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The Effects of Racial Socialization and Parent-Child Relationship Quality on Emerging Adult Reports of Racial Discrimination to Parents

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THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP
QUALITY ON EMERGING ADULT REPORTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION TO
PARENTS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Science at Virginia Commonwealth
University

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Abstract

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The effects of parent-child relationship quality and racial socialization on reports of racial

discrimination to parents are examined in an African American emerging adult population. The

effects of parent-child relationship quality and racial socialization on reports of racial

discrimination to parents are also considered. The influences of demographic characteristics on

reports of racial discrimination are also assessed. The purpose of this study is to examine if there

are relationships between cultural origin, gender, socio-economic status and reports of racial

discrimination to parents. The study also aims to determine if parent-child relationship quality has

an effect on whether or not black youth report experiences of racial discrimination to their parents.

The study included 133 emerging adult participants between the ages of 18-25, and 33 didactic pairs of parents and their emerging adult children. Via electronic surveys, young adults answered questions about their relationships with their parents, while the parents answered questions about their racial socialization strategies. The results indicated that cultural origin, gender, and SES did not have a relationship with reports of racial discrimination to parents. However, analyses suggested that having a low or working SES has a relationship with reporting racial discrimination to parents. Findings also showed that racial socialization along with parent-child relationship quality had an effect on reports of discrimination. Implications of these findings and future directions are discussed.

The Effects of Racial Socialization and Parent-Child Relationship Quality on Emerging

Adult Reports of Racial Discrimination to Parents

African Americans parents face unique challenges in child-rearing in consideration of the task to racially socialize their children. There are a multitude of challenges in parent—children communication of social topics (Burgess & Wurtele, 1998; Miller-Day, 2002; Kulbok, 2010; Pluhar & Kuriloff, 2004). However, communication difficulty is especially pronounced for parents around the subject of race, as it is very difficult to assess if the child is truly absorbing the messages that the parent intended them to receive (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005). Negotiating discussions of racial socialization are particularly challenging for African American parents, as they have to instruct their children on how to manage themselves in a society where their children are devalued (Hughes & Chen, 1997). African American children are born into a world where the remnants of slavery, Jim Crow laws, racial segregation, and varied forms of racial discrimination are all around them. The interracial interactions from these historical periods of white supremacy and black subordination have trickled down into the modern day society, for which African American children should be aware and prepared (Harrell, 2000). Consequential of this, black parents bear the responsibility to inform their children of how to operate in American society (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010).

Many African American parents begin the process of racial socialization with their children starting from early elementary school age (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). However, less research in the racial socialization literature focuses on the perspective of black youth who are in emerging adulthood. Examining the effects of racial discrimination on this population would be valuable to the literature, as young adults have already developed formal

reasoning and a racial or ethnic identity by this age (Bowman & Howard, 1985). This formal reasoning is essential to understand the dynamics of race based discrimination, as individuals in emerging adulthood have already developed the skills to assess the thoughts and intentions of others (Keating, 2004). The exploration, engagement, and commitment of one's racial or ethnic identity leads to a greater awareness, understanding, and meaning of race and race relations (Phinney, 1989). Subsequently, black youth in later stages of development who have developed formal reasoning as well as a racial or ethnic identity would be more likely to perceive incidents of discrimination compared to black youth who are in earlier stages of development (Fisher, Wallace, Fenton, 2000). As black youth are going through these identity and awareness changes, their parents are simultaneously conceptualizing how they will protect and guide their children through this process.

The protection motivation theory illustrates the decision making process made by an individual when confronted with a perceived threat and the desire to avoid the potential negative outcomes the threat presents (Rogers, 1975). In these instances the individual initiates cognitive appraisal processes concerning: (a) the severity of the threatening event; (b) the likely occurrence of or their vulnerability to the event; (c) the response efficacy to cope with the event; and (d) the belief that one is capable of performing the adaptive response (self-efficacy) (Rogers, 1975). These factors produce the motivation to protect, and consequently result in an adaptive response when the threat is posed. In the context of racial socialization, parents would (a) assess the level of threat posed by the experience of racial discrimination on their children; (b) assess the likelihood that their child would experience racial discrimination and would need to be prepared for it; (c) evaluate their belief that providing certain messages would protect their child from adverse effects of racial discrimination; and (d) consider if they have the necessary resources as parents to effectively

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deliver these messages. These levels of the protection motivation theory illuminate a variety of factors that can potentially influence how parents discuss race based topics with their children.

There will be several terms that will be used throughout this paper with which readers must be familiar. The first term is race which is defined as a group of people who share a set of biological characteristics, and is most frequently used to distinguish people via phenotypical social classifications (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; McKee, 1993). The next term of importance is African American. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2011), an African American is a citizen whose ancestry is rooted in the black racial groups of Africa. This term will be used interchangeably with the word black when discussing the race of the individual. This is done in order to remain consistent with authors' terminologies when reporting findings from previous research. However, cultural origin will be discussed in great detail in this paper. Thus it is important to note that the term African American in regards to the discussion on cultural origin will be used solely to distinguish the culture of black Americans who are the descents from slaves brought to America from Africa, from the cultures of more historically recent black immigrants. The term racial discrimination will be used interchangeably with race based discrimination, which is in reference to "when an individual is treated less favorably because of his or her race…or a behavior or practice that has an adverse impact on members of a disadvantaged racial group" (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004, p.40-41). The term child will also be frequently used in reference to one's son or daughter or offspring (child, Merriam-Webster, 2013). One of the primary concepts of the paper is racial socialization, which according to Robbins, Szapocznik, Mayorga, Dillon, Burns, and Feaster (2007, p. 313) is "the process through which parents (parent figures) relay to their children attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors about culture, ethnicity, race, and bias." Another important term will be emerging adulthood which is regarded as a newly acknowledged stage of individual

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development in the developmental literature. This period includes individuals who are in their late teens through twenties, with an emphasis on the age range of 18-25 years of age. Individuals who are in emerging adulthood are neither in adolescence nor adulthood. Given the emphasis on delayed milestones of characteristic adult development, this demographic is often differentiated by more years residing in their parents' home, delayed home ownership status, older average age of marriage, later parenthood, and lengthier higher education enrollments (Arnett, 2000). These aforementioned terms will be used recurrently throughout this paper, thus a review of them is essential for accurate reader understanding.

Literature Review

The Threat of Racial Discrimination

The perceived threat posed by racial discrimination catalyzes the protection motivation theory as it begins the decision making process undertaken by African American parents regarding sharing messages with their children about race. The effects of racial discrimination are numerous and deleterious. Recent empirical data identified experiences of racial discrimination as a possible explanation of racial disparities in crime rates (Burt, Harbin, Simons, & Gibbons, 2012). These findings suggested that the experience of racial discrimination can be traumatic and result in deviation from societal norms, hostile perceptions of relationships, and depression which then incite the behaviors that lead to criminal activity. Racial discrimination is also described as an environmental stressor that places black youth at risk for psychological distress, externalizing behavior problems, poor individual adjustment, low emotional well-being, and meager academic achievement (Brody, Chen, Murry, Ge, Simons, Gibbons, Gerrard, & Cutrona, 2006; Dubois, Braxton-Burk, Swenson, Tevendale, & Hardesty, 2002; Simons, Murry, McLoyd, Lin, Cutrona, & Conger, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).This association with academic achievement was later expanded upon to show a relationship between racial discrimination and a decrease in academic curiosity, persistence, and self-reported grades (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006).

There is a body of research that focuses on the consequences of race based experiences and how they affect the lives of African Americans. This includes concepts such as race related stress and it dimensions, and stereotype threat. The definition of race related stress is extracted from

Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) definition of psychological stress, and is defined as "The race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources or threaten well-being" (Harrell, 2000, p. 44).

Race Related Stress. According to Harrell (2000), there are six types of race related stressors which include: racism-related life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily racism microstressors, chronic contextual stress, collective experiences of racism, and the transgenerational transmission of group traumas. As conceptualized by Harrell (2000), racism related life events are major life events such as being rejected for a loan, being harassed by the police, or being discriminated against in housing (Feagin, 1991). These events may occur intermittently, but they will have enduring effects. Vicarious racism experiences are instances of racial discrimination which happen to a member's of one's family, close friends and in some cases even strangers (Steele, Mitchell, Greywolf, Belle, Chang, & Schuller, 1982; Tatum, 1987). Another race based discrimination phenomena are Daily Racism Microstressors, also known as microaggressions, are slight and at times ingenuous, preconscious or unconscious putdowns that are seemingly inoffensive in nature (Pierce, 1995). They occur more commonly, and are constant reminders that the individual's skin color is an ongoing provocation in their society (Harrell, 2000; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). Microstressors include being mistaken for someone who serves others in public environments, being ignored while waiting for service, or being followed or watched at various public establishments (Harrell, 1997). Another, form of racism related stress is chronic-contextual stress; which is especially felt in the homes, neighborhoods, and occupations of African Americans. Essentially this type of stress is the result of the impact of institutional racism, political

dynamics, and social structure on an individual's social roles in a larger society which one must adapt and cope (Harrell, 2000).

Then there are collective experiences which are, at times, a neglected element of the racial discrimination literature (Harrell, 2000). This includes the perceptions of racism felt from society towards one's group, which include a lack of political representation, stereotypical depictions in the media, or economic conditions of members within one's racial ethnic group (Feagin, 1991). The final form of racism related stress considers transgenerational transmission which is how the history of a racial group affects the relationship between the group and wider American society. For African Americans this would include historical transgressions such as slavery, the Jim Crow Laws, and Massive Resistance. There are a variety of ways that African American emerging adults can encounter racial discrimination and its associated stressors. The consequences of these historical, collective, vicarious, and personal experiences can be demoralizing, dehumanizing, disrespectful, and objectifying; and are reflected upon when African American parents are considering the vitality of having conversations with their children around race (Caughy & Nettles, 2011; Harrell, 2000; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010).

Consequences of Racial Discrimination. In her conceptualization of race related stress, Harrell (2000) listed a variety of posterior physical, psychological, social, functional, and spiritual outcomes for the effects of racial discrimination. She found that the literature provided evidence that race based discrimination was related to physical corollaries such as hypertension, cardiovascular reactivity, risk behavior (i.e. cigarette smoking), and adverse physiological arousal. This conceptual piece noted that there were many psychological products of race based experiences including depression, general psychological distress, anxiety, trauma-related symptoms, hostility, substance abuse, eating problems, violence, and psychosomatization. In

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regards to social consequences, race based experiences can lead to decreased social connectedness; and can effect intragroup and intergroup relations due to decreased willingness to trust others. Her review also illuminated functional impairment in job performance and parental functioning. Furthermore, functional impairment includes awareness of one's race in society, which would be especially pronounced in academic settings for emerging adults. Steele and Aronson's (1995) study demonstrated the effects of a racism based concept called "stereotype threat" which illustrated how race impacts test performance of African Americans. This was a seminal study as it showed how the effects of racism permeated the academic performance of African American students, and could potentially affect their academic outcomes. Harrell's (2000) review also highlighted how race based discriminatory experiences can have adverse effects on an individual's spirituality including loss of faith, feelings of meaninglessness, and existential angst. Thus, there are a variety of ways that race based discriminatory experiences can adversely affect African American emerging adults. African American parents examine these threats when evaluating if racial discrimination would pose as a threat to their child.

Likelihood of Experiencing Race Based Discrimination

The second level of the protection motivation theory is when parents assess the likelihood that their son or daughter will experience racial discrimination and would need to be prepared for this likely occurrence. Discrimination on a race basis is a salient societal problem in several countries including the United States. As black youth develop, meet different peers, and engage in different activities they are likely to encounter prejudice and discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). African American youth are more likely to be on the receiving end of this discrimination as research shows that they are at greater risk for discrimination than youth from other racial-ethnic backgrounds (Phinney, 1996). There is ample evidence regarding

the frequency of racial discrimination that African American youth experience. Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, and Jackson (2008) used the National Survey of American Life (NSAL) to examine 1,193 African American youth, and found that most black youth report experiencing a racial discriminatory event at least once in the past year. Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, and Pulgiano (2004), provided evidence that 77% of black youth reported that within the last 3 months that they experienced at least one discriminatory incident. Additional empirical evidence reveals that more than 90% of African American youth experience a racial discriminatory experience at least once over the course of their lifetimes (Brody et al., 2006; Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody, 2004).

When considering the likelihood that their child would experience race based discrimination, parents have more to consider than the prevalence of discriminatory experiences of black youth. It would be essential for parents to consider other factors such as their child's gender, cultural origin, and SES, and how these demographic dynamics contribute to the possibility that their child would experience racial discrimination.

Cultural Origin. The culture of one's origin is a critical variable that parents must consider concerning if their child may experience and perceive race based discrimination. An individuals' cultural identity is regarded as the identification and association with others who share the same cultural values and beliefs (Phinney, 1996). Cultural origin affects groups' child rearing and socialization patterns (Ellis & Peterson, 1992; Lin & Fu, 1990).

The experience of discrimination for black Americans, who are the descendants of slaves brought to America from sub-Saharan Africa (Agyemang, Bhopal, & Bruijnzeels, 2005), is reflected widely throughout the literature (Brody et al., 2006; Burt et al., 2012; Dubois et al., 2002;

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Neblett et al., 2006; Simons et al., 2002; Wong et al., 2003). Black Americans have persistent, pervasive, and prevalent experiences with race based discrimination. Their experience with societal race based discord wears to the point that African Americans begin to experience "racial battle fatigue," which is the continuous psychological, physiological, cultural, and emotional coping with racial microaggressions in environments that are racially hostile or unsupportive to racial minorities (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007).

Given the abundance of research focused on the experience of the black person in America it is important to recognize the heterogeneity of black people. This is because black immigrants to the United States are theorized to have a varying experiences and consequences of racism from that of black Americans. For example, Hamilton and Hummer (2011) found that black immigrants have lower odds of experiencing poor health than black Americans, and that this advantage is maintained more than 20 years into their stay in the U.S. These findings are attributed to the "healthy immigrant effect." The healthy immigrant effect is the result of voluntary immigrants who are relatively resilient in light of frequent discrimination (Findley, 1988; Singh & Siahpush, 2002). This can be attributed to the possibility that healthier individuals are more likely to immigrate, more likely to have higher levels of education, and to have a higher socio-economic status; especially in comparison to their black American counterparts (Logan & Deane, 2003; Singh & Siahpush, 2002). These beliefs about the healthy immigrant lead to the belief that white employers prefer black immigrants as they have favorable work ethic perceptions of this group; which can lead to higher employment rates, more working hours, and higher incomes (Waters, 1999). Additionally, black immigrant children believe that white Americans will respond more favorably to them because they are foreign born blacks (Waters, 1996). These opportunities lead to black immigrants belonging to a larger portion of the well-adjusted minority population in

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society (Findley, 1988; Singh & Siahpush, 2002). Waters (1996) found evidence that this advantage decreases after a length of time living in the United States, which could be the result of persistent racism, lowered perceptions of group identity, and poor health outcomes of their children who are second generation immigrants. The findings of this decrease in the healthy immigrant effect were replicated on a sample of black Caribbean youth by Soto, Dawson-Andoh, and BeLue (2011). Distinguishing the unique experiences of black immigrants is important because they are one-fifth of the growing black population (Kent, 2007), and represent one of the largest groups of American immigrants.

Black Caribbean refers to people with origins of sub-Saharan African ancestry who migrated to the United States via the Caribbean islands (Agyemang et al., 2005). In 2003, black Caribbeans were almost a quarter of the black population in the U.S., and were growing at a faster rate than other immigrant population such as Koreans and Cubans (Logan & Deane, 2003). Despite the healthy immigrant effect, this group is not invulnerable to racial discrimination. When black Caribbeans with diagnosed clinical illnesses were asked to ascribe a reason to perceived discrimination, they were more likely to attribute this to racial discrimination as opposed to their mental illness (Chakraborty, McKenzie, & King, 2009). Furthermore, after experiencing discrimination both adult black Caribbeans and black Caribbean youth reported experiencing higher levels of distress than African American groups (Seaton et al., 2008; Williams, 2000). In studies done on black people who are natives of sub-Saharan Africa (Africans), chronic perceived racial discrimination was a primary factor that negatively impacted mental health (Agyemang et al., 2005; Dommisse, 1986; Mohutsioa-Makhudu, 1989; Straker, 1987; Turton & Chalmers, 1990).

Africans, African Americans, and black Caribbeans are all black cultural groups in the U.S. that differ from each other in regards to language, social norms, collective history, and their

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transnational experiences (Logan & Deane, 2003). These specific ethno-cultural experiences have implications for the development of a black youth population (García Coll et al., 1996). Subsequent of their common racial background, yet different ethnic group memberships, there are a myriad of ways how these populations differ and relate in regards to race based discriminatory experiences in the U.S. In regards to racial discrimination, African American parents tend to socialize their children about racism and how to cope with it (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; McAdoo, 2001; Stevenson, 1994a). Black immigrants, on the other hand, engage in less racial socialization and place more emphasis on ethnic socialization (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009). However, the group identity in which the black immigrant youth identified would moderate the effects of this socialization. Black immigrant youth who identified more with the African American culture, and less with their parents' ethnic background, perceived equal or greater amounts of race based discrimination as their African American counterparts (Rumbaut, 1994). However, black immigrant youth who retained their family's ethnic identity not only perceived less discrimination but they also reported more opportunities and rewards subsequent of their work (Rumbaut, 1994). It has been considered that assimilated black Caribbean youth perceived the same amount of discrimination as African American youth, because they lack their parents' immigrant attributes that would distinguish them from black American youth. As a result race becomes their distinguishing characteristic to the greater society (Seaton et al., 2008).

Similar to findings in African American youth populations, black immigrant males reported more racial harassment from police than their female counterparts (Waters, 1996). Furthermore, black Caribbean and African American youth revealed that perceived discrimination from teachers negatively impacted academic achievement (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009). Studies show that 77% of African American youth report experiencing at least one

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discriminatory incident within the past three months (Prelow et al., 2004). This statistic is comparable to percentages of Jamaican and Haitian youth (75% and 66% respectively), who were also queried about their experiences with discrimination (Rumbaut, 1994). African Americans and black Caribbean's similarly report experiencing race based discrimination at a rate that is 5 times higher than white groups (Soto, Dawson-Andoh, & BeLue (2011). However, this same study found that African Americans reported higher rates of general anxiety disorder as a result of race based discrimination. Evaluating the three black ethnic groups, a study that specifically focused on South African blacks found that this ethnic population had lower self-esteem compared to their white counterparts than do African Americans and black Caribbeans (Williams, Haile, Mohammed, Herman, Sonnega, Jackson, & Stein, 2012). However, regardless of cultural origin, perceptions of discrimination were positively related to depressive symptoms, self-esteem and mastery, and negatively linked to life satisfaction (Seaton et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2012). The literature provides varied findings about how cultural origin relates to perceived experiences with discrimination (Seaton et al., 2008; Sellers and Shelton, 2003; Williams, Haile, Mohammed, Herman, Sonnega, Jackson, & Stein, 2008). Although there is enough evidence to support that there is a relationship, it is also apparent that more research is needed to examine this connection, especially when comparing black cultural groups. Therefore, parents would need to consider the role of cultural origin in the possibility that their child would experience racial discrimination, and the consequences of its effects.

Gender. Gender is another primary factor that parents take into account when assessing the chances that their child would experience race based discrimination. An individual's gender adds another dynamic to the likelihood of experiencing racial discrimination. Gender not only affects the actual experience, but it also affects the individual's coping responses as well as African

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American parent's racial socialization strategies. Black women have unique race based experiences in that they are more likely to be the victims of sexism, domestic violence, and rape, compared to their white counterparts. Additionally, when African American women seek support as a result of this type of trauma, they are viewed more negatively by others (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005; Foley, Evanic, Karnik, King, & Parks, 1995; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Willis, 1992). This poor social support in addition to other race based life stressors can lead to depression and anxiety; which are disorders that are positively related with perceived racial discrimination and disproportionately affect black women (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

In regards to the experiences of African American young men, "social dominance theory" posits that males who are of a lower status become targets of bias and discrimination because they are seen as threats to the already established dominant hierarchy (Sidanius, Pratto, Laar, & Levin, 2004). This theory contributes to the employment disparities that exist for the black male population in our society as well as higher imprisonment rates (Sutton, 2011; Wilson, 2011). African American parents have cause for concern as race based discrimination begins creating disparities between African American males and males of other racial groups from when their young adult sons are school aged children. Data provides evidence that teachers are more apt to perceive African American boys as aggressive, lazy, and less academically inclined than their same gender counter parts in other ethnic groups (Neal, McCray, Webb-Johnson, & Bridgest, 2003; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009). Additionally, African American males are rated by their peers as the least likely to have academic success (Hudley & Graham, 2001). These stereotypes about African American boys' intellectual capabilities become barriers, as these stereotypes lead to racial discrimination and can result in poor academic success, adversely affect their psychological well-being, and lead to maladaptive coping strategies (Stevenson, 1997; Swanson, Cunningham,

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Spencer, 2003; Varner & Mandara, 2013). Race based experiences are related to reduced feelings of self-efficacy, which result in damaging the African American male's self-concept (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005; Goff, Leone, & Kahn, 2012). Given the overabundance of studies that have assessed the intersection of gender and race based discrimination, researchers hypothesize that perceived discrimination has a greater effect on black youth. This is consequential of theories such as the "ethnic prominence theory" which suggests that racial minorities attribute experiences of discrimination to their race over gender when evaluating discriminatory experiences (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002).

Perceptions of the racial climate of their children truly effect African American parents' beliefs, goals, and child-rearing practices. A young person's gender influences how much parents believe that racial discrimination will be an obstacle for their child's future success (Hill, 2002; Wood, Kaplan, & Mcloyd, 2007). This belief leads to how parenting and racial socialization strategies are tailored in order to meet their child's gender based needs that result from their environment (Varner & Mandara, 2013). Due to the role of early threats of race based discrimination in the environment of African American boys, parents of black boys tend to be more concerned about the consequences of race based discrimination on their child's future compared to parents of African American girls (Varner & Mandara, 2013). This is especially true for parents of black boys in impoverished high risk neighborhoods (Cunningham, Swanson, Spencer, & Dupree, 2003); as these parents tend to provide more messages about coping with antagonism to their sons (Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005). Bowman and Howard (1985) found that African American girls are more likely to receive messages about having racial pride, whereas boys are more likely to receive messages about racial barriers. Varner and Mandara (2013) found that parents who believe that the history of racism as well as current

social perceptions will adversely affect their child's future outcomes, will parent their children differently as well as carry lower academic and behavioral expectations of their child.

Gender also plays a role in how African American youth report and respond to race based discrimination. When queried African American boys report experiencing more discrimination than their African American female counterparts (Cogburn, Chavous, & Griffin, 2011; Matthews, Salomon, Kenyon, & Zhou, 2005; Seaton et al., 2008). When experiencing stressors such as discrimination, boys are more likely to cope through avoidance, externalization, suppression, diversions, and physical recreational activities (Frydenberg, 1997; Halstead, Johnson, & Cunningham, 1993). African American girls, however, were likely to seek social support and engage in wishful thinking coping strategies (Halstead et al., 1993). Consequently, the literature substantiates that gender influences the frequency that parents transmit racial barrier messages to their children, as well as how African American youth respond to these messages. Due to this evidence, gender becomes a factor in whether or not parents believe that their child is likely to encounter racial discrimination, and how both parents and their children respond to this belief.

Socio-economic Status. Socio-economic status (SES) is an important demographic factor that parents may consider in regards to the likelihood that their child will experience race based discrimination. This is because SES influences the types of race based discrimination that young people are likely to experience (Brondolo, Beatty, Cubbin, Pencille, Saegert, Wellington, Tobin, Cassells, Schwartz, 2009). The SES and race based discrimination literature proposes that even though some members of racial minority groups are able to advance in society despite historic and institutional barriers, these individuals do not escape the experiences of racial discrimination (Brondolo et al, 2009). Findings in the heath psychology field have shown that even when factors

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such as SES are controlled, that health disparities between white and black people still exist (Lillie-Blanton, Parsons, Gayle, & Dievler, 1996).

In the U.S. there is a persisting pattern of residential racial segregation, where many African Americans live in impoverished neighborhoods and are subject to low socio-economic status (Williams & Collins 2001). There are several consequences of belonging to a low SES group. Subsequent of living in a segregated community and having low class membership, individuals are likely to experience economic struggles, unsafe living conditions, and poor quality medical care (Feagin & McKinney 2003). The lower a person's SES the greater their chances of having poor mental health; as there is evidence that neighborhood SES and mental health are positively related (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn 2003; Stockdale, Wells, Tang, Belin, 2004; Williams & Collins, 2001). Low SES individuals encounter greater aversive environmental events including crimes and violence and are consequently prone to anxiety, depression, and psychological distress (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996; Ellaway, Macintyre, & Kearns, 2001; Latkin & Curry, 2003; Ross, 2000). Additionally, those in poverty stricken communities are less likely to receive social support in comparison to those in higher SES communities (Hull 2003; Ellaway et al., 2001). In areas where occupational and income inequalities between blacks and whites are greater, the risk of black male suicide is higher (Burr, Hartman, Matteson, 1999).

In regards to how race is affected by low SES status, individuals of lower class status report greater lifetime exposure to race-related discrimination, as well as more recent experiences of discrimination (Brondolo et al., 2009). Frequent encounters with individualized race based discrimination are found to be associated with recurrent experiences of humiliation and inferiority (Williams et al., 2003). These instances coupled with poor social support lead to greater possibilities of mental health. Furthermore, Willie (1979, 1989) identified the minority poverty

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hypothesis, which is in reference to the distinctive disadvantaged experienced by black people who live in poverty. According to this hypothesis, from infancy to older age, low SES, minority citizens encounter major threats to their health and well-being as a consequence of the intersection of poverty and their race.

There are conflicting findings in the research in regards to whether low SES or higher SES African Americans report experiencing more race based discrimination (Lacy, 2007; Williams, John, Oyserman, Sonnega, Mohammed, Jackson, 2012). Being that higher SES African Americans typically reside in more racially integrated neighborhoods (Iceland, Sharpe, & Steinmetz, 2005), this provides evidence that their families have greater opportunities to interact with other racial groups and consequently experience more race based discrimination. The literature shows that African American mothers who live in more interracially diverse communities report more race base discrimination compared to black mothers who live in predominantly African American communities (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000). Evidence has been found that in a work based context higher SES African Americans experience race-related workplace discrimination, compared to their lower SES counterparts who tend to experience more race based harassment (Brondolo et al., 2009). Black children from higher SES backgrounds are more likely to attend diverse or predominantly white schools, which also maximizes opportunities for black youth to experience racial discrimination (Varner & Mandara, 2013). Additionally, African American mothers with higher incomes express more concerns about race based discrimination negatively influencing the future of their children (Varner & Mandara, 2013). Evidence shows that despite the financial need determined by SES, that black graduate students still received less financial assistance than other racial groups in a similar SES demographic (Nettles, 1990). However, there is research that explains that higher SES can be a protective factor for African American youth, as they are more

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likely to have they have greater resources due to their parent's professional status and education and are less likely to use externalizing coping strategies (Scott, 2004). Nevertheless, race and class can have negative effects for both low SES and upper SES African Americans, as lower class blacks are perceived more negatively than other racial groups with the same socio-economic status, and this negative perception persists with higher SES black individuals (Van Ryn & Burker, 2000). It has been difficult to identify the relationship between SES and race (Cooper & David, 1986). Thus it makes sense that it would be challenging to disentangle SES from race in such a racially stratified society (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Consequent of this overlap, SES would be an important demographic aspect for parents to consider as they assess the probability that their child would experience racism. Whether African American parents lean to empirical findings or rely solely on their impressions of racial tensions in their environments, many would deduce that their child is likely to encounter discrimination based on race.

Racial Socialization

Once African American parents establish that racial discrimination poses a threat, they then determine if their child is likely to encounter racial discrimination and should be prepared for it. According to the protection motivation theory, parents would then assess their belief that providing certain messages would protect their child from the adverse effects of racial discrimination. Providing messages around race to protect black youth from the unfavorable effects of racial discrimination is the basis of racial socialization. Racial socialization is the process of preparation and protection of children, because they belong to a group of a lower status (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994b; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). According to

Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, and Spicer (2006), racial socialization is "the mechanisms through which parents transmit information, values, and perspectives about race to their children (p. 747)." Racial socialization is commonly practiced through familial sources (Robbins et al., 2007). From a sample of 1,328 African American youth, 73% reported having family discussions about racism and prejudice (Biafora, Warheit, Zimmerman, Gil, Apospori, Taylor, & Vega, 1993).

The functioning of the family is an especially important aspect of the process of racial socialization. Robbins et al. (2007) demonstrated that family racial socialization processes were influenced by typical aspects of family functioning such as conflicts, discipline practices, monitoring, and supervision. Parental race-relevant experiences also deeply influence racial socialization messaging and practices (Riina & McHale, 2011). Parent's experiences of racial discrimination at work have been found to influence racial socialization frequency (Hughes & Chen, 1997), and can lead to poor parent-child relationship quality (Feagin & McKinney, 2005; Murry, Brown, Brody, Cutrona, & Simons, 2001).

Most research in the realm of racial socialization focuses on the influence of the parents' practices. However, racial socialization is a transactional process, thus how young people can influence this process is an element that cannot be overlooked (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Some studies found that black youth's experiences with racial discrimination influenced their parents' racial socialization practices (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Other studies have demonstrated how black youth initiate parents' racial socialization through their inquiries as they are discovering their racial identity (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Granted the parental role in racial socialization is important, however, it is essential to recognize that positive parent–child communication is a reciprocal process through which parents and their children learn about themselves and each other

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(Lewis, Wallerstein, & Johnson-Reitz, 2004). The literature shows that there is a positive association between parent—adolescent relationships and adolescent development (Socha & Stamp, 1995) as well as family social functioning (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2004). The influence of family behavioral and communication patterns on a developing young person are undeniable, as patterns set by the parents truly impact their development (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009). Subsequently, positive family functioning and strong parent—child relationship quality can have a great impact on the effectiveness of racial socialization strategies, which could have many developmental benefits for African American emerging adults.

Racial Socialization Outcomes. There is an abundance of empirical support for the positive effects of racial socialization in African American families. Research has shown that racial socialization is associated with better academic achievement in African American children (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Neblett et al., 2006), fewer reported behavior problems (Caughy, et al., 2002), improvement in socioemotional outcomes (Bowman & Howard,1985; Stevenson, 1995), self-esteem, coping with racial discrimination, and a stronger racial identity (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Marshall, 1995; Parham & Williams, 1993; Phinney, 1992; Stevenson, 1995; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). African Americans, who report less racial socialization, also display a stronger connection between racist events and poorer health (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Racial socialization is a vital component linking African American parenting practices to healthy individual functioning in a race discriminatory society. Racial socialization is a mechanism for redressing power imbalances in society (Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Martı´n-Baro´, 1994; Schultz, 2011; Toporek & Liu, 2001). Racial socialization is connected to better health and well-being because it involves developing of personal control and

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empowerment (Chandola, Kuper, Singh-Manoux, Bartley, & Marmot, 2004; Griffin, Fuhrer, Stansfeld, & Marmot, 2002; Rodin & Langer, 1977; Sue, 1978).

Granted there is research that shows that sharing messages with children about the possibility of facing racism and discrimination may be associated with lesser psychological functioning and academic underachievement (Marshall, 1995). Furthermore, there are other studies where the association between race socialization and poor academic and psychological outcomes has been found to be statistically nonsignificant (Parham & Williams, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). However, a vast majority of empirical research demonstrates that there are many positive consequences of racial socialization.

Elements of Racial Socialization: Content. Racial socialization is comprised of a variety of elements including message content, message source, and message frequency. Message content is a heavily researched component of African American racial socialization practices. The content of these messages include themes about ethnic pride, cultural history, heritage, diversity, and messages about encounters with racial bias (Hughes, 2003), messages teaching within group and between group interactions (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005), and messages about potential encounters based on their ethnic minority status, and how to navigate mainstream settings to reach success (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Message content changes as children age. This is especially true around preparation for bias, which is one of the least frequently used racial socialization messages; as parents feel more comfortable broaching conversations about messages of cultural pride than about unfavorable racial bias (Hughes & Chen, 1997). However, preparation for bias has been found to be a protective factor for the effects of discrimination as it reduces the effect of racial discrimination on crime; which is one of the noted consequences of racial discrimination.

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Additionally, socialization around culture has been found to be beneficial but not as impactful as preparation for bias messages (Burt et al., 2012).

Elements of Racial Socialization: Source. The source of racial socialization messages is also a commonly assessed aspect of racial socialization. Most studies examine racial socialization between parent-child dyads (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thornton, 1997). Some studies have categorized parents into racial socialization styles such as silence about race, parents who placed emphasis on cultural socialization, those who placed emphasis on both cultural socialization and coping strategies, and parents had a more equitable approach of cultural socialization, coping strategies, and promotion of mistrust (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011). Other studies categorized parent's racial socialization patterns such as multifaceted, low race salience, or unengaged (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Other research has considered racial socialization messages from sources including older siblings (Caughy et al., 2011), aunts, uncles, and grandparents (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Studies have even examined multigenerational patterns of racial socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Approximately 79% of African American adults reported that they had race-related discussions with their parents, specifically around the topics of racial barriers and self-development (Sanders Thompson, 1994). Due to the salience of the parental role in child rearing, racial socialization in the context of the parent-child relationship will be examined in this present study.

Elements of Racial Socialization: Frequency. Message frequency is another component regularly measured in the African American racial socialization literature (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005; Hughes & Chen, 1997). According to Hughes and Chen (1997), frequency refers to how often parents transmit race socialization messages or how often racial socialization messages are

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received by children). Findings show that messages around culture and history were delivered more frequently than messages regarding racial bias, and racial bias messages were more frequently than messages of racial mistrust. Message frequency has also been associated with racial identity exploration in black youth, and parents' perception of unfair treatment of their child due to race (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Message frequency can be very indicative of parent's socialization priorities. Overall, consideration of the elements of racial socialization are vital when evaluating parents' belief that by providing certain messages that they would protect their child from the adverse effects of racial discrimination. However, this evaluation would be incomplete without consideration of the parent—child relationship quality.

Parent—Child Relationship Quality

After parents establish that racial socialization may diminish the effects of racial discrimination, they move through the final level of the protection motivation theory to assess if they have the necessary resources to effectively communicate these race based messages. Communication is a fundamental process through which young people obtain socioemotional support and information (Pedersen & Revenson, 2005). Effective parent—child communication, according to the family process theory, encourages children to internalize the values and norms imbued by their parents' messages (Whitaker & Miller, 2000). Positive and open communication is one of the characteristics of a high quality parent—child relationship along with warmth and acceptance. Research shows that parent–child relationship quality is a robust predictor of individual adjustment (Parke & Buriel, 2006; Steinberg, 2001). Parent—child relationship quality has been found to correlate with an array of positive youth outcomes such as low internalizing, externalizing, and substance use problems; lower risky sexual behavior and greater academic success and psychosocial skills (Cowan & Cowan, 2002; Steinberg, 2001; Laursen &

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Collins, 2009; Chassin & Handley, 2006; Miller, Benson, & Galbraith, 2001). Thus, it can be derived that parent—child relationship quality can counteract the effects of racial discrimination on African American emerging adults.

Attachment Theory. Parent—child relationship quality can be illustrated by the attachment theory proposed by Bowlby (1973). This theory posits that children gain a sense of security when there is a maintained bond with their attachment figure(s), and when they find that their attachment figures are accessible and responsive in their times of need. It is probable that a high quality relationship with their attachment figure will determine that the child is more likely to develop a healthy balance of appropriate help-seeking practices and self-reliance over time (Bowlby, 1973). This is likely because the child will have intrinsic assurance that they have access to someone who trustworthy and helpful, and supports their belief that they are valued by others. Furthermore, in the context of the attachment theory when youth are experiencing distressed feelings, they are more likely to seek support if their family members respond by providing assistance and emotional support (Sroufe, 1997). Consequently, it is plausible that African American emerging adults who have a high quality parent-child relationship through strong positive attachments, they would feel more comfortable reaching out to their parents if experiencing distress subsequent of encountering racial discrimination.

Relationship Context. Cooper and McLoyd (2011) applied racial socialization to Darling and Steinberg's (1993) integrative model of parenting. They subsequently provided evidence for the framework that the impact of a specific parenting practice (i.e. racial socialization) on developing children, will be influenced by the parenting style (i.e. warm or conflict based parent-child relationships) in which this practice occurs. Racial socialization is an important strategy to instruct African American youth how to cope with discrimination. Previous research suggests that

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the affective context of racial socialization can affect how these messages are received (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Frabutt, Walker, & Mackinnon-Lewis, 2002; Hughes et al., 2006). Such messages can be sensitive as they may reduce the sense of control over the environment, and affect psychological well-being in African American youth. Thus the relationship contexts in which these messages are delivered are important to consider.   In regards to how relationship quality varies by gender, Varner and Mandara (2013) found that relationship conflict presented as a hindrance to relationship quality; and that mothers reported less relationship conflict with their daughters compared to their sons.

Parent-Child Communication. Parents obtain most of the information about their child's experiences through youth self-disclosure (Crouter, Bumpus, Davis, & McHale, (2005). Youth self-disclosure serves as a useful indicator of an efficient family process and predicts youth adjustment (Kerr & Stattin 2000; Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010). Direct discussion between parents and their children about important topics in their maturing child's lives enhances psychosocial competence and subsequently encourages youth to seek information from their parents (Ary, James, & Biglan, 1999; Kafka & London, 1991). One benefit of such conversations is that young people will be provided with a template of how their parents expect them to resolve particularly difficult situations (Brody, Flor, Hollett-Wright, & McCoy, 1998; Brody, Ge, Katz, & Arias, 2000; Whitaker & Miller, 2000). Openness of such discussions, including disagreement on particular views, will lead young people to being more likely to adopt the expectations of their parents and properly govern behaviors without parental supervision being present. More specifically to race based experiences, the quality of the parent—child relationship has been found to improve youth outcomes when faced with difficult social experiences including racial discrimination (Brody, Murry, McNair, Chen, Gibbons, Gerrard, Wills, & Thomas, 2005). In summary, if parents have a

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higher relationship quality with their child and have had discussions around parental expectations on race related issues, their children may be more likely to report experiences of racism to their parents.

Rationale for the Study

The purpose of racial socialization is to prepare African American children on how to navigate a racial discriminatory world. However, it is difficult for parents to gauge the effectiveness of their imparted racial socialization messages, if their child does not communicate their race based experiences with them. Many studies report how African American youth perceive the effects of racial socialization, but few studies highlight how these youth have acted upon the messages received from their parents (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Being that racial socialization is a transactional process, assessing racial socialization in the context of the parent—child dyad is imperative. This study will supply to the need of more studies which consider both parent and emerging adult perspectives when examining racial socialization. Furthermore, in the body of research examining parental practices and messaging to their children about race, so few consider the parent—child relationship quality as a fundamental factor (Riina & McHale, 2011). Findings from Seaton et al. (2008) demonstrated that more research needs to be done to assess if demographic variables of black youth (such as gender, cultural origin, and SES) relate to their experiences with race based discrimination. Additionally, according to Hughes & Johnson (2001), more research is needed to assess the relationship between the racial discrimination experiences of African American youth and their parents' racial socialization practices.

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Hypotheses

There is the need for more studies to assess parent child relationship quality in the context of black families (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011). Of the studies that have assessed parent-child relationship quality, in the context of the black family there are several areas to expand on. Cooper and McLoyd (2011) investigated parent child relationship quality among single mothers. Given the unique challenges of this family dynamic, it would be important to assess what parent child relationship quality looks like for African American youth who have relationships with both parents. Additionally, this study focused on parent child relationship quality for black youth between the ages of 12-16. The authors recognized the importance of future studies assessing how relationship quality can influence racial socialization as black youth enter into adulthood. To add, the authors rigorously assessed gender as a variable that affects racial socialization. However, literature on racial socialization provides evidence that demographic variables such as cultural origin and socio-economic status can also impact perceptions of racial discrimination of black youth in addition to how these groups are socialized. These demographic variables also influence reports of discrimination to parents, which is an understudied area of parent-child relationships in the African American community.

Subsequently, my first research aim would be to assess if cultural origin, SES, and gender have a relationship with emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination. Given that African American populations overall report experiencing more discrimination than black immigrant groups my first hypothesis posits that participants who identify with the African American cultural origin will be more likely to report racial discrimination to their parents than participants who identify with the African or Caribbean cultural origin. Due to the reason that African Americans with higher levels of education report more perceived discrimination (Brown, 2001; Gee, 2002;

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Kelaher, Paul, Lambert, Waqar, Fenton, Smith, 2004; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999), the evidence of a positive relationship between income and discrimination (Brown, 2001; Gee, 2002), in addition to more frequent contact with other racial groups (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000; Brondolo et al., 2009; Iceland, Sharpe, & Steinmetz, 2005; Varner & Mandara, 2013) my second hypothesis is as follows. Black youth who identify with middle and upper SES will be more likely to report racial discrimination to their parents than participants who identify with working class or lower SES. Theoretical research demonstrates that gender influences the strength of the relationship between racial barrier socialization and the cognitive and behavioral responses of black youth to racial socialization (Davis & Stevenson, 2006). The data also suggests that relational factors are particularly substantial to girls' psychological well-being (Corneille, Ashcraft, & Belgrave, 2005; Gilligan, 1982; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995), and that girls are likely to seek social support as a coping strategy (Halstead et al., 1993). Thus my third hypothesis is that female participants will be more likely to disclose as a way to cope with experiences of racial discrimination and thus the female participants will report racial discrimination to their parents than male participants.

My second research aim is to investigate if parent-child relationship quality has a relationship with emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination to parents. Empirical findings have established parent-child relationship quality as a strong predictor of psychological functioning and behavioral outcomes in populations of young people (e.g., Barber, Ball & Armistead, 2003; Brody et al., 2005; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). In consideration of these findings, my hypothesis under this aim is that higher scores on the parent attachment inventory will have a relationship with emerging adults reporting discrimination to their parents. There is empirical evidence that also supports my third aim that there may be a

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relationship between parent-child relationship quality and cultural origin, SES, and gender on emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Ellis & Peterson, 1992; Lin & Fu, 1990, Hill, 2002; Varner & Mandara, 2013; Wood, Kaplan, & Mcloyd, 2007). It is hypothesized that parent-child relationship quality will be a stronger predictor than cultural origin, SES, and gender on emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination in a binary logistic regression. This is based on the premise that parent child relationship quality largely affects how youth receive messages from their parents (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), as well as how they communicate their experiences to their parents (Crouter, Bumpus, Davis, & McHale, 2005). Thus it would be plausible that regardless of demographic factors such as cultural origin, SES, and gender that the foundation of communication in the parent child relationship would be the greatest determinant of a young person reporting discrimination to their parents. My final aim is to analyze if parent-child relationship quality would moderate the relationship between the parent's proactive racial socialization experiences and emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination. Previous research has already established a moderating relationship between parent-child relationship quality and adolescent functioning as an outcome (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011). It is expected that this study will replicate this moderating relationship of parent-child relationship quality where the child of the dyad is an emerging adult, has a relationship with both parents, and where the behavior outcome of reporting discrimination is assessed. Accordingly, my hypothesis is that a larger value on the inventory of parent attachment will moderate the relationship between the parent's proactive racial socialization experiences and emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination in a binary logistic regression.

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Participants

The participants were parent- emerging adult dyads. The emerging adult participants were 18-25 years old, who have a relationship with both their mother and father. The parent of the dyad was the parent that was randomly selected for the study. The participants were recruited through research participation offered through undergraduate courses at a large southern region university on the east coast, as well as from the community-at-large.

Measures

Parent—Child Relationship Quality. The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) is an assessment of parent—child relationship quality (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). This 25-question measurement examined the youth's perception of their relationship with their parent. The survey consisted of three dimensions which included: degree of mutual trust (trust), quality of communication (communication), and extent of anger and alienation (alienation). The respondent answered questions such as ''I can count on my parents to listen when something is bothering me,'' and "I like to get my parents' point of view on things I'm concerned about." The responses were on a Likert scale, with options that ranged from 1 (*never true*) to 5 (*always true*). The emerging adult answered the parent attachment scale based on their mother or father, depending on the random selection that they received for the respective dyad. The cronbach alpha for the mother attachment scale was .87. The cronbach alpha for father attachment scale was .89.

Racial Socialization. The Parent Experiences of Racial Socialization (PERS) is a measure designed to assess the message frequency from African American parents to their child regarding how to deal with racial issues in their school, neighborhood, or society (Stevenson, 2006). The

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measurement consists of 40 statements where the parents can answer "*Never*", "*A Few Times*," or "*Lots of Times*". Results from this measurement reveal how much the parent communicates to their emerging adult son or daughter about these issues. The PRaSE score of the PERS measurement was used for this study. The PRaSE score consists of four factors, which illustrate the types of racial socialization messages that are transmitted from African American parents to their child. The Proactive Racial Socialization Experience (PRaSE) composite score of the PERS was = alpha = .91, M = 71.7, SD = 13.4. The reliability for most of the factors were moderate and above an alpha of .74 (Coping with Antagonism Socialization, alpha = .85; M = 25.0, SD = 5.8; Cultural Pride Reinforcement Socialization, alpha = .83, M = 21.7, SD = 4.5; Alertness to Discrimination Socialization, alpha = .76, M = 12.2, SD = 3.3; Cultural Legacy Appreciation Socialization, alpha = .74, M = 12.8, SD = 3.1).

Self-Reports of Racial Discrimination. Each emerging adult was queried with the following "yes" or "no" question, "Have you ever felt that you were treated differently or badly due to being black?" Research demonstrates that most, but not all black youth have experienced racial discrimination over the course of their development (Brody et al., 2006; Gibbons et al., 2004). This question was included to not impose the assumption that all African American emerging adults have experienced racial discrimination. If the respondent answered 'no" to experiences of racial discrimination, they were finished with the qualitative measure. If the respondent answered "yes" they were then asked the subsequent follow-up question, "If you have experienced racial discrimination, did you tell your parent about these experiences?" The participant was given two response options, "yes" or "no." If the respondent answered 'no" to reporting experiences of racial discrimination to their parents, they were prompted to complete a written response as to why they did not disclose. After completing this written response, these

participants were finished with the assessment measures. If the respondent answered 'yes" to reporting experiences of racial discrimination to their parents, they were prompted to complete a written response as to why they did disclose. After completing this written response, these participants were finished with the assessment measures.

Procedure

The study was advertised to African American emerging adults ages 18-25, who had a relationship with both their mother and a father. All participants received a survey link to complete through the email address that they provided. This survey link included the demographic questions, the IPPA, and the self-report of racial discrimination questions. Upon beginning the survey, emerging adult participants were instructed to respond to survey questions referencing the parent to whom they were randomly assigned. Also, prior to accessing the survey items, the emerging adult participants were asked to provide the email address of their assigned parent, who received a survey link to complete the parent measures. The parents were prompted to complete demographic inquiries, and the PRaSE measurement through this link. Upon completion of the emerging adult measures, students received course credit for their participation, and non-students' names were submitted to a raffle. Upon completion of the parent measures, the parent- emerging adult dyad were entered into a raffle to win one of five $100 prizes. A total of $50 in the form of an American Express Card was awarded to the winning emerging adult participants, and a total of $50 in the form of an American Express Card was awarded to the winning parents.

Results

Data Analytic Strategy

In order to determine the necessary sample size to achieve a medium effect size, I referred to Cohen's statistical power guidelines (Cohen 1988; Cohen, 1992). I used Cohen's power analysis table because there have been no similar experiments to the one conducted which I could have extracted an effect size from; in addition to the statistically cumbersome nature of producing an exact sample size needed using a G*Power analysis program. According to Cohen's statistical power guidelines, in order to produce a medium effect size ($r = .3$), I will need at least 85 cases of emerging adults for hypotheses one through five, and 85 parent- emerging adults dyads for sub hypothesis six. Subsequently, my goal of collecting at least 85 parent- emerging adult dyads was statistically driven. SPSS Version 21 was used for the data analyses in my study. All of the collected data was assessed for missing values, and inconsistent data values that could have affected the primary analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

The sample was comprised of 131 emerging adults, including 106 (80.9%) women and 25 (19.1%) men. Of the young adult participants, 91.6% identified as African-American, 3.81% did not report their race but identified as African American as their ethnicity, 4.59% identified as biracial or multiracial which included being African American and more than one race. In regards to ethnicity, 76.3% identified as African American, 16.8% identified as Caribbean, 5.3% identified as African, and 1.5% identified as multiracial African American with another ethnicity. Only 102 (79.7%) respondents reported their socioeconomic status, where 38.9% of these respondents identified as low or working class and 38.9% identified as middle and upper class. The age range was very well spread with the average age being 21.82 (SD = 2.71). Among the participants 8%

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completed some high school, 3.8% had a high school degree or GED, 6.9% were freshman, 14.5% were sophomores, 13.7% were juniors, 19.8% were seniors, 29.8% earned their bachelor's degree, and 10.7% had or were earning a graduate or professional degree. Of the 131 emerging adult participants, 69 (52.7%) reported that they experienced racial discrimination. In consideration of those who reported that they experienced racial discrimination, 47 (68.12%) disclosed this experience to their parents, and 22 (31.88%) shared that they did not disclose this experience to their parents. There was a low return rate of parent participation. Of the 131 young adult participants who completed the survey, 114 of them provided email addresses for their parents, and 33 of these parents (25.19%) responded to invitations to participate in the survey.

The parent sample included 33 adults, 30 (90.9%) were mothers and 3 (9.1%) were fathers. The average age was 49.18, (SD = 5.90). Ethnicity demographics were 72.7% who identified as African American, 18.2% identified as Caribbean, and 9.1% identified as African. Racial demographics of parent participants included 94% identified as African-American, 3% who did not report their race but identified as African American as their ethnicity, and 3% who identified as biracial or multiracial which included African American and more than one race. Of the participants 30.3% completed some high school or had a high school degree or GED, 18.1% were currently enrolled in or had some college, 27.23% earned their bachelor's degree, and 24.2% had or were earning a graduate or professional degree. Descriptive statistics for emerging adult and parent participants can be found in Table 1.

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Table 1. Participant Demographics

Variables	Emerging Adults (n = 131)	Parents (n = 33)
Age	21.82 (SD = 2.71)	49.18 (SD = 5.90)
Gender		
Male	25	3
Female	106	30
Race		
African American	120	31
Mixed Race	6	1
African American via Ethnicity	5	1
Ethnicity		
African American	100	24
Caribbean	22	6
African	7	3
African American and another Ethnicity	2	0
Socioeconomic Status		
Low/Working Class	51	-
Middle/Upper Class	51	-
Education		
Some High School	1	N/A
High School/GED	5	10
Freshman	9	3
Sophomores	19	2
Juniors	18	0
Seniors	26	1
Bachelor's degree	39	9
Graduate/Prof	14	8
Racial Discrimination Experience		
Experienced Racial Discrimination	69	-
Disclosed to Parents	47	-
Did Not Disclose to Parents	22	-
No Experience Racial Discrimination	62	-

Note. Parents' SES was not queried, as it was assumed that the emerging adult participant's SES would be consistent with their parents' SES. Parents' racial discrimination experiences were not queried.

Data Assumptions

The data was assessed for assumptions of the chi-square analyses. The data met the first criterion that deems that all cases must be independent. Each case is from a onetime measured

response from an individual participant. The second criterion assumes that frequencies be > 1 and < 5. The data met this criterion as well.

In regards to checking the assumptions of the binary logistic regression, the ratio of cases to variables were first assessed. The analyses met the recommendation of including approximately 60 cases. The expected frequencies assumptions were met as all of the categories were > 1, and none were greater than < 5. I then assessed for univariate and multivariate outliers, and none were present in the data. I evaluated the multicollinearity and the results met the tolerance criteria of being $\leq$ 1. Additionally, the cases were independent, thus meeting the fourth assumption. Lastly, I examined the linearity of the logit. The Box-Tidwell statistic was not significant, hence meeting the final assumption.

Recoding

In order to measure parent-child relationship quality, the sums of the participant's responses to the IPPA were recoded into single parent attachment scaled scores. Prior to creating this variable, all items that needed to be reverse scored were reversed. This same process was carried out to measure the racial socialization construct. Any items on the PRaSE that needed to be reverse scored were reversed, and then all items were added together to create a racial socialization scaled score for each parent participant.

Chi Square Analyses

For the first research question, chi-square analyses were used to examine ethnicity, SES, and gender differences in reports of experiences of racial discrimination. Ethnicity was recoded into two different groups: (0) African American and (1) black immigrant (which included Caribbean and African identified participants). The percentage of participants that reported experiences of racial discrimination to their parents did not differ by ethnicity, χ^2 (1, N = 69) =

2.97, $p = .586$. Though the analysis was not significant, the chi-square assessment showed that of participants who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this experience to their parents 74.5% of them were African American. Approximately 25.5% of participants who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this experience to their parents were of Caribbean or African descent. There was a low sample size in this analysis. Perhaps if there were more cases this would provide evidence that ethnicity has a relationship with emerging adults' reports of experiences of racial discrimination to their parents. These results would also possibly show that African Americans report experiences of racial discrimination to their parents at a meaningfully higher rate than that of the other ethnic groups.

In regards to my hypothesis on SES, participant SES was divided into two categories. All participants who reported that they were in low or in working class were coded as (0). All participants who reported that they were in middle or upper class were coded as (1). The percentage of participants that reported experiences of racial discrimination to their parents did not differ by SES, $\chi^2 (1, N = 58) = .551$, $p = .458$. It is important to note that there was a low sample size in this analysis. The chi square assessment provided evidence that participants who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this experience to their parents, that 63.4% of them classified themselves as low or working class. The remaining 36.6% of those who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this experience to their parents classified themselves as middle or upper class. Perhaps if there were more cases the analysis would provide evidence that SES has a relationship with whether or not emerging adults report experiences of racial discrimination to their parents. These results would also possibly show that individuals from low or working classes would report experiences of racial discrimination to their parents at a meaningfully higher rate than that of the other middle or upper class. A binary logistic regression

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analysis was used to further examine if there was a specific relationship between low and working socioeconomic status and reports of discrimination. These results produced significant findings that indicated a relationship between emerging adults who are in low and working class, and reports of discrimination, $\chi^2 (1) = 7.542$, p < .01. This provides evidence that there is a relationship between emerging adults who are in low and working class and reports of discrimination to their parents.

In regards to my hypothesis on gender, participant gender was divided into two categories. All females were coded as (0), and all participants who are male were coded as (1). Along with emerging adults' reports of discrimination experiences, these recoded gender categories were entered into a chi square assessment. The percentage of participants that reported experiences of racial discrimination to their parents did not differ by gender, $\chi^2 (1, N = 69) = 1.110, p = .292$. This analysis showed that of participants who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this experience to their parents that 87.2% of them were women. Though the results were not significant, it is possible that if there was more power in the analysis that these gender differences would remain. This would then be interpreted that gender has a relationship with whether or not emerging adults report experiences of racial discrimination to their parents. It would also be inferred that the percentage of female participants who reported that they experienced racial discrimination and reported this to their parents, is meaningfully higher than that of the male participants. Data from the chi square analyses can be found on Table 2.

Table 2. Chi Square Analyses   (%)   (%)

Variables	Did Report	Did Not Report	p
Ethnicity	**52.7%**	**47.3%**	**.741**
African American	74.5%	-	
Not African American	25.5%	-	
Socioeconomic Status	**44.3%**	**55.7%**	**.458**
Low/Working Class	63.4%	-	
Middle/Upper Class	36.6%	-	
Gender	**52.7%**	**47.3%**	**.292**
Female	87.2%	-	
Male	12.8%	-	

Note. These are the percentages of emerging adult participants who reported experiences of racial discrimination to their parents.

Binary Logistic Regression Analyses

A binary logistic regression was used to predict emerging adults' reports of discrimination to parents with parent attachment as the predictor. A test of the full model against a constant-only model was not significant, χ^2 (1, N = 65) = 1.908, p = .167. Subsequently, parent attachment was not able to differentiate those who experienced racial discrimination and reported to their parents from those who experienced racial discrimination and did not report this experience to their parents. The accurate classification of cases from the predictor was high for predicting emerging adults who experienced discrimination and then reported the experience to their parents (95.5%). However, it was low for the predication of emerging adults who experienced discrimination but did not report the experience to their parents (4.8%). Nevertheless, due to the model fit, these predictions were not significant, p > .05.

The prediction of emerging adults' reports of discrimination to parents was assessed by using a binary logistic regression, and included ethnicity, SES, gender and parent attachment as predictors. When all four predictors were considered together, they did not significantly predict reports of discrimination to parents, χ^2 (4, N = 54) = 5.453, p = .244. This indicates that as a set,

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the predictors did not reliably distinguish between those who experienced racial discrimination and reported to their parents from those who experienced racial discrimination and did not report this experience to their parents. The accurate classification of cases was high for the predication of emerging adults who experienced discrimination who then reported the experience to their parents (92.1%). The classification of cases was low for predication of emerging adults who experienced discrimination but did not report the experience to their parents (12.5%). Again however, subsequent of the poor model fit, these predictions were not significant, p > .05.

This final analysis was regarded as a sub-analysis, given the smaller amount of cases that qualified to be included in the analysis. There were 33 parents who responded to requests to participate in this study. Of these respondents, 17 parents had emerging adult children who reported experiencing discrimination, and met the criteria to be included in this analysis. A step-wise hierarchical method was used to run a binary logistic regression to assess if parent-emerging adult relationship quality moderated the relationship between the parent's proactive racial socialization experiences and emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination. The predictor variables (racial socialization strategies and parent- emerging adult relationship quality) were centered and entered into the step-wise hierarchical multiple regression analysis. Results from the first step showed that racial socialization was not a significant predictor of emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination to parents, χ^2 (1, N = 17) = 0.874, p = .350. Findings from the second step revealed that parent- emerging adult relationship quality was not a significant predictor of emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination to parents, χ^2 (2, N = 17) = 2.275, p = .321. However, when the interaction term between parent-emerging adult relationship quality and parent's proactive racial socialization experiences was entered in a test of the full model against a constant-only model, the model was significant, χ^2 (3, N = 17) = 10.148, p < .05. This indicates

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that as a set, the predictors reliably discerned who experienced racial discrimination and reported to their parents from those who did not report this experience to their parents. When the interaction term between parent-emerging adult relationship quality and parent's proactive racial socialization experiences was assessed, this showed to be a positive predictor of emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination, $\chi^2(1) = 3.769$, p = .052. Thus, parents' proactive racial socialization along with a better parent-emerging adult relationship quality serves as a predictor of emerging adults' reports of racial discrimination. Accurate classification of cases from the predictor was high for predication of emerging adults who experienced discrimination who then reported the experience to their parents (91.7%), and a moderately high predication of emerging adults who experienced discrimination but did not report the experience to their parents (80.0%). There were 33 dyads available for the parent- emerging adult dyadic analysis. Though the power for this analysis was small, there were still significant findings which are indicative of the need of further research. Data from the binary logistical regression analyses can be found on Table 3.

Table 3. Binary Logistical Regression Analyses

Predictor of Reports of Discrimination	B	Standard Error	Wald	Exp (B)
Socioeconomic Status	1.061	.387	7.524	2.889
Parent Attachment	0.26	0.19	1.888	1.026
Parent Attachment x Ethnicity x SES x Gender	0.36	.022	2.591	1.036
Step 1: Parent Attachment	.295	.677	.190	1.343
Step 2: Ethnicity	-.530	.637	.690	.589
Step 3: Socioeconomic Status	1.063	.747	2.024	1.036
Step 4: Gender				
Parent Attachment x Racial Socialization				
Step 1: Parent Attachment	0.36	0.39	.831	1.037
Step 2: Racial Socialization	0.41	0.37	1.277	1.042
Step 3: Parent Attachment* Racial Socialization	0.26*	0.13	3.769	1.026

*Note. *significant at p = .052.*

Discussion

The protection motivation theory outlined the process through which African American parents effectively racially socialize their children by assessing (a) the threat of racial discrimination, (b) the likelihood that that their child will encounter racial discrimination, (c) their belief that racial socialization will protect them from racial discrimination, and (d) whether or not they have the necessary resources or relationships with their children in order for their racial socialization strategies to be effective. Though the literature provides ample evidence of the first three stages of the protection motivation theory in the context of African American racial socialization, very little empirical data has been provided to support the latter stage. Moreover, there is a paucity of research on reports of discrimination to parents as a behavioral consequence of racial socialization (Sellers et al., 1998). This study aimed to examine if demographic characteristics (i.e. cultural origin, gender, SES) had a relationship with reports of racial discrimination to parents. Additionally, the study examined the role of parent child relationship quality and its influence on racial socialization and reports of racial discrimination to parents.

The first noted difference between the study's results and the existing empirical literature was the amount of black participants that indicated that they experienced racial discrimination in their lifetimes. In this study, approximately half of the participants reported that they experienced racial discrimination in their lifetimes. This is inconsistent with a multitude of previous studies where approximately 70-90% of African American youth reported that they experienced racial discrimination in their lifetimes (Forman, Williams, Jackson, Gardner, 1997; Seaton et al., 2008), and in many studies these percentages reflected experiences of discrimination in the past year (Brody et al., 2006; Donovan, Galban, Grace, Bennett, & Felicié, 2013; Gibbons et al., 2004; Prelow et al., 2004). This inconsistency between the results and literature had an adverse effect on

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the study's analysis, as in order to achieve a medium effect power (Cohen 1988, 1992), at least 85 cases were necessary for the analysis. Given that there were over 130 black participants, based on the literature, the minimum amount of participants expected to endorse experiences of discrimination was 91; which is 70% of 130. These participants would have been included in the study's analyses. However, since only about 50% reported that they had experiences of racial discrimination, it is possible that the number of cases in the analysis had a moderately large effect on the statistical results. It is posited that one of the reasons why reports for discrimination were lower than expected was because of the gender proportions in the study's sample. The established literature is comprised of samples that include both males and females. However, this study had primarily female participants, where there were 107 (80.5%) women and 26 (19.5%) men. Previous studies that report experiences of racial discrimination by gender found that 52% of African American female adolescents indicated that they experienced at least one discriminatory incident in the past year (Guthrie, Young, Williams, Boyd, & Kintner, 2002). Consequently, it might be inferred that the gender disparity of the current study's sample had some impact on the results.

In regards to the study's hypotheses there were mixed results. The hypotheses were not supported for the first research aim that sought to examine if cultural origin, gender, and SES had a relationship with reports of discrimination to parents. One explanation as to why reports of discrimination to parents did not differ among cultural origin is that some black immigrants in emerging adulthood may be second generation immigrants and could have assimilated to the characteristics of black Americans (Waters, 1994; Woldemikael, 1989). Once second generation black immigrants begin to deny their parents' native cultures, their prominent trait becomes their race in the eyes of other ethnic and racial groups (Seaton et al., 2008). By toning down one's

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cultural origin, these black immigrants become susceptible to the same experiences as their black American counterparts and as a result they receive similar treatment. Future replications of this study should query if immigrant participants are first or second generation immigrants, to test this explanation. However, it should be noted that the results of this hypothesis can be viewed as comparable to empirical findings that African Americans and black immigrants similarly report experiencing race based discrimination at a rate that is 5 times higher than white groups (Himle, Baser, Taylor, Campbell, & Jackson, 2009). As also found by Seaton et al. (2008), it might be concluded that one's cultural origin does not supersede the effects of racial discrimination.

The literature provides empirical support that girls cope with stressors by seeking social support in relationships (Halstead et al., 1993), which is the basis for the hypothesis that females would report experiences of racial discrimination more than males. However, this hypothesis was not supported by the findings. The greater means of female reporting in the chi-square analysis suggests that women in emerging adulthood do report these experiences more than men in emerging adulthood. Nonetheless, since the analysis was absent of significant statistical support, such conclusions cannot be definitively drawn. Conversely, these findings still suggest consistency with the literature. African American males have been found to experience more racial discrimination then girls (Cogburn et al., 2011; Matthews et al., 2005; Seaton et al., 2008), but due to their gender based coping styles they report these experiences at a lesser rate than females. African American females do experience less discrimination than males (Guthrie et al., 2002), however, they are more likely to report their experiences as a result of their gender based coping styles. Subsequent of the intersection between actual experiences of discrimination with the gender influences reporting behavior of these experiences, it would be feasible that it was not possible to statistically distinguish between the two genders.

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The hypothesis pertaining to socioeconomic status having a relationship with reports of discrimination provided mixed results. According to the chi-square analysis, there was not a significant relationship between SES and reports of discrimination to parents. Kessler et al. (1999) found that income was inversely related with day-to-day discrimination. Being that emerging adults generally have less financial capital as this demographic may still be enrolled in school, paying off school loans, living with parents, or yet to make major life purchases such as a home, the personal income of individuals within this age group is expected to be fairly modest (Arnett, 2000).Therefore, African American emerging adults would be more likely to experience greater day to day racism as opposed to major racism events such as a loan rejection or housing discrimination (Harrell, 2000). Because modern expressions of racism are more subtle (i.e. being ignored or overlooked while waiting for services) it is possible that African American emerging adults do not consider everyday experiences of discrimination as racism (Brondolo et al., 2009; Harrell, 2000). On the contrary, the results also showed that having low or working class SES is related to reports of discrimination. These findings also did not support the hypothesis. However, these results would be explained by the evidence that lower SES groups experience a different type of racial discrimination than higher SES groups (Brondolo et al., 2009). Additionally, the overlap of discrimination based on race and SES may exacerbate an individual's perception of discrimination. Consequently, although individuals with higher SES have more opportunity to experience racial discrimination, being that their environments are more racially integrated; the experiences of racial discrimination for lower SES individuals may be more severe. As a result of this, it can be fathomable that having a lower SES status has a relationship with a greater likelihood of reporting racial discrimination. Further research should be conducted to find consistent findings across analyses.

The final three research aims that (2) parent-child relationship quality would have a relationship with reports of discrimination to parents, that (3) parent-child relationship quality would have a stronger relationship than cultural origin, gender, and SES to reports of discrimination to parents, as well as that (4) parent-child relationship quality would have a moderating relationship between racial socialization and reports of discrimination to parents were unfortunately all unsupported. However, the results still yielded interesting and unexpected findings. The results specifically showed that neither racial socialization nor parent child relationship quality had a relationship with the behavioral outcome of reporting experiences of racial discrimination to parents. However, the data did demonstrate that racial socialization became more effective when black youth reported that they had a better quality relationship with their parents. These findings also suggested that if the parent and child had a good relationship, that black youth would likely report experiences of racial discrimination if their parents engaged in racial socialization with them. These findings support Cooper and McLoyd's (2011) application of Darling and Steinberg's (1993) integrative model of parenting to racial socialization. These authors conceptualized that within the framework of this model that the impact of a specific parenting practice (i.e. racial socialization), is influenced by the parenting style (i.e. warm or conflict based parent-child relationships) in which this practice occurs. The findings of this study are novel to the literature as they provide evidence that regardless of demographic factors that racial socialization messages are most likely to be effective in the context of higher quality parent-child relationships. It would be plausible that the intersections of the roles of racial socialization and parent-child relationship quality together would predict reporting of racial discrimination to parents. If a young person received racial socialization messages from their parent but did not have a good relationship with their parent, it would be conceivable that the youth would not feel

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comfortable to report discrimination to their parents (Varner & Mandara, 2013). This would be because their parent-child relationship lacks trust and communication. These factors would be the primary elements of a high quality parent-child relationship that would need in order to be present to discuss such sensitive matters (Armsden & Greensberg, 1987). On the other hand would be an African American parent-child dyad characterized by a high quality relationship, where the child received little or no racial socialization messages. If the African American youth experienced racial discrimination, but was given no template on how to cope or respond via racial socialization or had a poorly developed racial identity, it may be much less likely that they would perceive these experiences as discrimination or report them regardless of their demographics (Hall & Carter, 2006; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). This study also adds to the literature the importance of the transactional process of racial socialization in regards to black youth's role of reporting discrimination to their parents (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Conclusively, within the frame of the protection motivation theory, these findings fill a gap in the literature as they demonstrate the importance of having a high quality parent child relationship in order for parents' racial socialization strategies to be effective.

Limitations and Future Directions

There were several limitations to this study. One of the most significant limitations was the poor parent response to invitations to participate in the study. Of the 114 parents who were invited to participate, only 33 (less than 30%) of them completed the survey. To add, the return rate for emerging adults who were volunteered by their parents yielded zero participants. This illuminates the challenges in data collection for dyads in which only one party agrees to participate, and then subsequently volunteers the other half of the dyad to participate. In future replications of this

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project, it may be more advantageous to solicit dyads when they are physically together, to greater ensure commitment to participation from both young adults and their parents.

Another limitation related to the participant pool was the final amount of actual cases that fit the criteria of the outcome variable, which was "If you reported experiences of discrimination, did you tell your parent about this experience?" It was presumed, based on the literature that a large majority of participants would have indicated that they have experienced racial discrimination (Brody et al., 2006; Donovan et al., 2013; Forman et al., 1997; Gibbons et al., 2004; Prelow et al., 2004; Seaton et al., 2008). As a result of these previous findings, it was expected that a majority of participants would have been included in the final analyses that included responses to the aforementioned question as the outcome variable. However, as already mentioned, the gender proportions of the study's sample likely altered the overall endorsement of race based discriminatory experiences. Subsequently of this, there was less power in the final analyses that investigated reporting experiences of discrimination to parents. Another weakness of the study that could have contributed to the low power, was the question that was designed to measure the outcome variable. Its double barreled "If, then" nature limits the amount of participants who would be able to respond to the second half of the question, based on if they met the criteria of the first part of the question.

A critique of the measurement of the discriminatory experiences construct is that according to the psychometric literature there are some disadvantages to using single-item construct measurements. It is difficult to establish estimated reliabilities of single item measurements (DeVellis, 2011). One of the predictor variables in this project measured experiences of discrimination by asking a single question, "Have you ever felt that you were treated badly due to being black?" In future replications of this study, it may be beneficial to establish estimated

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reliability via consistency of correlations with other longer measures of the discrimination construct, before including this measure in the study (DeVellis, 2011). Future replications may choose to use empirically validated scales to measure the construct of discrimination, such as the "Everyday Discrimination Scale" created by Williams, Yu, Jackson, and Anderson (1997). This scale assesses the chronic, routine, and less overt experiences of discrimination that have occurred in the prior year. Additionally, previous research shows that there are differences in query outcomes based on the level of specificity of the inquiry, such as items that ask about exposure to discrimination compared to items that ask about exposure to a specific type of discriminatory incident (Brown, 2001; Kessler et al., 1999). For example, inquiries that refer to specific behavioral acts (i.e., being ignored or threatened) versus specific venues (i.e., housing vs. criminal-justice system) may be more effective in obtaining recollections of discrimination (Brondolo et al., 2009). General questions inquiring about experiences of racial discrimination may be interpreted by participants to refer only to major episodes of maltreatment. Consequently, participants may disregard their exposure to day-to-day episodes of racial discrimination (Brondolo et al., 2009). Furthermore, participants in this study were young adults who were reflecting on their lifetime of racial discriminatory experiences, as well as their history of reporting behavior. However, these experiences of racial discrimination and the time frame of their reports may not have occurred during emerging adulthood. Perhaps having a time assessment as a part of the measurement would have been helpful. Klonoff and Landrine (1999) indicated that the time frame in which racial discrimination was experienced (i.e., past week, past year, or lifetime exposure) also appears to influence the current impact of the discriminatory experience on black youth. Hence, having participants report on time frames both of the experience and when they reported this experience to their parents could have garnered helpful information regarding how influential the

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discriminatory experience may be to them during this stage of development. Using a scale such as the "Everyday Discrimination Scale" would address such issues of measurement reliability, specificity and types of discrimination, as well as provide applicable time frames in the measurement (Williams et al., 1997).

A follow up qualitative study would also be of value to assess the aforementioned critiques of the single item measurement. Furthermore having an ethnic identity measure included in the surveys would perhaps explain why some participants responded that they perceived mistreatment due to being black. It is well established in the racial discrimination literature that both African Americans and black immigrants are more likely to perceive more racial discriminatory acts if they have a stronger racial or ethnic group identity (Hall & Carter, 2006; Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Having a stronger understanding of the strength of each participant's racial or ethnic identity would perhaps be helpful in the conceptualization of the project's findings in regards to whether or not these young adults would be likely to perceive certain acts as discriminatory based on race.

One final noted limitation to this study was the imbalanced proportions within the participant sample. There were substantially more female participants than males, for both the emerging adult sample and parent participant sample. This imbalance of gender could be the result of a variety of factors, including researcher solicitation bias. Being that the participant recruiter was also an African American female, perhaps the recruiter had more access to other African American females. It is also possible that more African American females responded to the recruiter's participation requests because they were in the same demographic as the recruiter. Due to women's evolutionary role of being caregivers and helpers (Fiske, 2009), the females who participated perhaps felt more inclined to be of assistance and to volunteer to participate.

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Additionally, even though the participants were recruited based on having a relationship with both of their parents, due to the secondary parent role that some African American fathers hold in their child's lives (Lerman, 1993), participants' fathers may have been less inclined to respond to requests to participate in the study. To continue, there was also an imbalance in the sample's ethnic group membership. A large majority of participants identified as African Americans. This disproportion becomes a statistical advantage when making comparisons between several ethnic groups. Additionally, the study did not conduct any specific assessment on participants who identified as African American as well as another race. Though this was a small percentage of participants (less than 5% of emerging adult participants and 3% of parent participants), in larger studies there should be additional assessment for participants who have multi-ethnic/multiracial identities. In future replications of this research, a greater balance of gender and cultural origin, as well as specific assessment of multiethnic/multiracial youth would be advantageous so that such findings could be more applicable to the greater African American emerging adult population.

Future Research

As a result of the original findings yielded from this study, there are a variety of avenues that could be explored in future directions. This study's unique application of Rogers (1975) protection motivation theory should be more thoroughly explored in future studies examining parent's racial socialization practices. Furthermore, the empirical evidence provided by this research demonstrates the effect of parent-child relationship quality on racial socialization. Accordingly there should be more comprehensive investigations of the role of parent-child relationship quality in the effectiveness of socialization strategies, especially in the context of sharing racial socialization messages in African American families. Future replications of this study should also assess if there are certain factors within the racial socialization measurement

(PRaSE) or within the parent-child relationship measurement (IPPA) that could reveal stronger relationships to reports of discrimination to parents. It would be valuable to the literature if factors within the measure, such as Cultural Pride Reinforcement Socialization (PERS factor) along with Communication (IPPA factor), show the strongest relationship with emerging adults reports of racial discrimination to parents. Such findings could be disseminated to the African American community and could be beneficial in racial socialization practices among African American parents. Additionally, the use of open ended questions provides opportunities for qualitative research to explore why emerging adults reported these experiences to their parents. Perhaps there are constructs that have not been assessed through the current study that could be revealed through a qualitative analysis. To add, having a greater understanding of parents' personal experiences with racism would be important to explore, as this not only has been found to effect racial socialization practices but also parent child relationship quality (Feagin & McKinney, 2005; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Murry et al., 2001; Riina & McHale, 2011). Additionally, the literature shows that there may be an overlap of race and SES on stress and discrimination (Williams, Haile, Mohammed, Herman, Sonnega, Jackson, & Stein, 2008). Thus it would be imperative to design a study that specifically seeks to disentangle this overlap in order to assess the specific contributions of these factors to reports of discrimination. Finally these future replications of this study could assess if parent child relationship quality and racial socialization also jointly influence reports of discrimination in other minority racial groups.

In conclusion, the hypotheses of this study were not supported. The demographic characteristics of cultural origin and gender of black youth did not have a relationship with reports of racial discrimination to parents. There were mixed results on the relationship between socioeconomic status and reports of racial discrimination to parents. Although parent child

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relationship quality did not moderate the relationship between racial socialization and reports of racial discrimination to parents, the findings exhibited that racial socialization was primarily effective when there was a higher parent child relationship quality. Parent child relationship quality has not been studied in this manner in regards to racial socialization, hence these are novel findings. Other strengths from the study include the use of parent-child dyads, the focus of parent-child relationships in an emerging adult population, the criteria that African American young adults have relationships with both parents to participate, and that participants were recruited across a variety of regions as opposed to being primarily centralized to one area. In light of the study's original findings, as well as recognitions of its limitations, this research provides a strong foundation for future directions.

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Appendix A

Office of Research Subjects Protection
BioTechnology Research Park
BioTech One, 800 E. Leigh Street, Suite 3000
P.O. Box 980568
Richmond, Virginia 23298-0568
(804) 828-0868
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DATE: June 20, 2013

TO: Shawn O. Utsey, PhD
          Psychology
          Box 842018

FROM: Lisa M. Abrams, PhD
          Chairperson, VCU IRB Panel B
          Box 980568

RE: **VCU IRB #: HM15288**
          Title: The Effects of Racial Socialization and Parent-Adolescent Relationship Quality on Adolescent Reports of Racial Discrimination to Parents

On June 17, 2013, the following research study was _approved_ by expedited review according to 45 CFR 46.110 Category 7. The approval reflects the revisions received in the Office of Research Subjects Protection on June 10, 2013, and June 11, 2013. This approval includes the following items reviewed by this Panel:

RESEARCH APPLICATION/PROPOSAL: None

PROTOCOL (Research Plan): The Effects of Racial Socialization and Parent-Adolescent Relationship Quality on Adolescent Reports of Racial Discrimination to Parents, received 6/11/13, version 2, dated 6/11/13
- VCU IRB Study Personnel Roster, received 5/23/13, version date 5/1/13
- Demographic Data Sheet (Adolescent), received 5/23/13, version 2, dated 6/11/13
- Demographic Data Sheet (Parent), received 5/23/13, version 2, dated 6/11/13
- Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), received 5/23/13
- Parent Experience of Racial Socialization Scale – Parents (PERS), received 5/23/13, version 2, dated 6/11/13
- Self-Report Measure, received 5/23/13, version 2, dated 6/11/13

CONSENT/ASSENT (attached):
- Research Subject Information and Consent Form: Student Participant, received 6/10/13, version 2, dated 6/10/13, 4 pages
- Research Subject Information and Consent Form: Parent Participant, received 6/10/13, version 2, dated 6/10/13, 4 pages

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS: None

This approval expires on May 31, 2014. Federal Regulations/VCU Policy and Procedures require continuing review prior to continuation of approval past that date. Continuing Review report forms will be mailed to you prior to the scheduled review.

(Continued...)

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Appendix B

Demographic Data Sheet (Adolescent)

1. **Age**: _____

2. **Sex**: ☐ Male ☐ Female

3. **Highest Education:** ☐ Some high school ☐ High School Degree or GED ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore

☐ Junior ☐ Senior ☐ Bachelor's Degree ☐ Graduate or Professional Degree

4. **SES:** ☐ Low ☐ Middle ☐ Upper

5. **Race:** ☐ Black ☐ Bi-Racial _____

6. **Ethnicity:** ☐ African ☐ African American ☐ Caribbean ☐ Other _____

Demographic Data Sheet (Parent)

1. **Age**: _____

2. **Sex**: ☐ Male ☐ Female

3. **Highest Education:** ☐ Some high school ☐ High School Degree or GED ☐ Some College

☐ Bachelor's Degree ☐ Graduate Degree

4. **SES:** ☐ Low ☐ Middle ☐ Upper

5. **Race:** ☐ Black   ☐ Bi-Racial _____

6. **Ethnicity:** ☐ African ☐ African American ☐ Caribbean ☐ Other _____

Appendix C

Authors:

©Gay Armsden, Ph.D. and Mark T. Greenberg, Ph.D. [1]

Please read the directions to each part carefully.

Some of the following statements asks about your feelings about your <u>mother</u> or the person who has acted as your mother. If you have more than one person acting as your mother (e.g. a natural mother and a step-mother) answer the questions for the one you feel has most influenced you.

Please read each statement and circle the <u>ONE</u> number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some-times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. My mother respects my feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my mother does a good job as my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had a different mother.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My mother accepts me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my mother.	1	2	3	4	5

---

[1] Address for Dr. Greenberg: Dept. of Human Development, Penn State University, State College, PA 16802.

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7. My mother can tell when I'm

   upset about something.   1   2   3   4   5

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some-times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True

8. Talking over my problems with my mother

   makes me feel ashamed or foolish.   1   2   3   4   5

9. My mother expects too much from me.   1   2   3   4   5

10. I get upset easily around my mother.   1   2   3   4   5

11. I get upset a lot more than my

    mother knows about.   1   2   3   4   5

12. When we discuss things, my mother

    cares about my point of view.   1   2   3   4   5

13. My mother trusts my judgment.   1   2   3   4   5

14. My mother has her own problems,

    so I don't bother her with mine.   1   2   3   4   5

15. My mother helps me to

    understand myself better.   1   2   3   4   5

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16. I tell my mother about my
    problems and troubles.   1   2   3   4   5

17. I feel angry with my mother.   1   2   3   4   5

18. I don't get much attention from my mother.   1   2   3   4   5

19. My mother helps me to talk
    about my difficulties.   1   2   3   4   5

20. My mother understands me.   1   2   3   4   5

21. When I am angry about something,
    my mother tries to be understanding.   1   2   3   4   5

22. I trust my mother.   1   2   3   4   5

23. My mother doesn't understand
    what I'm going through these days.   1   2   3   4   5

24. I can count on my mother when I need
    to get something off my chest.   1   2   3   4   5

25. If my mother knows something is
    bothering me, she asks me about it.   1   2   3   4   5

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Authors:

©Gay Armsden, Ph.D. and Mark T. Greenberg, Ph.D. [2]

Please read the directions to each part carefully.

Some of the following statements asks about your feelings about your <u>father</u> or the person who has acted as your father. If you have more than one person acting as your father (e.g. a natural father and a step- father) answer the questions for the one you feel has most influenced you.

Please read each statement and circle the <u>ONE</u> number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some-times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. My father respects my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my father does a good job as my father.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had a different father.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My father accepts me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I like to get my father's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my father.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My father can tell when I'm					

___

[2] Address for Dr. Greenberg: Dept. of Human Development, Penn State University, State College, PA 16802.

upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Talking over my problems with my father makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My father expects too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I get upset easily around my father.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset a lot more than my father knows about.	1	2	3	4	5
12. When we discuss things, my father cares about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My father trusts my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My father has his own problems, so I don't bother him with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My father helps me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some-times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
16. I tell my father about my problems and troubles	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel angry with my father	1	2	3	4	5
18. I don't get much attention from my father.	1	2	3	4	5
19. My father helps me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My father understands me.	1	2	3	4	5
21. When I am angry about something, my father tries to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I trust my father.	1	2	3	4	5
23. My father doesn't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I can count on my father when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5

25. If my father knows something is bothering

me, he asks me about it.   1   2   3   4   5

Appendix D

PARENT EXPERIENCE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION SCALE - Parents (PERS)
Howard C. Stevenson, Ph.D.
University of Pennsylvania

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

Appendix E

Self-Report Measure

1. "Have you ever felt that you were treated badly due to being black?"
   If no, you are finished with this measure.
   If yes, please continue on to question #2.

2. "If you have experienced racial discrimination, did you tell your parent about these experiences?"
   If no, please provide a written response below as to why you did not report.
   If yes, please provide a written response below as to why you did report.

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Vita

Nathasha Cole was born on December 1, 1986, in Miami, Florida, and is an American citizen. She graduated from Coral Reef Senior High School in 2005. She received her Bachelor of Arts in Communication and Psychology from Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida in 2010.