adolescent relationship quality, racial socialization, racial discrimination experiences, racial and ethnic identity, self-esteem, mental health, background information). They also completed the Racial Socialization Observational Task (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016), a task designed to assess the behavioral elements of racial socialization as outlined by Hughes et al. (1999, 2006).

The Racial Socialization Observational Task consists of presenting two audio-recorded vignettes (The Teacher, The Mall) about a Black adolescent dealing with a hypothetical racial dilemma involving a potential discrimination by a White adult. Designed to mirror actual conversations on racial discrimination between parents and their adolescents, the participating dyads asked to discuss each of the vignettes separately for 5 minutes each. These vignettes were presented to the families in a counterbalanced

order. Additionally, families completed the observational tasks and the questionnaire task in a counterbalanced order as well.

After all study procedures were completed, the interviewers debriefed the family and solicited feedback on the study procedures. At the completion of data collection, the family was paid $50.00 cash for their participation.

Observational Coding Procedures

A team of trained African American research assistants coded the observational data collected in this study. Coders completed approximate 15 hours of training over a 4-month period. The principal investigator for the study conducted the training for the coding. An inter-rater reliability target score was set at .75. Forty percent of the video discussions of *The Teacher* vignette received ratings by two coders. The team achieved an excellent inter-rater agreement for maternal conflict, ICC = .94, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.89, .97].

Chapter 3: Results

Data Analysis Plan

To prepare the data for analysis, univariate and bivariate statistical analysis on all main study variables were performed. To test the two study hypotheses, two two-way ANCOVAs were performed. The first ANCOVA will involve maternal conflict and cultural pride reinforcement as the independent variables. The second ANCOVA will involve maternal conflict and alertness of discrimination as the independent variables. The dependent variable for both ANCOVAs was adolescent self-report of externalizing behaviors. Evidence of support for the hypotheses will interpreted via inspection of the omnibus F statistics and probability levels, inspection of the statistical significance of the interaction terms (cultural pride reinforcement × maternal conflict; alertness of discrimination × maternal conflict). The mean scores for main effects and interaction terms will be reported.

Univariate Analysis

Table 1 presents univariate analysis, specifically means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values, that was conducted for the following control and study variables: adolescent age, highest level of education completed, total household income, alertness to discrimination, cultural pride reinforcement, total parent conflict, and externalizing problems. The mean age of the adolescents was 15.51 (*SD = 1.03*). The mean for mother's highest level of education completed was 6.94, which is approximated to holding an Associate Degree in college (*SD = 2.20*). The total household income was 7.78 *(SD = 3.75)*, which approximates to fall between the range of $50,000 - $69,000. Analyses revealed that household income was highly negatively skewed. Inspection of

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the range of scores revealed a ceiling effect in the household income item. A significant

percentage of the sample mothers (31% reported incomes of $100,000 or higher a year.

The median household income falling between $60,000 - $69,000, higher than the

median income for the U.S. and for African American family households during the same

time period (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016) The income levels reported were not normally

distributed.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	Range
1. Adolescent Age	15.51	1.03	14.00 -17.00
2. Highest Level of Education Completed	6.94	2.20	1.00 - 12.00
3. Total Household Income	7.78	3.75	1.00 - 12.00
4. Alertness to Discrimination	11.94	3.37	5.00 - 18.00
5. Cultural Pride Reinforcement	23.53	2.94	12.00 - 27.00
6. Total Parent Conflict	2.14	0.51	2.00 - 6.79
7. Total Parent Conflict Dichotomized	0.31	0.47	0.00 - 1.00
8. Externalizing Problems	57.21	10.22	34.00-85.00

Note. $N = 111$.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

The independent variables which were explored in this study were the following constructs of racial socialization: alertness to discrimination and cultural pride reinforcement. Alertness to discrimination had a mean of 11.94 (*SD = 3.37*). Cultural pride reinforcement has a mean of 23.53 (*SD = 2.94*) out of a range of 12.00 to 27.00. This pattern indicates that adolescents reported highly frequent communication focused on cultural pride reinforcement messages from parents in comparison to the technique of alertness to discrimination as a racial socialization strategy (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020).

Additionally, the expression of maternal conflict was a second independent variable. Total maternal conflict was 2.14 (*SD = 0.51*), out of a range of 2.00 - 6.79. Maternal conflict was highly positively skewed. A large majority of the mothers exhibited no conflict behaviors across either vignette discussion (69%). This indicates that most mothers got along well with their adolescents during this collaborative observational task. The remaining 31% of mothers exhibited higher levels of conflict behavior. The mean score for the dependent variable, adolescent's externalizing behavior, was 57.21 (*SD = 10.22*). The scores were relatively normally distributed in the study sample. This mean score is below the clinical cutoff of a *T*-score of 70 (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001).

Bivariate analyses

Correlations were conducted on the following control, independent, and dependent variables: adolescent age, adolescent sex, highest level of education completed, total household income, alertness to discrimination, cultural pride reinforcement, total parent conflict, dichotomized parent conflict, externalizing problems.

Correlations are reported at a significance level of .01 unless indicated. Adolescent age and adolescent sex were not correlated with any of the other variables. The level of education completed by the mother was strongly positively correlated with the total household income ($r = 0.54$), indicating that mothers who had completed a greater level of education had a higher household income.

As for the independent variables, the following relationships were found to be statistically significant: alertness to discrimination was positively correlated with cultural pride reinforcement ($r = 0.26$), indicating that parents who practiced either of these racial socialization strategies were more likely to implement the other as well. Alertness to discrimination was also positively correlated with externalizing problems at a significance level of .05 ($r = 0.30$). This indicates that mothers who implemented alertness to discrimination as a parenting strategy were more likely to have children who expressed greater externalizing problems. Lastly, maternal conflict is positively correlated with externalizing problems in youth ($r = 0.21$), indicating that when there is maternal conflict present in the discussion, there is a higher correlation of adolescents having externalizing problems.

Table 2

Correlation Among Demographic Information, Alertness to Discrimination, Cultural

Pride Reinforcement, Parent Conflict, and Externalizing Problems

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Adolescent Age	1.0								
2. Adolescent sex	-0.12	1.0							
3. Highest Level of Education Completed	-0.01	-0.07	1.0						
4. Total Household Income	-0.11	-0.11	0.54**	1.0					
5. Alertness to Discrimination	0.07	0.06	-0.18	0.05	1.0				
6. Cultural Pride Reinforcement	-0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.09	0.26**	1.0			
7. Total Parent Conflict	0.05	-0.11	-0.12	-0.14	0.11	-0.16	1.0		
8. Dichotomized Parent Conflict	-0.04	0.05	-0.12	-0.19	0.13	-0.20*	0.42**	1.0	
9. Externalizing Problems	-0.00	0.02	-0.18	-0.16	0.30**	-0.16	0.21*	0.30**	1.0

Note. $N = 111$.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Preparation of data for Main Analysis

The first research question investigated the moderational role of maternal conflict

behavior on the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and youth externalizing

behaviors, an analysis of covariance or ANCOVA was completed. To prepare the data

for analyses, I converted the two main variables into categorical variable (1) maternal

conflict behavior and (2) cultural pride reinforcement. As noted above, maternal conflict

behavior was highly positively skewed with 69% of the mothers demonstrating no conflict behavior across the two discussions. As such, two categories were created with mothers demonstrating no conflict behind classified as "2.00" for low conflict and 2.10 and higher being classified as *high conflict*. Similarly, a two-category variable was created using a median split for cultural pride reinforcement (*Mdn* = 24, 52nd percentile) and alertness to discrimination (*Mdn* = 20, 60th percentile). Each of these variables were used in the ANCOVAs. Finally, I included three covariates which were considered in the two ANCOVAs: adolescent age, adolescent gender, and household income.

Main Analysis

Hypothesis 1 stated that maternal conflict would moderate the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and youth externalizing behaviors. Specifically, the youth externalizing behaviors will be lower for youth who report high levels of cultural pride reinforcement and who have mothers who are rated as low on maternal conflict when compared to their counterparts experiencing high levels of maternal conflict. Table 3 presents the results of the first ANCOVA. The full model was only marginally statistically significant, $F(6, 107) = 2.08$, $p = .06$. The results reveal that there was a significant main effect for maternal conflict behavior on adolescent externalizing behaviors, $F(1, 107) = 6.46$, $p < .05$. The main effect for cultural pride reinforcement was not statistically significant, $F(1, 107) = 1.26$, $p = .27$. Additionally, the hypothesized moderation between cultural pride reinforcement and maternal conflict behavior was not significant, $F(1, 107) = .53$, $p = .47$. The full results are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Two-way ANCOVA of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Maternal Conflict Behavior on

Adolescent Externalizing Behaviors

Variable					ANCOVA			
Conflict	Pride	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	Effect	*F* ratio	*df*	η^2
Low	Low	55.81	9.13	36	Model	2.08+	6, 107	.73
	High	55.61	11.05	38	Conflict	6.46*	1, 107	.06
High	Low	63.43	8.38	21	Pride	1.26	1, 107	.01
	High	59.58	9.57	12	C X P	.47	1, 107	.01
					Income	1.14		.18
					Gender	.00		.00
					Age	.13		.00

Note. N = 111. ANCOVA = Analysis of Covariance. Conflict = Maternal Conflict

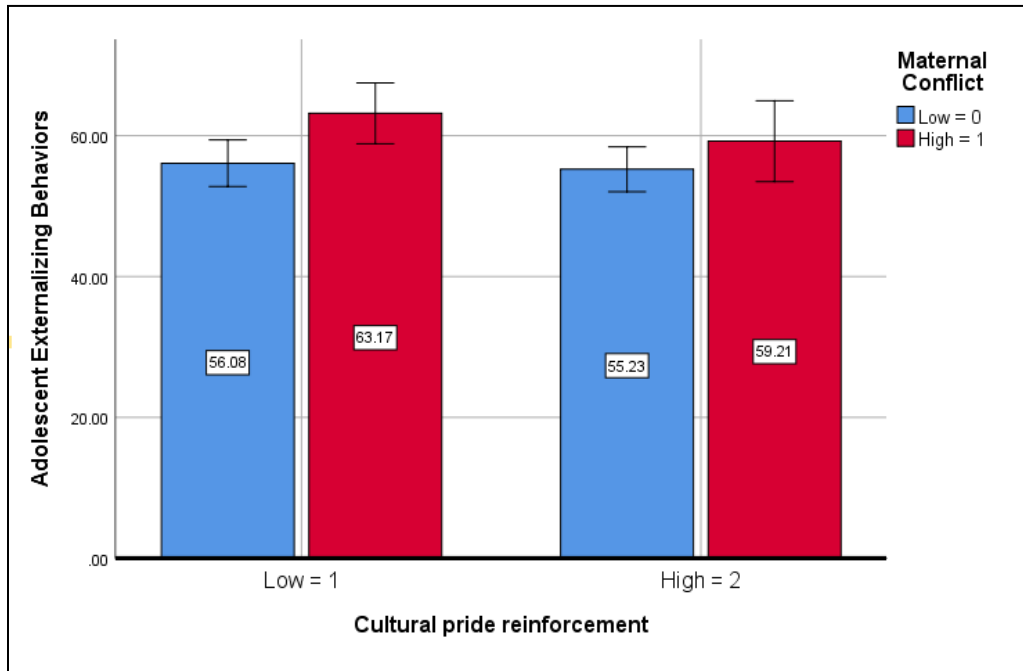Behavior. Pride = Cultural Pride Reinforcement. C = Maternal Conflict Behavior. P =

Cultural Pride Reinforcement. Control variables: Household income, Adolescent gender,

Adolescent age.

+*p* < .10. **p* < .05 ***p* < .01.

Figure 1.

Graph of Means for ANCOVA for Cultural Pride Reinforcement × Maternal Conflict on

Adolescent Externalizing Behaviors

Note. Model results: F (6, 107) = 2.08, p = .06.

Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Income recoded

into 3 Groups = 2.1028, Adolescent sex = 1.5514, Adolescent age = 15.4766

Error bars: 95% CI.

      Hypothesis 2 stated that externalizing behaviors will be lower for adolescents who

reported low levels of alertness to discrimination and who experience mothers who are

rated as low on maternal conflict when compared to their counterparts experiencing high

levels of maternal conflict. As can be seen in Table 4, results revealed a main effect for

maternal conflict behavior and alertness to discrimination. While the overall model was

statistically significant, F (6, 107) = 3.50, p < .01, there was no evidence of an interaction

between the two variables $F(6, 107) = .05$, $p = .83$. A graph of the patterns of means for the ANCOVA is presented in Figure 1.

Table 4

Two-way ANCOVA of Alertness to Discrimination and Maternal Conflict Behavior on Adolescent Externalizing Behaviors

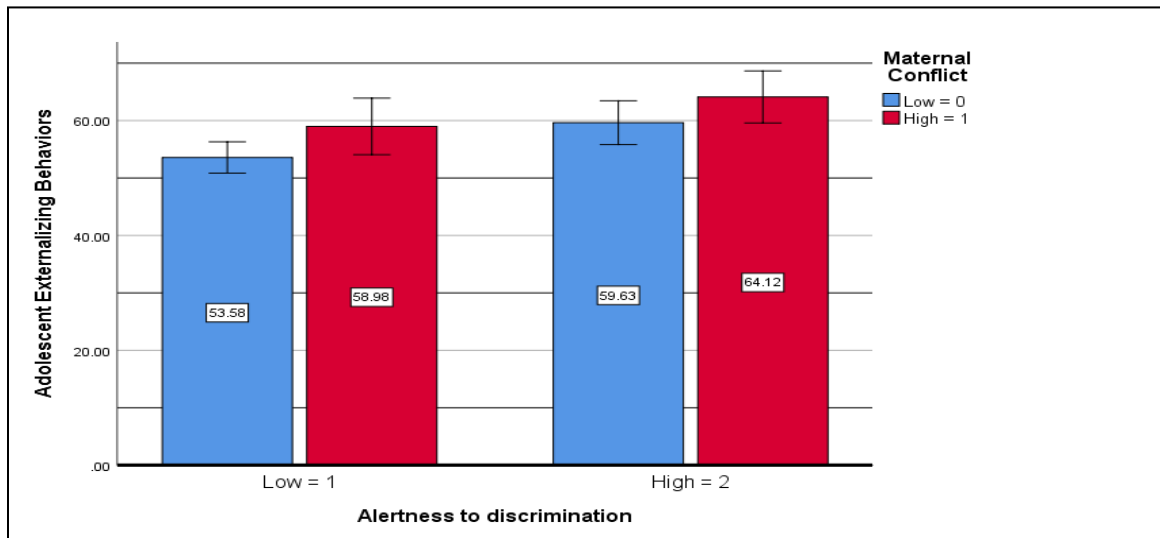| Variable					ANCOVA			
Conflict	Alertness	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	Effect	*F* ratio	*df*	η^2
Low	Low	53.55	10.22	49	Model	3.50**	6, 107	.17
	High	59.36	8.93	25	Conflict	5.67*	1, 107	.05
High	Low	59.00	6.55	15	Alertness	7.56**	1, 107	.07
	High	64.56	9.91	18	C X A	.05	1, 107	.00
					Income			.01
					Gender			.00
					Age			.00

Note. N = 111. ANCOVA = Analysis of Covariance. Conflict = Maternal Conflict Behavior. Alertness = Alertness to Discrimination. C = Maternal Conflict Behavior. A = Alertness to Discrimination Behavior. Control variables: Household income, Adolescent gender, Adolescent age.

*p < .05. **p < .01.

Figure 2

Graph of Means for ANCOVA for Alertness to Discrimination ✕ Maternal Conflict on

Adolescent Externalizing Behaviors

Note. Model results: $F(6, 107) = 3.50, p < .01$.

Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Income recoded

into 3 Groups = 2.1028, Adolescent sex = 1.5514, Adolescent age = 15.4766

Error bars: 95% CI.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The mental health and wellbeing of African Americans deserves attention – now more than ever as the subtle forms of systemic racism have been brought to the forefront of society in the past decade (Trent, Dooley, & Dougé, 2019). African American parents have a tremendous task of preparing their children to function in a society which continues to be greatly affected by the remnants of slavery and segregation (Williams et al., 2019; Harrell, 2000; Liu et al., 2019; Saleem et al., 2020). African American parents may choose to implement a variety of racial socialization strategies in the hopes that this will lay the groundwork for when their children have to function independently as contributing members of society (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

Although research has focused heavily on racial socialization strategies and African American youths' developmental outcomes, the literature has yet to fully address the context of the parent-child relationship when it comes to implementing specific strategies (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). My master's thesis focused on one aspect of the parent-child relationship: the role of maternal conflict behaviors in adolescents' recollections of racial socialization messages Specifically, I explored two research questions focused on the potential influences that maternal conflict may have on adolescents' externalizing behaviors when considered jointly with specific types of racial socialization messaging strategies.

The first question I examined focused on the possible moderating role for maternal conflict behaviors for the linkage between cultural pride reinforcement and

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youth externalizing behaviors. I hypothesized that greater maternal conflict behaviors during discussions focused on strategies for coping with racial discrimination would moderate the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and externalizing behaviors. Findings were consistent with the previous literature in that they highlighted that maternal conflict is detrimental for youth's externalizing behaviors (Branje, 2018; El-Sheikh & Elmore-Station, 2004; Smalls, 2010). However, maternal conflict did not moderate the relationship between cultural pride reinforcement and adolescent's externalizing behaviors as hypothesized.

Additionally, findings revealed that cultural pride did not have a direct impact on mental health as measured by externalizing behaviors. This suggests that, on its own, cultural pride reinforcement, is not directly related to youth externalizing behaviors. Many of the adolescents in our sample reported hearing a great deal of cultural pride reinforcement messages. It is also possible that using a median split may give us an opportunity to further see the differences between the dyads that were classified as low and high for cultural pride reinforcement. Previous research has demonstrated that the connection between cultural pride reinforcement and similar constructs have their impact on adolescent externalizing behaviors through their role in fostering positive ethnic or racial identity in Black youth (Davis et al., 2017).

One possible reason for the lack of main effect found for cultural pride reinforcement could be due to the general categorization of cultural pride reinforcement strategies. For example, if mothers in this sample were to emphasize the importance of

Black history and Black culture by taking adolescents to HBCUs regularly and surrounding their children with the Black community, this may have a greater impact compared to having cultural artifacts on display in their home as it emphasizes connecting to a larger community and seeing that community (Friend et al., 2011). Although both strategies are considered to be cultural pride reinforcement, researchers could investigate which types of cultural pride reinforcement are being utilized specifically in the sample population as there may be differential impacts within this specific category of racial socialization.

Another possibility for why cultural pride reinforcement did not have the proposed effect on externalizing behaviors is that ethnic identity may be a mediator between the two (Davis et al., 2017). In a study conducted by Brown and colleagues (2009), they investigated the role of ethnic socialization on externalizing behaviors, specifically, adolescents' academic grades. The study found that there were differing effects on adolescents based on what type of socialization practice was utilized as well as gender effects. The authors suggest that how adolescents interpret messages from caregivers may influence their self-image and future expectations (Brown et al., 2009).

The second question was the potential moderational role for maternal conflict in the relationship between alertness to discrimination and youth externalizing problems. I hypothesized that the externalizing behaviors would be lower for adolescents whose mothers exhibited less maternal conflict and reported low levels of alertness to discrimination. Similar to the results for the first research question, maternal conflict did

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not moderate the relationship between alertness to discrimination and adolescent's externalizing behaviors as hypothesized. Rather each variable yielded unique impacts on externalizing behaviors. Specifically, maternal conflict behaviors and alertness to discrimination were both negatively associated with adolescents' reports of externalizing behaviors. The mother-child relationship is an important concept to consider when it comes to influencing youth outcomes and responses to racial socialization strategies. Further areas of the maternal-child relationship need to be studied in order to determine what factors have a greater influence on the outcome of children.

This suggests that when mothers exhibit greater conflict behaviors, assessed as verbal or nonverbal behaviors such as speaking loudly, changes in body gesture, hostile body language, and other behavioral indicators of tension, adolescents reported more externalizing behaviors. This finding replicates previous research linking maternal conflict behaviors to adolescent externalizing problems (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Frabutt et al., 2002; Smalls, 2010; Williams & Smalls-Glover, 2014). High conflict communication behaviors by mothers in the context of discussions about coping with racial discrimination appear to be harmful to youth's externalizing behaviors. These findings suggest that mothers and other caregivers should be mindful of the tone, body language, vocabulary and intention behind their communication when discussing racial issues with their children. Our results indicate that the specific aspect of maternal conflict as a factor of the mother-child relationship, does not appear to moderate the relationship

between cultural pride reinforcement and externalizing behaviors nor alertness to discrimination and externalizing behaviors.

Alertness to discrimination was found to be positively linked to externalizing behaviors in adolescents. Adolescents who recalled more frequent communications from parents that emphasize the harmful and pernicious aspects of racism reported more acting out behaviors. In other words, messages focus solely on alertness to discrimination appear to be more harmful than beneficial for adolescents' wellbeing, consistent with some findings in the literature (Davis et al., 2017; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; McHale et al., 2006). In this way, alertness to discrimination does not appear to be representative of preparation for racial bias in the ways that Hughes and colleagues (1999, 2006) define it. The measure does not contain any references to coping. It is possible that it shares some features with promotion of mistrust. Teasing out the distinctions between these different types of racial socialization messages needs further attention in order to confirm their impacts on African American youth development.

Furthermore, an important factor to be cognizant of when exploring this finding is the concepts of balancing racial socialization strategies. Racial socialization messages and strategies are not delivered in isolation from one another (Cooper et al., 2015; Smalls & Cooper, 2012). As previous literature has indicated, it is critical to emphasize strong amounts of cultural pride reinforcement and private regard with African American children as they are going to deal with a number of stereotypes and racism throughout

their lives (Cheeks, 2020; Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020).

When exercising alertness to discrimination with adolescents, it is important to balance the negative challenges they may face with additional cultural pride strategies as well as teaching children coping skills to deal with the discrimination they may face. Solely focusing on alertness to discrimination as a racial socialization strategy without utilizing other strategies that may contain more positive messages (such as cultural pride reinforcement) may be detrimental for youth's outcomes. For this reason, it is likely that alertness to discrimination has some similarities with promotion of mistrust because both focus on threats and warnings of challenges they may face from others based on their race. Greater attention needs to be given to alertness to discrimination as a racial socialization strategy. Furthermore, the field needs to reconsider how these various strategies are categorized under the major tenets of racial socialization categorized by Hughes et al., (2006), and whether existing theory needs expansion. Although these strategies may be split into different categories, when implemented in real life, there is overlap between them, which may make it difficult for researchers to make distinctions between types of strategies when it comes to data collection.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is the sample size used. A sample 109 which limits the amount of power of the various types of data analysis. A larger sample size might would have provided the opportunity to consider interactions with key demographic

variables. It is possible that due to the small sample size, we were not able to see effects

of gender, age, or income. Perhaps if the survey questions were more pointedly asking

mothers or adolescents about whether they felt their gender was influencing any of the

racial socialization strategies they recalled implementing or being exposed to, there may

have been a more conscientious effort made to answer with gender identity in mind. The

age range of the adolescents was limited to ages 14 to 17. This may explain why

adolescent age did not have an impact. Due to the population being highly positively

skewed for household income, there may not have been a great enough distribution to

account for income effects.

Another limitation of the present study the gap between the process-oriented

theoretical framework that guided the research questions and the data-analytic strategy.

The data analytic strategy relied heavily on comparisons between groups. This may have

limited my capacity to detect some statistically significant patterns in the data. As such,

these findings should be replicated with a larger sample and data analytic techniques that

represent the theoretical framework more closely (e.g., structural equation modeling).

Clinical Implications

Although maternal conflict has received little attention in the literature, evidence

suggests that it is a critical aspect of developing the parent-adolescent relationship

(Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Williams & Smalls-Glover, 2014). The ways in which we

communicate with people can have a profound impact on the way a message is received

(Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). The method of transmission is equally as important as the

message that is being transmitted. When critical information is transmitted in a negative

format, with factors such as tension, hesitation, and negative conflict being present,

chances are that the receiver will not be able to truly hear the message that is being

transmitted. Keeping this in mind, when African American mothers are communicating

with their children, their tone of voice, body language, and chosen vocabulary will impact

how the message is received. When maternal conflict is expressed at a higher level, there

are negative impacts on youths' externalizing behaviors (Branje, 2018; El-Sheikh &

Elmore-Station, 2004; Smalls, 2010).

Furthermore, given the nature of parent-child relationships and how sensitive

messages around race and racism can be, it is important for clinicians to focus on the

strength of the parent-child relationship (Anderson et al., 2018; Williams & Smalls-

Glover, 2014). Focusing on strengthening or building a relationship of mutual trust,

respect, and understanding is important for the parent-child relationship (Dunbar et al.,

2017). Regardless of the types of messages being transmitted, when mothers are

presenting with conflict behaviors, then adolescents will end up exhibiting externalizing

problems irrespective of the positive intention behind the message (Branje, 2018). It will

be important for clinicians to focus on healing the parent-child relationship before diving

into the sensitive topic of racial socialization with clients as they may not be able to hear

one another and understand the gravity of the messages if their relationship is polarizing.

It is important for clinicians to be culturally sensitive and mindful of racial

socialization strategies and their impact on African American youth (Bryant-Davis &

Ocampo, 2005; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Kelly et al., 2020). By having a foundational knowledge on the topic and actively learning about different challenges that African Americans face as a result of systemic and interpersonal racism, it will allow them to be better able to support their clients. Some ways clinicians should actively educate themselves on different cultural backgrounds their clients may present with is by attending trainings, reading books on race and critical race theory, and building meaningful relationships with people of diverse backgrounds (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Smalls et al., 2010).

Additionally, clinicians should give careful attention when working with African American families and discussing the topic of racial socialization or racism, as to what messages are transmitted throughout the family. For clinicians that are working with African American parents, it may be important to discuss the ways they are implementing racial socialization as a parenting strategy (such as which types of messages they share more frequently) and discussing with them the findings in the literature about the impacts of specific strategies and adolescents' outcomes.

Our findings indicate that regardless of the presence of maternal conflict, when parents implement alertness to discrimination as a parenting strategy, it leads to greater externalizing problems in adolescence. It is critical for parents to be aware of this effect on adolescents, and perhaps they may adjust how they communicate with adolescents. One suggestion for parents may be to supplement such messages with teaching adolescents coping skills to manage their response to discriminatory experiences.

Another way to bolster youths' wellbeing is to instill a strong cultural identity and racial pride in adolescents, so that even if they are to face discrimination, this may serve as a buffer against negative consequences of it on the adolescent (Copeland-Linder et al., 2011; Davis et al., 2017; Saleem & Lambert, 2016).

Conclusion

Racial socialization is a critical parenting strategy that Black parents implement with their children (Burt et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2012). These messages permeate beyond the walls of their home and guide how Black families are engaging with society at large – whether it be in public institutions such as schools, doctor offices, workspaces, etc., or in private gatherings (Harrell, 2000). For Black youth living in the United States, growing up as a member of a minority group is a reality that impacts their safety and wellbeing. Future research should continue to understand the nuanced ways the parent-child relationship provides a context for understanding the impacts of racial socialization on Black youth's wellbeing.

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Appendix

Parent Questionnaires

Parent Demographic Questionnaire

1) Age:_____   2) Sex: ¨ Male   ¨ Female

3) Racial/Ethnic Group:
      ¨ Black/ African-American
      ¨ Black Central American, from which country ___
      ¨ Afro-Caribbean, from which country:___
      ¨ African, from which country: ___
      ¨ Black or South American, from which country___
      ¨ Biracial or Multiracial (list):____
      ¨ other racial/ethnic background (list):____

4) Your highest grade level of education completed:

_____ Grade school
_____ Junior high
_____ Some high school
_____ High school graduate or equivalent (e.g., GED)
_____ Diploma or certificate from vocational, technical, trade or business school
_____ Some college
_____ Associate Degree in college—occupational/vocational program
_____ Received Bachelor's Degree
_____ Some graduate school
_____ Master's Degree
_____ Professional school degree (M.D., D.D.S., D.V.M., L.L.B., J.D.)
_____ Doctoral Degree (Ph.D., Ed.D.)
_____ Don't know/Not sure

5) Are you currently employed   ¨ yes   ¨ no

Current Occupation: _____

6) Current Marital Status:
     ¨ Married
     ¨ Divorced
     ¨ Separated
     ¨ Widowed
     ¨ Never Married

7) Number of previous marriages, including current marriage:
¨ 1
¨ 2
¨ 3
¨ 4
¨ 5 or more

8) Are you living with a romantic partner to whom you are not married?

¨ yes   ¨ no

9) Total number of people in household: _____
10) Total number of adults in household: _____
11) Total number of children in your household: _____
     Ages of children: _____

12) Age of teenager participating in this study: _____

13) Sex of teenager participating in this study:
¨ male   ¨ female
14) Grade of teenager participating in this study: _____

15) Your relationship to the teenager participating in this study:

¨ biological mother   ¨ grandmother

¨ biological father   ¨ grandfather

¨ step-mother   ¨ aunt

¨ step-father   ¨ uncle

                                       ¨ other

16) What is the total income of your household per year?

___ below $5,000   ___ $50,000 to 59,999

___ $5,000 to 9,999   ___ $60,000 to 69,999

___ $10,000 to 19,999   ___ $70,000 to 79,999

___ $20,000 to 29,999   ___ $80,000 to 89,999

___ $30,000 to 39,999   ___ $90,000 to 99,999

___ $40,000 to 49,999   ___ $100,000 or higher

17) Were you born and raised in the Washington, D.C or Baltimore area?
¨yes   ¨no

18) In what country were you born? ¨USA   ¨other

19) What city were you born in?

20) In what country have you spent the most of your life? ¨USA   ¨other

21) How many years have you lived in the Indianapolis area?

___ 1   ___ 3   ___ 5   ___ 7   ___ 9

___ 2   ___ 4   ___ 6   ___ 8   ___ 10 or
                                                                more

22) The town in which you currently live would best be described as:
      ¨ Urban   ¨ Suburban   ¨ Rural

23) The town in which you spent the longest period of your youth would best be described as:

      ¨ Urban   ¨ Suburban   ¨ Rural

24) In your opinion, how many African Americans lived in the neighborhood where you spent most of your childhood?

___ less than 20% African-American

___ from 20% to 40% African-American

___ from 41% to 60% African-American

___ from 61% to 80% African-American

___ from 81% to 100% African-American

      ¨ does not apply to me

25) In your opinion, how many whites lived in the neighborhood where you spent most of your childhood?

___ less than 20% whites

___ from 20% to 40% whites

___ from 41% to 60% whites

___ from 61% to 80% whites

___ from 81% to 100% whites

¨ does not apply to me

Teen Questionnaires

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization

Do your parents or any of your caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages:

		never	a few times	lots of times
1.	American society is fair toward Black people.	1	2	3
2.	Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children.	1	2	3
3.	Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.	1	2	3
4.	Black slavery is important never to forget.	1	2	3
5.	Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.	1	2	3
6.	Religion is an important part of a person's life.	1	2	3
7.	Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.	1	2	3
8.	Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.	1	2	3
9.	You should be proud to be Black.	1	2	3
10.	All races are equal.	1	2	3
11.	If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.	1	2	3

12.	A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	1	2	3
13.	Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.	1	2	3
14.	Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.	1	2	3
15.	Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	1	2	3
16.	You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	1	2	3
17.	Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.	1	2	3
18.	Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.	1	2	3
19.	Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.	1	2	3
20.	Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow.	1	2	3
21.	Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	1	2	3
22.	Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."	1	2	3
23.	Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.	1	2	3

24.	"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	1	2	3
25.	Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.	1	2	3
26.	You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.	1	2	3
27.	"Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	1	2	3
28.	You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
29.	Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
30.	Be proud of who you are.	1	2	3
31.	Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3
32.	You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	1	2	3
33.	Never be ashamed of your color.	1	2	3
34.	Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3
35.	A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36.	More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.	1	2	3

37.	Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	1	2	3
38.	Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites.	1	2	3
39.	Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.	1	2	3
40.	Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960's.	1	2	3

Teen Demographic Questionnaire

1) Age:_____   2) Sex: ¨Male   ¨Female

3) Racial/Ethnic Group:

    ¨ Black/ African-American

    ¨ Black Central American, from which country__

    ¨ Afro-Caribbean, from which country:____

    ¨ African, from which country: _____

    ¨ Black or South American, from which country_____

    ¨ Biracial or Multiracial:____

    ¨ other racial/ethnic background:____

4) What grade in school are you in?: _____

4b) What is your grade point average?:_____

   ¨ Don't know/Not sure

5) Do you have a part-time job?   ¨yes   ¨no

5b) How many hours a week do you work?: _____

6) How many close friends do you have?

  ¨ 0   ¨ 3

  ¨ 1   ¨ 4

  ¨ 2   ¨ 5 or more

7a) How many of your close friends are Black?_____

7b) How many of your close friends are White?_____

7c) How many of your close friends of other racial backgrounds? (e.g., Hispanic, Asian)_____

8) Are there things you like to do for fun?

    ¨ yes   ¨ no

9) List three things you like to do for fun?

a)_____   b)_____   c)_____

10) The following contains a list of statements about people who live with you.

Check "yes" if the statement is true for you and "no" if the statement is not true for you.

I live with my mother	¨ yes	¨ no
I live with my father:	¨ yes	¨ no
I live with my grandmother	¨ yes	¨ no
I live with my grandfather:	¨ yes	¨ no
I live with my aunt:	¨ yes	¨ no
I live with my uncle:	¨ yes	¨ no

11) How many brothers do you have?_____

12) How many brothers live with you?:_____

13) How many sisters do you have?:_____

14) How many sisters live with you?_____

15) How many cousins live with you? _____

16) Were you born and raised in the Washington, D.C or Baltimore area?

    ¨yes

    ¨ no

17) In what country were you born? ¨USA   ¨ other

18) What city were you born in?

19) In what country have you spent the most of your life? ¨ USA   ¨ other

20) How many years have you lived in the Indianapolis area?

___ 1   ___ 3   ___ 5   ___ 7   ___ 9

___ 2   ___ 4   ___ 6   ___ 8   ___ 10 or more

24) In your opinion, your neighborhood is:

¨ mostly African-American

¨ about half- African-American and half-White

¨ mostly White

     ¨ does not apply to me