

*“DOING THE BEST WE CAN”*. BLACK PARENTING COUPLES’ DISCUSSIONS OF THE  
RACIAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS: A MIXED METHODS ANALYSIS

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## ABSTRACT

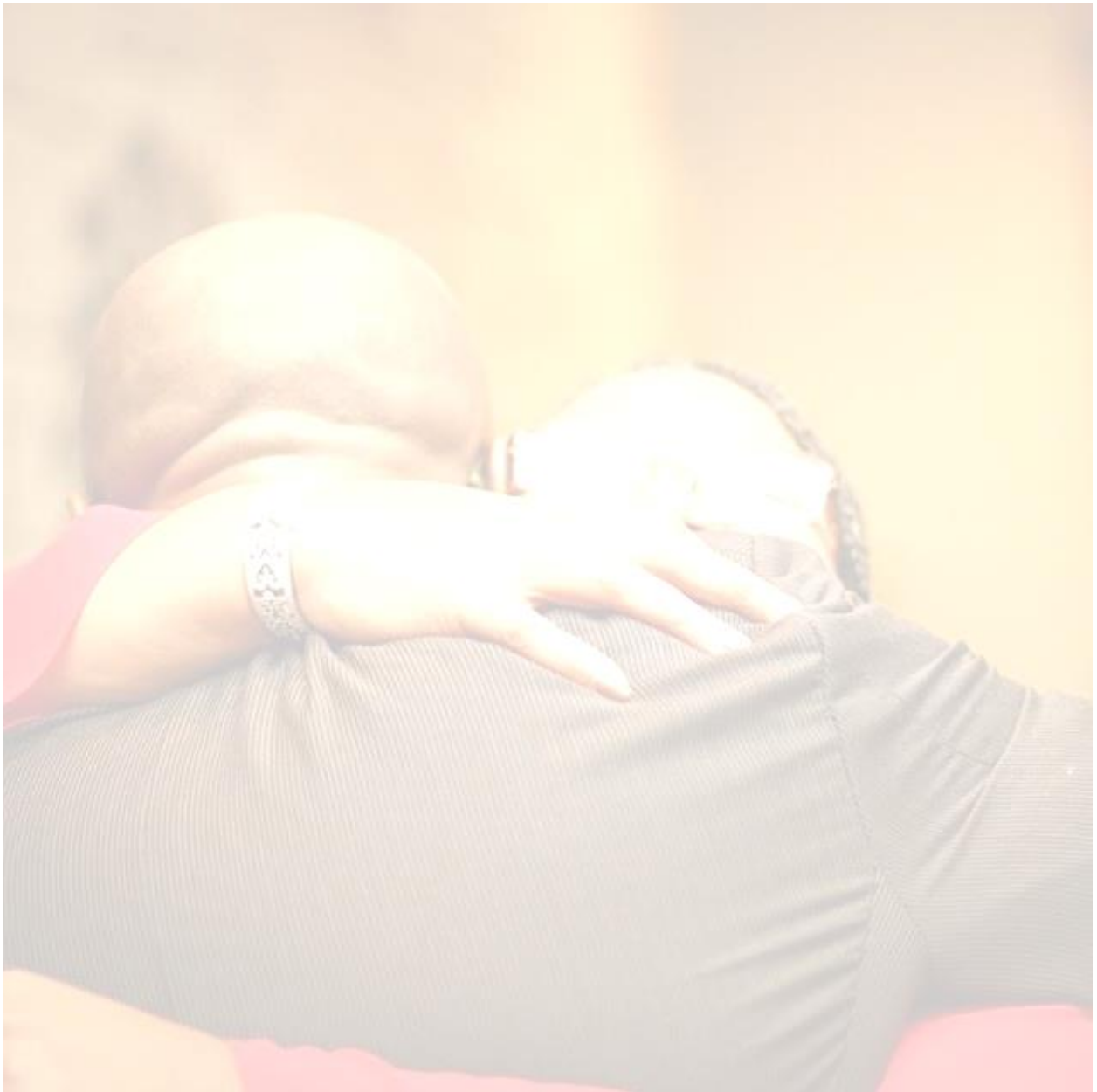
SHAWN C.T. JONES: “*Doing the best we can*”. Black parenting couples’ discussions of the racial socialization process: A mixed-methods analysis  
(Under the direction of Enrique Neblett)

Racial socialization is one of the most important parenting practices Black parents undertake as a means of promoting the well-being of Black children (McAdoo, 2002). Prior research has identified several types of messages parents may convey to youth, as well as a number of individual and contextual factors that may impact the content, frequency, and delivery of these messages. However, the extant literature has not yet examined the ways in which Black coparents socialize around race together. Moreover, much of the work examining parental racial socialization has focused on quantitative survey methods, limiting our ability to truly understand these processes. Integrating key principles from the racial socialization and family systems (i.e., coparenting) literatures, this convergent (Qual + Quan) mixed methods investigation sought to understand the ways in which Black parenting couples navigate the racial socialization process by: a) investigating the nature of parental communications about racial socialization; b) understanding and operationalizing successful navigation of the racial socialization agenda; and c) examining the ways in which individual (e.g., racial identity), couple-level (e.g., relationship satisfaction), and contextual (e.g., neighborhood composition) correlates influenced both the occurrence and success of dialogue about racial socialization. In the quantitative strand, 44 Black married and cohabiting parenting couples completed surveys and 91% ( $n= 40$ ) also responded to two racial socialization vignettes, which were videotaped and coded. Parents and their partner’s scores on the survey questions were used to assess the occurrence and success of dyadic discussions around race using both self-report

and observer reported methods. Results from a series of actor-partner interdependence models (APIM) revealed significant actor and partner effects for all factor types (i.e., individual, couple, contextual). A 10-couple subsample was also interviewed and asked questions about how they communicate and co-parent around race. A number of relevant subthemes emerged relating to the nature of dyadic conversations, determinants of decisions to deliver messages, division of labor, and coparenting dynamics specific to racial socialization. Data from the two strands were integrated, with emerging themes being compared and contrasted with the quantitative findings. Implications, strengths and limitations of the current study are discussed, and areas of future research for deepening our understanding of how parents traverse this important and often challenging process are presented.

*Keywords:* couples, coparents, racial socialization, communication, mixed methods

“I know one thing, my momma would be proud, and you see me looking up, cause I know she’s looking down right now”



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION, OVERVIEW, AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The well-being of Black children in the United States is a matter of paramount significance. As Keniston (1978) asserted, they are “the most endangered children in our society... Although our national creed insists that all children should have equal chances, from the start, the deck is systematically stacked against [them]” (pp. xiii-xiv). By the time of Keniston’s proclamation, the compromised self-esteem of Black children had already been the subject of the well-known Clarks’ (1939) doll experiments, calling attention to the deleterious impact of segregation on the welfare of Black youth. Thirteen years prior to Keniston’s assertion, Daniel Moynihan’s (1965) report described the “failure” of Black youth, pointing to their “predictable outcome of delinquency and crime.” Unfortunately, Keniston’s designation of the endangered status of Black youth was neither a historical footnote nor a mere “cohort effect.” Nor was it an artifact of a now extinct “racialized” America, no longer relevant in a “post-racial” society. Instead, Black children in the US continue to be under siege. They live in a world where the election of the first president of African descent has not eradicated the disparity in school suspension of Black *preschool* children, who make up only 18 percent of enrollment, but nearly three times (48%) the suspension rate. Black youth are exposed to images from Ferguson, Missouri in 2014 that are eerily similar to those taken in Selma, Alabama, fifty years earlier; to stories of slain children (e.g., Michael Brown and Renisha McBride), that resemble those of Emmitt Till and four little Black girls bombed while in Sunday school. More sobering, Black children are not only exposed to these images and stories, they *are* these images and stories. The recent “front row seat” that Black children such as Dae’Anna (4-year old daughter of

Philandro Castile's partner), Kodi (5-year old son of Korryn Gaines), and Cameron (15-year old son of Alton Sterling) have occupied as literal and extended witnesses to the killing of parental figures drives this point home further.

Taking the various examples of the threatened well-being of Black youth into consideration, the utility and necessity of *racial socialization* – “the process through which caregivers convey implicit and explicit messages about the significance and meaning of race and ethnicity, teach children about what it means to be a member of a racial and/or ethnic minority group, and help youth learn to cope with discrimination” (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012, p. 296) – is clear. Racial socialization is a parenting practice that Black mothers and fathers *must* undertake, a process of “affection, protection, and correction” (Stevenson, 2013) they must navigate to safeguard the mental, physical, and emotional well-being of their offspring. Fortunately, both cross-sectional and longitudinal research on racial socialization has noted that parental racial socialization is generally associated with positive outcomes for youth (e.g., positive racial identity, academic and civic engagement, positive well-being and prosocial behavior; Grills et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2006). At the same time, these findings have been mixed with some studies finding that certain messages are associated with less optimal outcomes (e.g., Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). In an effort to crystallize our understanding of the racial socialization process and understand these differential outcomes, research over the past three decades has highlighted both the prevalence and content of racial socialization messages that parents give to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). In addition, these messages have been framed by a number of constitutional and contextual parental factors (e.g., age, racial identity, experiences with discrimination) that influence the racial socialization process.

Identifying individual parental correlates of racial socialization messages has been instrumental in providing a portion of the picture in terms of how this process ultimately translates to

positive youth outcomes. However, one aspect of the racial socialization process that we know almost nothing about is whether parents communicate with *one another* about the process of delivering a pattern of messages (a “racial socialization agenda”). Missing from the extant literature is an exploration of whether parents decide when and how racial socialization will occur in the home. Moreover, should parents have these conversations, what are the processes by which such decisions are made? Additionally, what is a picture for understanding successful navigation of the racial socialization process from the perspective of parents? Finally, are the same parenting factors that impact the types of messages parents communicate also related to the occurrence of parents’ discussions or the success of these conversations? Given the equivocal findings regarding the link between racial socialization and youth outcomes, addressing these questions is vital to understanding how parents might best maximize the strengths inherent in racial socialization as a means of optimizing the psychological well-being of their children. Moreover, taking inventory of how Black parents discuss and decide on a racial socialization agenda will assist in understanding both how that agenda is enacted and the success of the agenda – laying the foundation for working with Black parents to optimize their socialization agenda and, in turn, their children’s well-being.

### **Coparenting as a Framework for Understanding Couples’ Communications about Racial Socialization**

One lens through which to address the questions related to how Black parents might communicate around the establishment of a racial socialization agenda and how they may successfully enact that agenda is found in the Family Systems construct of coparenting (McHale & Lindahl, 2011). Coparenting has been defined as “the extent to which mothers and fathers work together in the tasks of childrearing, including supporting one another in their parenting roles, backing up one another in their childrearing decisions and disciplinary practices, and conveying consistent socialization messages to their offspring” (Feinberg, 2003; Mchale et al., 2006, p. 1391).

The key mechanisms for achieving effective coparenting appear to be open communication, mutual support, and accommodation (McHale & Fivaz-Depeursinge, 2010). With regard to open communication, coparenting scholars contend that discussions around aspirations and parenting styles allow parents to move “onto the same page” (McHale & Fivaz-Depeursinge, 2010, p.117), thus creating an optimally consistent parenting agenda. Understanding how this agenda is established may assist Black parents in optimizing this plan. The coparenting literature also suggests that mutual understanding, support and trust, and an ability to accommodate or resolve inevitable differences about how to raise their children, are vital to child’s outcomes (McHale & Irace, 2011). Taken together, the extent to which parents talk about and the success with which they enact a "game plan" for race-related socialization may necessarily influence the content, prevalence, and internalization of the racial socialization messages youth receive, which will in turn impact the extent to which this process predicts optimal well-being.

How might the coparenting framework be applied to a specific example of parents’ communications and decision making about racial socialization? Imagine that a mother tells her son that George Washington Carver was a great man and someone to be emulated. The boy’s father later undermines this message, stating that Carver “wasn’t really that important.” While the content of the messages may be clear, less apparent is how Mom and Dad arrived at enacting the particular messages they delivered. How have Mom and Dad worked together in the past, or, in this instance, to decide how to convey messages that might help their son feel proud of his heritage? In discussing how to help their son feel proud about his heritage, did they support and back each other up? Furthermore, in this particular scenario, what factors might have led to not being “on the same page”? To what extent might mutual understanding and accommodation lead to the resolution of

differences regarding George Washington Carver and assist the couple in being more consistent and supportive in future communications about race?

The coparenting framework also highlights the importance of examining factors that may influence communication, support, and accommodation (McHale & Irace, 2011). In the scenario above, what factors should we expect to influence the ways parents communicate around race? Given that a number of parental factors such as gender, racial identity, and socioeconomic status have been related to specific racial socialization messages, it is possible that these factors also influence the occurrence and success of these conversations between parents. It may be the case that the parents in the scenario above had intentional conversations because of the racially integrated neighborhood in which they live. At the same time, Dad may have been less than optimally supportive due to his jaded outlook after being inexplicably passed over for yet another promotion. Exploring the extent to which these and other factors play a role in the aforementioned processes will provide even more feedback for optimizing the racial socialization agenda.

### **The Present Study**

Integrating key principles from the racial socialization and family systems (i.e., coparenting) literatures, this mixed methods investigation endeavored to understand the ways in which Black parenting couples navigate the racial socialization process in a dyadic context (i.e., together). To deepen our understanding of whether and how parents talk to one another about preparing their children for the racialized world around them, this project seeks to: a) investigate the nature of parental communications about racial socialization; b) understand and operationalize successful navigation of the racial socialization agenda; and c) examine the ways in which individual (e.g., age), couple-level (e.g., relationship satisfaction), and broader contextual (e.g., neighborhood composition) correlates influence both the occurrence and success of parental discussions around



racial socialization. Owing to a number of scholars (e.g., Lesane-Brown, 2006; Neblett et al., 2012; Smalls, 2010) that have argued for an emphasis on the processes underpinning parental racial socialization, such an investigation will do much to enrich our current understanding of racial socialization. More importantly, understanding how parents currently approach talking with their children about race should support efforts to develop interventions for assisting Black parents in navigating the racial socialization process.

### **Philosophical Assumptions: The Case for Mixed Methods**

This study and its investigator (S. Jones) operate from a pragmatist worldview. Pragmatism's epistemology centers on using the best method(s) to address the research questions at hand (see Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). One major limitation of the extant literature on racial socialization is that while its origins were centered on understanding how this parenting process unfolds from the perspective of parents (a constructivist worldview), more recent investigations have adopted reductionist methodology, namely the use of quantitative surveys for elucidating racial socialization practices. However, understanding the nature of racial socialization conversations between parents and the successful navigation of these discussions requires a diverse set of methods. Thus, while close-ended questions have been central to understanding the numerous correlates associated with the content of such messages, the voices (e.g., via interviews) and indeed examples of Black parents' interactions (e.g., via observation) must be incorporated into existing research to fully appreciate the ways in which Black parents navigate this process. For instance, hearing parents' stories about their decisions regarding racial socialization allows for subtleties of the process that are lost with simple close-ended responses. We may learn that the reason for parents not talking about *buying* African-centered items is because they actually *make* the items instead. Moreover, markers of successful enactment of racial socialization are frequently best understood through observations of interactions

between parents, as this is a common approach undertaken in studies of coparenting. Finally, defining how successful racial socialization discussions take shape requires both quantitative techniques (e.g., survey data and behavioral coding) and qualitative analytic techniques (e.g., interview data), as neither method is sufficient alone. An in-depth explanation, provided via interview, may challenge (or confirm) the conclusions one might draw based simply on numerical significance.

### **Definitions of Terms**

As noted above, racial socialization refers to both implicit and explicit messages designed to communicate racial group membership, values, behaviors, beliefs, and intergroup relationships (Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, & Sellers, 2009). However, it is important to also briefly define the primary participants of interest (Black parenting couples), as well as the primary outcomes of interest (occurrence and success).

Participants included “Black parenting couples”. It is important to operationalize each word in turn. *Black* refers to individuals who self-identify as Black or African American. This can include the range of ethnicities of peoples of African descent (e.g., Caribbean, continental African etc.). *Couples* refer to a mutually defined romantic relationship. In addition, there are two primary civil definitions: marriage and cohabitation. Recent demographic information (U.S. Census Bureau 2012) suggests that roughly 43% of Black men and 36% of Black women over age 18 are married. Notably, rates of cohabitation have increased over the last several years (National Survey for Family Growth, 2012), and cohabitation as an alternative to marriage is generally more common among Blacks (McAdoo & Younge, 2009). Thus, for the purposes of the current study, couples included partners who are married or cohabiting and define themselves as in a romantic relationship. Excluded from this definition would be self-defined couples who do not live together or couples who

are legally married, but do not define themselves as a couple (i.e. separated). For this study, *parenting* refers to both partners being the biological parent of the target child(ren). Couples wherein one partner is a step-parent (or equivalent in case of cohabitation) and those wherein a child is adopted were ineligible for participation in the study.

Given that the concepts of occurrence and success related to Black parenting couples' racial socialization conversations underlie this work, it is important to define what is meant by each term. *Occurrence* simply refers to whether or not Black parents have conversations about the various aspects of racial socialization (e.g., preparing their child for bias). In addition to understanding whether these conversations happen, the content and nature of such conversations (e.g., how are decisions made; who initiates conversations) is also important, and falls under occurrence. *Success* draws on the coparenting framework which highlights open and effective communication, support and accommodation as core elements of an effective co-created environment (McHale & Irace, 2011). In this study, success is defined in three ways. First, success is defined by parents' ratings of how well dyadic conversations around racial socialization have gone. Second, Black parenting couples' ability to communicate openly and effectively, show mutual accommodation for one another's desires and styles related to racial socialization, and to do both in a warm and supportive manner were observed and assessed. Third, parents were asked to define coparenting around race "in their own words". In this way, occurrence answers the questions "does this happen?" and "what does it look like?" while success answers the questions "how well does this play out?"

### **Organization of this Document**

This chapter has provided an introduction and overview of the current project, as well as definitions of key terms. The remaining chapters in this document detail the background and significance of the project, the method including analytic plan, the results (quantitative, then

qualitative), and an integrative discussion. Chapter 2 is a review of the relevant literature related to racial socialization from the perspective of parents, as well as a discussion on the importance of a mixed methods approach. Chapter 3 contains a thorough description of the methods—including both the quantitative and qualitative phases of the project, and how the data from these phases were integrated. Chapters 4 and 5 outline the quantitative and qualitative findings that address the research aims, respectively. Chapter 6 serves as an integrative discussion, which begins by addressing the mixed methods aim, synthesizes the findings and their implications, and discusses avenues for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Introduction**

Racial socialization is one of the most important parenting practices Black parents undertake as a means of promoting the well-being of Black children (McAdoo, 2002). Prior research has identified several types of messages parents may convey to youth, as well as a number of individual and contextual factors that may impact the content, frequency, and delivery of these messages. However, the extant literature has not yet examined the ways in which coparents communicate and collaborate around racial socialization—or if these conversations occur at all. Moreover, questions regarding how couples might successfully navigate this process from the perspective of Black parents, and what individual, couple-level, and contextual factors shape the occurrence and success of discussions about racial socialization are underexplored. Much of the work examining these important questions has focused upon quantitative survey methods. I argue, however, that a mixed methods approach is essential to best understanding Black coparents' communications about racial socialization and the individual, coparenting, and contextual influences that shape their occurrence and success.

In this chapter, I provide a critical review of the literature that includes: 1) a brief historical overview of the racial socialization process, including definitions of the various types of messages; 2) a presentation on parental correlates of both the content and frequency of such messages, as well as a discussion about how these factors may be related to the occurrence and success of these

conversations; and 3) a discussion of limitations with regard to dyadic (i.e., coparenting) considerations in the context of racial socialization, and how principles of coparenting can shed light in understanding couple-level correlates of parental communication, support, and accommodation around racial socialization. Following a hypothetical scenario on how success is defined in the coparenting context, these various research strands are integrated into a conceptual framework for understanding the role of Black parenting couples' communication around racial socialization. In the final section of the chapter, I make a pragmatic argument, with supporting literature, for the use of a mixed methods approach to studying these processes.

### **Racial Socialization: Philosophic and Prescriptive Definitions**

Before we can understand the processes by which Black parenting couples' conversations around racial socialization might unfold and how success related to these conversations might take shape, it is important to first understand what racial socialization is and the ways in which scholars have conceptualized it. This is especially pertinent as racial socialization has been described as a "complex, multidimensional construct" that has been conceptualized in a number of ways, defined and redefined. While an in-depth, historical overview is beyond the scope of the current work (see Brown & Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006 for such treatment), I explore definitions of racial socialization as a parenting practice and outline the various types of messages parents employ.

One of the earliest conceptualizations of racial socialization was the *triple quandary* model offered by Boykin and Toms (1985). They argued that Black parents have to navigate three socialization goals: (a) *Cultural socialization* (i.e., values, beliefs, and behaviors unique to African Americans); (b) *Mainstream socialization* (i.e., values of and co-existence within the European American, middle-class culture system); and (c) *Minority socialization* (i.e., messages of awareness

and coping styles related to being a racial minority). Said another way, Black parents in this society are tasked with raising their children to be African American, American, *and* ethnic minority all at once. Boykin and Toms (1985) and other scholars (e.g., Peters, 1985; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen, 1990) provide what I term *philosophic* definitions of racial socialization. These definitions offer overarching worldviews from which to approach racial socialization.

In contrast, reviews by both Hughes and colleagues (2006) and Lesane-Brown (2006), aggregating the extant research on racial and ethnic<sup>1</sup> socialization, offer more *prescriptive* definitions. These definitions are more concerned with the specific messages parents report, as well as the mechanisms of transmission of these messages. For example, Hughes et al. (2006) categorize messages into four primary types, as originally conceptualized by Hughes and Chen (1997, 1999). *Cultural Socialization* messages are those primarily concerned with teaching about the heritage and history of African Americans, sharing and clarifying customs and traditions, and emphasizing pride in being African American (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, Bachman, Ruble & Fuligni, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Thornton et al., 1990). *Preparation for bias* messages highlight the inequalities that exist among ethnic groups and provide ways to cope with the behavioral manifestation of these inequalities (i.e. discrimination). *Promotion of mistrust* messages encourage wariness of other cultures, especially the White majority, but importantly do not offer strategies for coping with interracial interaction (Hughes & Chen, 1997). *Egalitarian* messages emphasize individual traits rather than traits related to African American membership<sup>2</sup> or espouse the harmony and equality that can exist among racial groups. Finally, *silence about race* has been used to describe

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<sup>1</sup> Hughes and colleagues (2006) distinguish between racial socialization (which has been traditionally conceptualized as concerning the aforementioned processes specifically for African Americans) and ethnic socialization, which covers multiple ethnic groups, including African Americans (p. 748).

<sup>2</sup> Notably, these messages have also been termed “self-worth”.

a lack of explicit racial socialization messages (Gaskin, Jones, Lee, & Neblett, 2013; Gaylord-Harden, Burrow, & Cunningham, 2012; Hughes et al., 2006).

Lesane-Brown (2006) organized messages using the broad goals (e.g., cultural, minority, mainstream) from the aforementioned triple quandary model (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Within the minority messages category are messages that help children recognize discrimination (*racism awareness*) and those that actually provide ways for dealing with such racism (*cultural coping with antagonism*) (Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Subcategories within the mainstream message domain are those that focus on individual attributes (*self-development*) and those that emphasize commonalities across racial groups (*egalitarian*) (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Notably, these sub-dimensions are subsumed with the term “Egalitarian” utilized by Hughes et al. Finally, though not covered formally in either review, scholars have also noted that parents can deliver negative messages about African Americans (e.g., “Black politicians cannot be trusted”) (Gaskin et al., 2013). Taken together, scholars have elucidated the myriad messages conveyed to Black youth by their parents. The decision to employ some or all of these messages represents a portion of the dialogue Black parenting couples may undertake regarding the socialization of their children.

### **Expression, Intent, and Dynamism of Racial Socialization Messages**

In addition to the content of racial socialization messages, Black coparents’ discussions about racial socialization may also center on the ways in which these socialization messages are transmitted, as parents make decisions around both message expression and message intent (Lesane-Brown, 2006). *Expression* refers to whether parents deliver messages verbally or non-verbally (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Thornton et al., 1990). Notably, non-verbal messages have also been conceptualized as *behavioral* messages (Gaskin et al., 2013). For example,



Coard et al. (2004) found that in addition to oral communication, mothers also described utilizing modeling (e.g., not using derogating language about Black people), exposure (e.g., watching Doc McStuffins, a Disney show with a Black child female protagonist), and role-play (e.g., practicing how to respond to police officers' requests). Importantly, non-verbal or behavioral messages can be delivered across the aforementioned message categories (e.g., preparation for bias; Hughes et al., 2006). Thus, in addition to conversing about the messages they will deliver, parents' dyadic discussions may also include how these messages will be articulated, as well as who may articulate what.

*Intent* refers to the purpose or goal of racial socialization messages (Lesane-Brown, 2006). It is understood that a great many African American parents are deliberate or purposeful about communicating specific messages to their children, and messages that are consistent with the race-related agenda they have constructed (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Murray et al., 1999). However, parents may also inadvertently and unwittingly "send" their children messages about race, race-relations, and racism (e.g., an "adult" conversation between a mother and father about a prejudiced boss that a son overhears) (Hughes & Chen, 1999). Related to intent is the notion that parents may have conversations with youth concerning race in a proactive manner, attempting to get ahead of the proverbial curve that is their child's racialized world. Conversely, parents may be forced (or indeed may wait) to discuss issues such as discrimination, based on the inquiry or experience of their child (i.e. reactive). In this case, parents may communicate with one another about the goals of establishing a particular racial socialization agenda, which will necessarily impact whether messages are delivered in a proactive or reactive manner. Given that parents are unaware of the transmission of inadvertent messages (Lesane-Brown, 2006), it is not reasonable to expect Black parenting couples to communicate with one another about messages they do not know they are

transmitting. As such, the study focuses primarily on Black parenting couples' deliberate racial socialization messages. However, it is feasible that parents may plan for how they will handle their children's questions about or experiences with regard to racial topics (e.g., "the talk"). Therefore, while the project will focus primarily on proactive approaches to racial socialization, assessing how parents navigate unanticipated discussions around race is an invaluable consideration.

A recent model, the *Process Model of Ethnic-Racial Socialization (PMERS)*, developed by Miwa Yasui (2015), does a wonderful job of integrating both the content and the aforementioned underlying issues of expression, intention, and dynamism (as well as including parents' implicit attitudes and the role of affect. A more intentional discussion of these aspects is provided when addressing the conceptual framework informing the current study.

### **Parental Correlates of Racial Socialization: Individual and Contextual Factors**

In addition to thinking about the content and transmission of messages that may shape parents' communications about socialization, several individual and contextual factors may shape these conversations and their success. Although there is little empirical work that elucidates the role of these factors on parental discussions, a significant body of work documents the link between such factors and racial socialization in general. Parents' racial socialization practices have been found to be shaped by a number of individual and contextual/environmental factors, as well as characteristics of the child(ren) (e.g., developmental period, gender) to whom the messages are directed (Hughes et al., 2006). It is clear that factors such as the age and gender of the child may not only impact the messages that are delivered, but also whether, how soon, and how often parents may communicate with one another. For example, parents may naturally communicate less around race with regard to their child when she is a toddler, compared to when she enters middle school. Nevertheless, given the project's focus on Black parenting couples, what follows is a brief overview of the first two

levels of correlates with regard to messages, followed by a discussion of how these factors may be related to the occurrence and success of Black parenting dyadic discussions (for an overview of child correlates of racial socialization, see Hughes et al., 2006).

**Individual factors.** The most commonly explored individual parental factors are gender, socioeconomic status, and racial identity. With regard to gender, studies generally support the notion that mothers more frequently provide racial socialization messages to their children, relative to fathers (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thornton et al., 1990). In addition to the frequency of messages, the quality, mode, and content are also assumed to vary as a function of parent gender (Lesane-Brown, 2006; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). Socioeconomic status has also been found to impact race socialization practices. Of those studies that have reported differences by SES, most find that Black parents with higher socioeconomic standing (e.g., higher income, greater educational attainment), report transmitting more cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages (Crouter, Baril, Davis, & McHale, 2008; Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). Additionally, there have been some studies that have found that those with middle/moderate SES report some racial socialization messages (e.g., racial pride, preparation for bias) with the greatest frequency, suggesting a curvilinear association (e.g., Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Thornton, 1997).

Racial identity, or the significance and meaning of race to an individual (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1998), has also been conceptualized as related to both the frequency and content of racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). For instance, Thomas and Speight (1999) found that African American parents who felt more strongly connected to their race (i.e. race centrality) were more likely to see racial socialization as essential. More recently, work using latent-class analysis (White-Johnson et al., 2010) found that mothers in a cluster characterized by the most

frequent and most varied approach to racial socialization had significantly higher levels of several racial identity dimensions (e.g. centrality, nationalist ideology, private regard).

In addition to the aforementioned factors, age and parents' own racial socialization experiences have been associated with differential racial socialization practices. With regard to age, findings generally suggest that older parents provide more messages than their younger counterparts. Scholars have also noted that parents' racial socialization messages (or lack thereof) may be influenced by the racial socialization messages they received as youth (Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010). For instance, received socialization related to cultural socialization (promoting positive aspects of being Black) was in turn associated with parents' own cultural socialization practices (Hughes & Chen). In addition, mothers' reports of more frequent socialization as a child were associated with a racial socialization agenda highlighted by more varied messages (White-Johnson et al., 2010). This is consistent with other parenting practices that show intergenerational transmission properties (e.g., discipline; Mangelsdorf, Laxman, and Jessee, 2011).

How might these individual correlates of the frequency and content of racial socialization messages influence the occurrence (including the tone) and success (including indicators of open communication, support, and accommodation) of parents' communications about race? With regard to the former, the racial socialization messages that parents receive as a youth are a subset of that parent's broader family of origin experience, a factor associated with communicating about parenting tasks (Mangelsdorf, Laxman, and Jessee, 2011). Thus, we might expect the conversations around racial socialization to be influenced by received socialization such that a father may be more or less likely to communicate with his partner about race simply as a result of whether such communication was modeled to him as a child. In a related manner, the nature of the conversation may be impacted by other factors. For instance, one might take note that not only are mothers the

primary providers of racial socialization messages, but they are also considered the “architects” of the coparenting alliance. Thus, we might expect gender to impact these discussions such that these conversations are initiated and/or dominated by mothers.

Individual correlates of racial socialization messages may also impact the success of racial socialization discussions (Mangelsdorf, Laxman, and Jessee, 2011). For example, a strong connection to one’s race (an aspect of racial identity) has been associated with supportiveness in African American relationships (Bell, Bouie, and Baldwin, 1990). Thus, a positive racial identity may not only impact the types of messages that parents decide to deliver and whether they converse about delivering them, but also may positively influence how parents support one another throughout the process.

**Contextual/Environmental factors.** Developmental theory supports the importance and influence of contextual factors on parenting (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and African American parenting, in particular (e.g., Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). One such factor is neighborhood composition. Preparation for bias messages have been found to be more prevalent in racially integrated neighborhoods (e.g., Thornton et al., 1990) relative to those that are more racially homogenous (Caughy, Nettles, O’Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002). Thornton et al. (1990) also found differences in socialization practices as a function of geographic region (Thornton et al., 1990). Importantly, these investigations have indicated that such differences in racial socialization messages may be reflective of processes that may operate in racially diverse contexts (e.g., social conflict, community involvement; Caughy et al., 2006; Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011).

Another environmental factor that has received attention for its association with parental racial socialization—particularly messages centered on preparing children to confront racial bias—is parents’ experience with racial discrimination. Specifically, scholars have found that preparation for

bias messages were associated with interpersonal (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and community-based discrimination (Hughes, 2003); promotion of mistrust messages were associated with institutional racism (Hughes & Chen, 1997); and cultural socialization messages were associated with adolescents' experiences of vicarious discrimination (i.e., racial discrimination experienced by a family member; Stevenson et al., 2002). Other work has found similar relationships when using broader indices of race-related stress (e.g., Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2010) as well as multidimensional investigations (i.e., message profiles) of racial socialization (e.g., White-Johnson et al., 2010). A recent exemplar of this relationship is McNeil Smith and colleagues' (2016) exploration of the role that parent's own experiences of racial discrimination as well as their partners' played in both cultural socialization and preparation for bias racial socialization. This study was particularly relevant in that it highlighted that parents' report of their individual RS practices were influenced not only by their own experiences with racism, but with their partner's as well.

In the same way that factors such as racial discrimination or neighborhood dynamics can impact racial socialization messages, such stressors may also impact the occurrence and success of conversations between African American mothers and fathers about racial socialization (e.g., LaTaillade, Baucom, and Jacobson, 2000). For example, experiences with discrimination may make the need to socialize a child around bias more salient (Hughes & Chen, 1997), increasing the likelihood of such dyadic discussions. Again, the findings by McNeil Smith et al. (2016) may also suggest that parents adjust their racial socialization practices based on their coparenting partner's experience with discrimination. However, discrimination may also be related to less constructive patterns of communication between Black couples that are defined by verbal aggression and hostility (LaTaillade et al., 2000), which may mean that parents are less effective in communicating once

these conversations occur. In contrast, other contextual factors such as Afrocentric worldview and spirituality have been associated with more positive relational qualities such as trust and support (LaTaillade, 2006; Kelly & Floyd, 2006), which may in turn foster effective communication with regard to racial socialization, while also influencing the racial socialization agenda itself. It is important to note that due to the dearth of empirical evidence related to parents' communication around racial socialization, many of the aforementioned links are hypothetical in nature. Thus, the absence of such studies further highlights the need for exploring these factors in the context of Black parenting couples' discussions about racial socialization.

### **Couple-level Parental Correlates of Racial Socialization**

Whereas individual and contextual correlates of racial socialization may highlight important variables that shape parental communications, Hughes and colleagues (2006) note the relative omission of relational (e.g., couple-level) variables as a conceptual gap and area for future direction. Indeed, McHale et al. (2006) similarly asserted: "although parents' individual characteristics and experiences have been studied as correlates of racial socialization, we know almost nothing about the relationship contexts of parents' practices" (p. 1387). Historical and contemporary treatment of racial socialization has generally considered socialization from the perspective of mothers or references to "parents" in a non-specific manner (Cooper, Smalls-Glover, Neblett, & Banks, 2014; Hughes et al., 2006), with only more recent investigations taking into account the perspectives of mothers and fathers (e.g., Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGannaro, 2009; Brown et al., 2010; Crouter et al., 2008; McHale et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2016). However, while the recent upsurge in racial socialization research addressing racial socialization from the perspective of both parents is laudable, and some have suggested more attention to the contribution of the parent-child relationship to the racial socialization processes, the relative dearth of research considering the ways in which the

dyadic dynamic between African American mothers and fathers impacts the racial socialization process still remains a glaring limitation.

Although there have been no studies that have explicitly studied how dynamics between parents impact racial socialization, the coparenting framework provides a lens through which to understand the relative contribution of couple-level factors to the occurrence and success of couples' communications about racial socialization. Several couple-level factors drawn from literature on (co)parenting—both generally (e.g., Karreman, van Tuijil, van Aken, & Dekovic, 2008) and specific to African Americans (e.g., Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Draper, 2002; Jones & Lindahl, 2011) may influence communication and other aspects of coparenting for Black couples. Coparenting is clearly distinguished from marital or relationship quality, with the former having a specific focus on belief and interactions that pertain to the child and the partners' shared connection to the child (McHale, 2009). Nevertheless, a number of marital/relationship characteristics—including marital quality (Gordon & Feldman, 2008), marital distress (McHale, 1995), and relationship confidence/anxiety (Belsky, Crnic, & Gable, 1995)—have been linked to coparenting quality, both in cross-sectional and longitudinal studies. As such, Black parenting couples' desire to and success in having conversations around race socialization may be greater for those for whom these indices of relationship quality are high. Broader domains of Black couples' dyadic relationship functioning may also be relevant to the context of specific coparenting conversations about race. Specifically, the extent to which Black coparents communicate and are able to effectively make decisions around a racial socialization agenda may be at least partially a reflection of how often (and how well) they communicate and problem solve around other topics. Lastly, owing at least in part to the history of slavery, many Black couples may show more egalitarian parenting roles, highlighted by more fluid sharing of responsibilities in the work and home settings (Broman, 1991). Thus, Black parenting



couples may generally be more apt to share the responsibilities related to socializing their children around race, which may be associated with a greater proclivity to accommodate.

### **Successful Coparenting Discussions around Racial Socialization: Example and Extensions**

In the previous chapter, the concepts of the occurrence and success were defined. Now that the potential individual, couple-level, and contextual correlates have been discussed, it is useful to provide a specific example to help clarify how occurrence and success of racial socialization discussions play out in the coparenting context. Imagine that it is nearly February, Black History Month is swiftly approaching, and Mom and Dad have an explicit discussion about family activities for their daughter and sons during this time of jubilee and reflection (occurrence). The conversation occurs with both parents expressing their viewpoints in a positive manner. It is ultimately decided that taking the children to the local African American history museum is the primary activity for Black History Month, that Dad should be the one to make the trip, and that Mom will identify the top exhibits (mutual support). After the conversation, Dad watches a sobering news clip and decides it is important to warn his children about racism. Mom is initially hesitant about this approach, but agrees with Dad that he can talk about this most recent news story on the way to the museum, but only to the boys (mutual accommodation).

In my hypothetical coparenting example, two points are worth noting in conceptualizing what constitutes success. First, communication, support, and accommodation are operationalized not only in the presence of positive verbal and non-verbal behavior, but also in the absence of antagonistic or negative behavior. Therefore, it may be equally important for the discussions between parents to not only occur, but to also be positive and supportive, as opposed to hostile (e.g., referring to the museum trip as a “stupid idea”). Second, while success may certainly be defined in terms of the aforementioned principles, it is also important to note that what constitutes success from

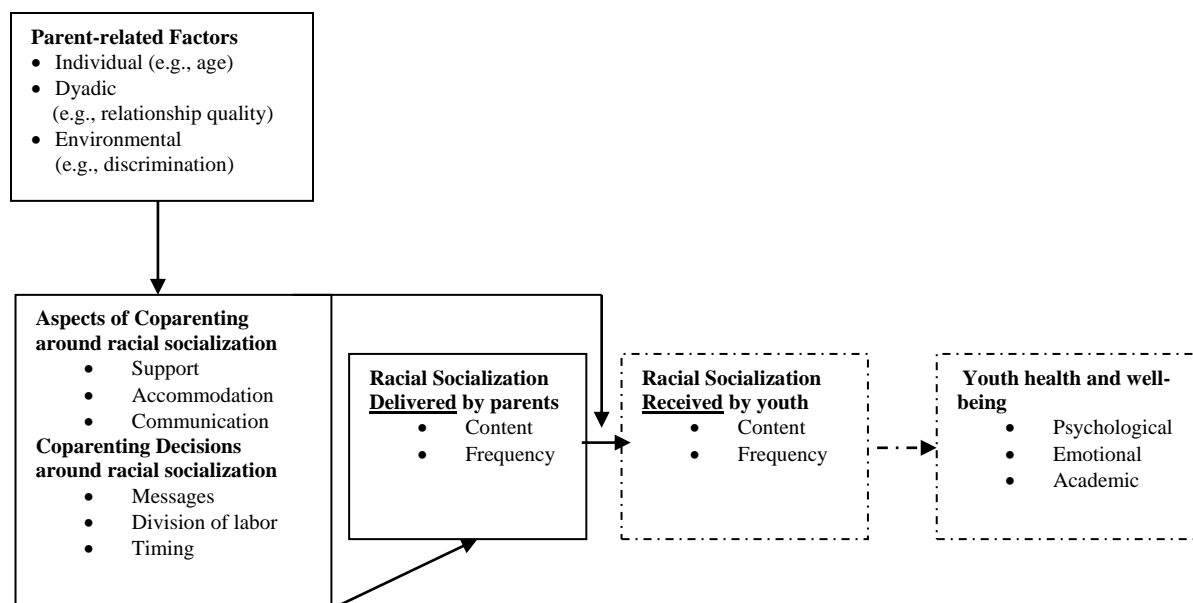
the coparenting framework may not map onto what constitutes success from the parents' perspectives. It may be that some parents view occurrence (simply having a conversation at all) as success, while other parents may feel that success comes from not talking about something, but simply "doing it." As such, it is important that the concept of successful navigation of this important process be extended to include *subjective* markers as well as relatively *objective* ones.

### **Conceptual Model**

Figure 1 provides a conceptual framework for situating Black couples' coparenting discussions and negotiation of the racial socialization process in the context of racial socialization. The framework integrates aspects of cultural ecological theory (García-Coll et al., 1996); family systems perspectives—and particularly theories on coparenting (McHale & Lindahl, 2011; Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993); and of course the extant understanding of the research on racial socialization. Specifically, I include the recent work by Yasui's PMERS as a comparison to the terms I have outlined in my model. Though it is important to recognize both the heterogeneity in family structure in the African American community and the myriad socializing agents, I contend that parenting dyads are a primary conduit through which Black parents establish a racial socialization agenda as a subset of their broader parenting practices. This agenda consists of the aforementioned aspects of effective coparenting (*Communication, support, accommodation*). With regard to communication, should parents have conversations around race, they may likely make decisions such as "which types of racial socialization messages?", "who says/does what?" (*Division of labor*), and "under what circumstances?" (*Timing*). Both the occurrence and nature of these discussions, and the markers of successful coparenting (whether defined by traditional coparenting principles or from parents' own perspective) may be influenced by individual, couple-level, and environmental *parent-related factors*. For example, communication about racial socialization may

vary for older versus younger parents (individual), for those who already communicate regularly about their romantic relationship (couple-level), or parents who live in racially diverse neighborhoods (contextual). Some of these factors are articulated in the PMERS as External Influences and her triad of belief factors (see Yasui, 2015, p. 4).

In two-parent families, this agenda is in turn enacted—whether wittingly or not—by both parents. Decisions about racial socialization help to dictate the specific messages as well as the frequency of these messages (*racial socialization delivered*), while successful coparenting serves to moderate the extent to which the socialization agenda is internalized by youth (Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997; McHale & Irace, 2011). The potential moderating role of coparenting is a vital consideration, as scholars have consistently emphasized that the messages "sent" to a child by her parents are not always the same as the messages she reports "receiving" (Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Marshall, 1995). Finally, the messages youth receive, in turn, predict their overall *well-being* on a number of indices—psychological, emotional, and academic (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006).



*Figure 1.* Conceptual model for understanding coparenting in the context of racial socialization

*Note:* Variables/Relationships demarcated with a dotted line will not be an explicit focus of the proposed study.

## **Making the Case for a Mixed Methods Approach to Studying Black Parenting Couples**

The model above provides a visual representation of the complex, multidimensional nature of the racial socialization process. As articulated by Hughes and colleagues (2008) “trying to empirically capture the richness, depth, and complexity that characterizes [racial] socialization as it unfolds in daily life is akin to ‘trying to catch a moonbeam’”(p.228). I argue here that the exploration of the ways in which Black parenting couples navigate the racial socialization process is not only amenable to, but also requires a mixed methods analytic approach. This is a similar argument to that articulated by Hughes et al. (2008) and is consistent with my pragmatist worldview surrounding research. Mixed-methods research “focuses on the collecting, analyzing, and mixing of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011 p.5). This area of research argues that the combination of both approaches provides an optimal

understanding of the research question(s), an understanding that is better than either approach in isolation. There are four main research problems that are addressed by mixed methods designs: (1) when one form of data is insufficient to explain the research problem; (2) when one form of data is needed to enhance the study; (3) when quantitative findings are inadequate by themselves; or (4) when qualitative results are inadequate alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Understanding whether and, if so, how successfully Black parenting couples communicate with one another about the racial socialization agenda for their child represents a research aim for which one form of data (i.e. quantitative) is insufficient.

The lion's share of extant research has focused on quantitative investigations of the construct, specifically self-report items that aggregate responses, a methodological limitation identified in Hughes and colleagues (2006) review. The review argues, for example, that it is important to distinguish between using closed-ended questions about racial socialization (which measure either the mere presence or the prevalence) and open-ended ones (which measure salience of a particular racial socialization theme) (Hughes et al., 2006). In addition to measuring salience, open-ended questions, such as those asked in in-depth interviews, allow participants to supply answers in their own words (see Edwards and Few-Demo, 2016 for a recent example). Moreover, an open-ended approach assists the researcher in understanding complex processes or phenomena—such as understanding how Black parenting couples navigate the racial socialization process—for which specific responses are insufficient (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). A number of early investigations of racial socialization did in fact coded responses to open ended survey questions provided on the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Parham & Williams, 1993; Thornton et al., 1990), a testament to racial socialization scholars' desire to understand what was at the time a novel and not well-defined construct. In the same way,

using open-ended methods will allow for a more thorough exploration of this largely uninvestigated aspect of the racial socialization process. Moreover, conducting interviews with both parents together literally provides an opportunity to see this process unfold, as couples talk through questions together.

Qualitative methods for assessing parental communications about race extend beyond open-ended items on a survey or conducting in-depth interviews. Moreover, racial socialization scholars have also been charged with broadening the assessment of racial socialization through “holistic and culturally anchored methods” (Hughes et al., 2006 p.765). Observational methods are one such approach that has been employed (albeit on a limited case) in the study of racial socialization (Caughy et al., 2002; Lewis, 1999). For example, Lewis’ (1999) observation of mother-child discussions during hair combing and Caughy et al.’s assessment of the presence of ten markers of an Afrocentric home environment underscore the possibilities of additional ways to measure racial socialization. Lewis combined aspects of attachment theory to develop a naturalistic observation procedure through which to understand the exchange of racial socialization between mothers and daughters. Caughy and colleagues (2002) naturally observed Black families’ homes for the presence of items (e.g., presence of Black periodicals, clothes, or toys) during two home visits, as a proxy of racial socialization. A recent investigation has expanded and extended such observational methods, using an ethnographic approach to study two African American families in their homes over a period of six years (Bracey, 2010). While neither of these investigations focused on observations between parents, they highlight that certain aspects of the racial socialization process may be best assessed through observational means.

In contrast to qualitative approaches being the relative exception in the racial socialization literature, such methods—particularly in-depth interviews and observation—are considered the

“rule” for assessing dimensions of effective coparenting (McHale, 2011). A number of coparenting tasks (e.g., concentrated family play) have been identified from which interactions can be observed and dynamics (e.g., mutual involvement, collaboration, dissonance) coded (see Fivaz-Depeursinge & Coeboz-Warnery, 1999; Mchale & Fivaz-Depeursinge, 2010 for examples). Conceptually, coparenting observations are concerned with triadic (or larger) interactions, including coparents and child. However, there have also been observational assessments of dyadic coparenting discussions (e.g., Baker, Mchale, Strozier, and Cecil, 2010; Elliston, Mchale, Talbot, Parmley, and Kuersten-Hogan, 2008). While the conceptual framework guiding the current work certainly identifies the child as an active agent in the racial socialization process, and clearly expects that child factors (e.g., age, gender) may impact the occurrence and success of parents’ conversations, the focus here is on understanding how these coparenting discussions play out between the couple. Finally, in addition to promoting qualitative methods for addressing the phenomena of interest, coparenting scholars also advocate the use of multiple sources of culturally relevant data (McHale, 2011), further supporting a mixed methods approach to exploring racial socialization from a coparenting perspective.

The only known published mixed methods studies on racial socialization to date are provided by Johnson (2005) and Hughes and colleagues (2008). Deborah Johnson (2005) assessed how twelve parent-child dyads navigated several open-ended scenarios centered on dealing with racial conflict—the Racial Stories Task (RST). Parents were charged with assisting children in generating strategies for how the fictitious character in the vignette might cope with the racial stressor, and parent-child interactions were coded (Johnson, 2005). Examples of parental microprocesses included negotiating, scaffolding, and turn-taking. In contrast, Hughes and colleagues (2008) supplemented survey questionnaire data with in-depth interviews from both mothers and adolescents as a means of deepening our understanding of the various racial socialization messages that mothers provide.

Although not the focus of the current study, this work is also unique in that the voices of the youth, including their perceptions of their parents' racial socialization agendas, were captured. Both research projects have exciting implications for the present study, not only by demonstrating the use of mixed methods in the context of racial socialization, but also in exploring racial socialization in a manner that assesses the dyadic processes.

### **The Current Study**

Racial socialization is one of the most challenging and crucial parenting practices for African Americans. Research on racial socialization has outlined a number of messages that parents may give to their children, as well as a number of individual and contextual factors that may impact how these messages are delivered. Yet, the extant literature has not yet examined the ways in which these coparents communicate and collaborate around racial socialization. Moreover, the question of successful navigation of this process from the perspective of Black parents remains largely unanswered. Finally, the extent to which the individual, couple, and contextual-level factors associated with racial socialization messages are similarly relevant to the occurrence and success of parental discussions is an empirical unknown. The current mixed methods study addresses these limitations and explores the nature of how Black parenting couples communicate and make decisions around the establishment of a racial socialization agenda.

In this investigation, survey data (i.e., questionnaires) were used to measure the relationship between the occurrence and parent-rated success of coparenting discussions about racial socialization and the aforementioned individual, couple, and environmental factors that shape these conversations. At the same time in this study, the occurrence of these discussions, the processes (i.e., division of labor, timing) related to such conversations, and the success of such communication are explored using both dyadic interviews and parenting observations. The current study seeks to extend



the observational coding of Johnson and in-depth interviews on (Hughes et al., 2006) race socialization related topics to Black parenting couples. The observational portion of the study makes an important methodological departure from Johnson's racial coping work: while the RST focused specifically on racial socialization messages that would be categorized as preparation for bias, the present study addresses a broader racial socialization agenda (i.e., cultural socialization and preparation for bias). In addition, as Johnson (2005) bravely admits, her approach to mixed methods is less conventional: namely she uses a single instrument (e.g., RST) to assess racial coping across multiple studies and samples. The current study takes a more traditional approach—similar to the work by Hughes and colleagues (2008)—and assesses dyadic racial socialization discussions using multiple classes of measures (e.g., questionnaires, interviews, observation).

The current investigation sought to answer the following research questions:

### **Quantitative Research Questions:**

1. What individual-level, couple-level, and contextual-level factors are associated with the occurrence of racial socialization decision-making conversations?

I hypothesized that specific correlates that have been associated with the content and frequency of racial socialization messages (i.e., socioeconomic status, received racial socialization, racial identity, neighborhood context, racial discrimination) (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006), will also be associated with coparents' conversations about racial socialization. For example, dyads that report higher socioeconomic status (e.g., McHale et al., 2006) or those who report receiving more socialization messages as children (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010) should be more likely to have conversations with one another about racial socialization, since they have traditionally

reported delivering more frequent and more varied messages to their children. In addition, the increased salience of race associated with more positive racial identity or living in a racially diverse neighborhood, should be associated with a greater likelihood of conversations around racial socialization. Moreover, the salience of injustice associated with experiences with discrimination should lead to a greater likelihood of conversations around these messages. Lastly, though exploratory, the frequency of racial socialization messages themselves should be associated with a greater likelihood of having dyadic conversations around racial socialization, as parents may discuss these topics before, after, or in the process of delivering these messages to their youth.

2. What individual-level, couple-level, and contextual-level factors are associated with “successful” racial socialization coparenting conversations (as defined using behavioral observation)?

With regard to success, individual (i.e., racial identity), couple (i.e., relationship quality, communication, coparenting quality), and contextual (i.e., experiences with racial discrimination) factors should determine how well parents are able to converse around these issues. For example, as previously stated, a positive racial identity has been associated with more supportiveness in general, and I expect a similar relationship for these conversations. Black parenting couples who report more positive relationship and coparenting quality, and more positive communication should be more likely to have discussions about racial socialization that are supportive and accommodating. Given that racial discrimination has been associated with more hostility between Black parents (e.g., LaTaillade et al., 2000), dyads with greater instances of discrimination may have conversations that are observed as less supportive. Lastly, it is logical to expect that parents who are delivering racial

socialization messages to their children more consistently will feel (and be) more adept at handling racial-socialization based conversations with their partner.

**Qualitative Research Questions:**

1. What is the nature of Black parenting couples' conversations around racial socialization?
2. How do Black parenting couples decide which socialization messages they will transmit to children?<sup>3</sup>
  - a. What factors go into determining these decisions?
3. How do Black parenting couples discuss the "division of labor" for racial socialization?
  - a. Who delivers messages? Which messages/behaviors? When (timing)?
4. How do Black parenting couples navigate coparenting dynamics (e.g., communication, support, and accommodation)?<sup>4</sup>
5. What are Black parenting couples' definitions of successful racial socialization conversations?

**Mixed Method Questions:**

1. How do the findings from the qualitative data and quantitative data compare?

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<sup>3</sup> Note that this question was formerly a subset of question 1. However, it became clear that the questions, while not unrelated sought to address different elements of overall research aims.

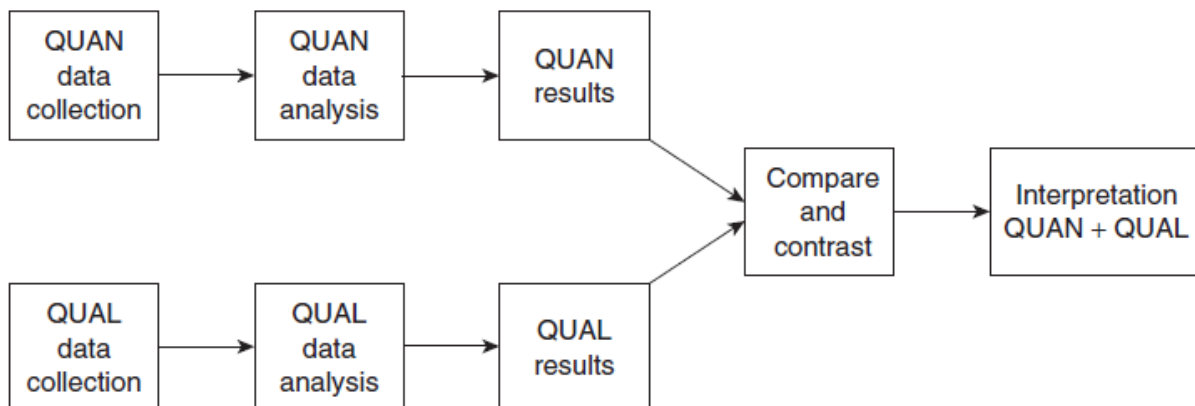
<sup>4</sup> Note that this question was not present when the study was initially proposed. However, it was developed consistent with the overall research aims and emerged from the dyadic in-depth interviews.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHOD

#### Overview of Research Design

The study followed a mixed methods convergent parallel design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In this design, a researcher collects both quantitative (i.e., survey, behavioral observation) and qualitative (i.e., interviews) data at the same time and both are given an equal emphasis with regard to the overall findings. The qualitative and quantitative findings were collected and analyzed concurrently, and the findings (see Results section) were compared and contrasted to provide a complete interpretation of the data. The purpose of this approach is to obtain information that is complimentary, but distinct relative to addressing the research problem. Furthermore, this design combines the strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Morse, 1991; Patton, 1990). A model of this approach is shown in Figure 2.



*Figure 2.* Procedural diagram of mixed methods design (Convergent Parallel)

The current study involved the collection of the quantitative and qualitative data across one session (in most cases). With regard to the quantitative strand, Black parenting couple dyads completed: 1) a survey assessing the racial socialization practices of each parent, potential individual, couple, and contextual correlates, and questions regarding the occurrence and self-reported success of racial socialization discussions; and 2) a brief (approximately 15 minute) behavioral observation task as a means of capturing two racial socialization conversations. A randomly selected subset of the larger sample then completed the qualitative strand—an in-depth dyadic interview. In all cases, the survey was completed prior to the behavioral observation, and both quantitative elements were completed before the in-depth interview. The study sought to enroll Black parenting couples who have only one target child (male or female), with the child being in middle childhood (i.e., age 8-12). The rationale for including only one-child households is related to the nature of the questions and scenarios that couples were presented. It has been found that the number of offspring may impact the racial socialization process (e.g., Crouter et al., 2008; McHale et al., 2006). As such, it may be important to understand how these communicative processes play out with one child in the home, as there are likely complex interactions in multi-offspring households. With regard to the developmental period, several studies have found that both racial pride and racial barrier messages have been expressed in this age range (see Hughes et al., 2006), maximizing the possibility of varied discussions, while not unduly skewing the age of our couples. Finally, while acknowledging the increased and deserved attention of coparenting among Black LGBT couples, the current study focuses on heterosexual couples as a starting place, given that the knowledge base is relatively underdeveloped on Black LGBT couples (Belgrave & Allison, 2014). Taken together, these criteria represented an intentionally narrowed portion of the beautifully diverse Black family

structure; however, the findings from this initial investigation may well inform future investigations that consider the fuller experience of the Black family.

### **Sampling Design and Sampling Scheme**

Sampling determinations for the current project were made using Onwuegbuzie and Collins' (2007) seven-step framework. With regard to sampling design, two criteria—time orientation and relationship of qualitative and quantitative samples—were considered. As previously stated, the research design was current: both data types were collected at the same time. With regard to the relationship between the samples, the current study employed a nested relationship, wherein sample members for one facet (here the qualitative strand) were a subset of those from the other (see Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). A subsample of the couples that completed the survey data and observational task completed in-depth, dyadic interviews. Thus, the sampling design for the study represents a concurrent, nested design.

Sample schemes represent one of two categories: random (i.e., probabilistic) or non-random (i.e., purposive). Probabilistic sampling involves randomly choosing individuals based on a systematic procedure (e.g., random numbers table) (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In contrast, purposive sampling means intentionally selecting individuals or groups that maximize understanding the desired phenomenon (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). Furthermore, each stage of the study (quantitative and qualitative) can consist of probabilistic or purposive sampling. For the current study, Black parenting couples were selected into the quantitative portion of the study under certain criteria relating both to their relational status and to their childbearing status (see below under Participants). As such, this stage represents non-random sampling (criterion sampling). However, couples were randomly selected (using a random number generator) to complete the in-depth interview portion of the study.

## Quantitative Phase Data Collection and Procedures

**Participants.** The sample consisted of 44 Black parenting couples (40 married, 4 cohabiting). The mean length of relationship across couples was 14.46 years ( $SD = 5.40$ ). Among married couples, the mean length of marriage was 11.43 years ( $SD = 5.20$ ). Interestingly, 61% of married couples reported cohabiting (i.e., living together) prior to marriage. The sociodemographic characteristics of the sample are worth a brief overview. First, although all participants indicated they were Black, participants also identified as White ( $n = 3$ ), American Indian ( $n = 1$ ) and Latino/Hispanic ( $n = 1$ ). Furthermore, 13 participants endorsed Caribbean heritage and 4 continental African heritage. Notably, 8% of the sample was not U.S. born, with time in the U.S. ranging from 5-31 years. With regard to SES, this was a highly educated set of parents, with nearly three-quarters (72.7%) of the participants indicating that they had at least a 4-year college degree. The sample also reported a median annual household income of “\$100-\$250K”. Notably, married couples were significantly higher on SES proxy variables than their cohabiting counterparts. Finally, half the sample reported living in neighborhoods wherein Blacks were a numerical minority (i.e., “*More people of other races than Black people*”).

Although the current study sought to enroll one-child, middle childhood-aged (i.e., age 8-12) households, the research team discovered that it was extremely difficult to obtain a sample with these stringent criteria. As such, criteria were expanded to allow for households with at least one biological child in the target age range. As a result dyads parented between one and four children ( $M = 2.3$ ,  $SD = .77$ ). Notably, the majority of couples ( $n = 32$ ; 72.6%) had only child in the target age range, with the remaining couples having two children between ages 8 and 12. Regarding child biological sex, most couples with multiple offspring reported having both male and female children ( $n = 27$ ; 61.4%).

**Recruitment Procedure.** Following Institutional Review Board approval, couples for the study were recruited through a number of local university and community venues. With regard to university venues, research informational emails were delivered to students, faculty, and staff. A number of community sources (e.g., community centers, local school districts, churches, barbershops) were contacted and provided with information and fliers for the study. In addition, the research team also attended a prominent annual conference in the area. An ad was also placed in a local newspaper that largely catered to the target demographic of the study. In addition to local recruitment, the research team also advertised on national listservs (e.g., Association of Black Psychologists; Ford Foundation Fellows listserv; National Council on Family Relations; SRC Black Caucus), and a second newspaper ad was placed in geographic region where a consultant and expert in racial socialization data collection (Dr. Mia Smith-Bynum), had previous success recruiting similar target samples. Lastly, both local and non-local participants were invited to pass information about the study along to their respective social networks. This multi-method recruitment approach has been suggested by other scholars investigating similar research questions in similar demographic settings (Smith-Bynum, 2014). This recruitment strategy resulted in 27 couples from the state wherein the research team was based, with the remaining couples being recruited and enrolled from ten other states (see subsequent session for details on inclusion of non-local families).

**Administration of Survey.** Prior to completion of the study questionnaire, study procedures and guidelines (e.g., maintaining confidentiality) were explained through an informed consent process. Consent for the study was provided electronically<sup>5</sup>. Each member of the couple was asked to complete individual questionnaires, and instructed to answer for and about themselves.” On average, participants completed the survey in 30 minutes.

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<sup>5</sup> Given considerations regarding completion of demographic questionnaires with African American families (i.e., certain modes of data collection are preferred; Johnson, 2005), participants were given the option of completing the questionnaire using a private Qualtrics link or using paper and pen. All couples chose to complete the survey electronically; however, participants were given contact information in case of a need for clarification of study procedures prior to consent.



**Behavioral Observation of Racial Socialization Discussion Scenarios.** Following both partners' completion of the survey questionnaire, couples were invited to complete the observational task. The task was captured using one of three methods: 1) in the university clinic ( $n = 6$ ); 2) using a camera in the couples' home ( $n = 3$ ); and 3) using IRB-approved videoconferencing software (i.e., Skype, Google Hangouts;  $n = 31$ ). In each case, the requirements of the task were thoroughly explained to the couple. Moreover, given that this mode of data collection has been found to be less desirable for many families of color (Johnson, 2005), the specific purpose of videotaping as well as the procedures to protect confidentiality were explained. Once couples felt comfortable with the task, they were asked to spend 7 minutes discussing how they would work through two scenarios, each with their child in mind. The first scenario centered on cultural socialization (e.g., deciding how to celebrate Black history month in the home) and the other on preparation for bias (e.g., deciding what to tell a child following a news story showing the killing of a Black youth). In each scenario, the possibility of verbal and behavioral messages (e.g., going to the museum; teaching a neutral stance) were invited. See Appendix A for complete instructions and scenarios. Regardless of method, the researcher removed himself from the couple (either physically or by blacking out his camera) during the discussions. Couples were notified by the researcher when it was time to move to the next scenario. The two scenarios were counterbalanced, such that roughly half of the couples were presented with the one scenario (e.g., "Black History Month") first. Couples received remuneration in the amount of \$50 (cash or Amazon gift card; per dyad) for completion of both the survey and observational task.

### **Quantitative Phase Measures<sup>6</sup>**

**Parents' racial socialization.** In order to assess specific messages parents have used, the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Parent Version (RSQ-P; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyễn, &

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix D for complete quantitative survey.

Sellers, 2009) was used. The RSQ-P is a 26-item, parental self-report measure that assesses the frequency with which parents give the target child race-related messages. Participants were asked to respond to each item using a 3-point rating scale (0 = *never* to 2 = *more than twice*) to indicate how often they have communicated each message or behavior to the target child in the past year. Six subscales were created by averaging across each of the items such that higher scores indicated a greater frequency of the particular message or behavior. The *Racial Pride* subscale measures (4 items;  $\alpha = .75$ ) the extent to which primary caregivers emphasize Black unity, teachings about heritage, and instilling positive feelings toward Blacks (e.g., “Told the target child that s/he should be proud to be Black”). The *Racial Barriers* subscale consists of 4 items measuring the extent to which an awareness of racial inequities and coping strategies is emphasized (e.g., “Told the target child that some people try to keep Black people from being successful”) ( $\alpha = .86$ ). The *Egalitarian* subscale consists of 4 items measuring the extent to which messages regarding interracial equality and coexistence are emphasized (e.g., “Told the target child that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along”) ( $\alpha = .72$ ). The *Self-Worth* subscale assesses the extent to which messages emphasizing positive messages about the self are conveyed (e.g., “Told the target child that s/he is somebody special, no matter what anyone says”) (4 items;  $\alpha = .53$ ). Given this low reliability, exploration of the item-level correlations was conducted, and one item was removed. The resulting 3-item self-worth subscale showed improved reliability ( $\alpha = .73$ ). The *Socialization Behaviors* subscale consists of 5 items measuring the frequency of various socialization activities or behaviors related to Black culture (e.g., “Bought the target child books about Black people”) ( $\alpha = .85$ ). Lastly, *Negative messages* subscale consists of 5 items measuring the extent to which messages are conveyed that disparage Black people (e.g., “Told the target child that learning about Black history is not that important”). Due to the presence of zero variance items, the internal consistency of

the *Negative messages* subscale could not be determined, and this subscale was dropped from further analysis.

The RSQ-P was used in two ways. First, the subscale scores were utilized in bivariate correlational analysis. Second, a composite score was created averaging five message types (excluding negative messages), such that a higher score indicated higher levels of parental racial socialization. This composite score was created as a data reduction approach after determining significant moderate correlations among the subscales. The composite score was found to be reliable ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and was used in addressing the quantitative aims of the study.

**Potential individual correlates.** A number of individual factors were explored for their relationship to the occurrence and success of dyadic discussions around race.

***Sociodemographic information.*** Mothers and fathers were asked to complete several sociodemographic items including age, sex, race/ethnicity, immigration status, and marital status (i.e., married or cohabiting). Finally, couples were asked to provide the age(s) and sex(es) of their child(ren).

***Socioeconomic status.*** SES was assessed using a number of indicators. Level of educational attainment was measured using a 7-point scale (1 = *Elementary School/Junior High School* to 7 = *Advanced graduate or professional degree*). Occupation was asked using an open-ended question. Yearly individual income was assessed using a 10-point scale (1 = Less than \$5,000 to 10 = \$250,000 and over).

***Parents' childhood racial socialization experiences.*** Prior racial socialization messages were assessed using four items from White-Johnson and colleagues' (2010) that ask parents to reflect on the frequency of racial socialization messages they received from parents, peers, and other adults during childhood and adolescence. The four items are: 1) "How often did your parents or the people

who raised you talk about race, racism or other groups?”, 2) “Not including your parents or the people who raised you, how often did other close relatives such as your brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandparents talk with you about race, racism or other groups?”, 3) “How often did your friends talk about race, racism or other groups?”, and 4) “How often did other adults such as church members, your teachers, or neighbors talk to you about race, racism or other groups?”. Participants responded to the items using a 5-point Likert-type rating scale (1= *Never* to 5 = *Very Often*). Items were averaged to create a scale in which higher scores indicate a higher frequency of racial socialization messages ( $\alpha = .77$ ). Additionally, three questions from Hughes and Chen (1997) were administered to assess the extent to which participants’ parents a) encouraged racial pride, b) taught about Black history and culture, and c) taught about racial bias against Blacks. These items are rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1= *Almost Never* to 4= *Very Often*). Consistent with Hughes and Chen’s (1997) investigation, the first two items were combined to represent Received Cultural Socialization ( $\alpha = .85$ ) and the remaining item represented Received Preparation for Bias.

***Racial identity.*** The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity—Short (MIBI–S; Martin, Wout, Nguyen, Gonzalez, & Sellers, 2010) was used to assess parents’ racial identity. The MIBI–S is a shortened form of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) consisting of the highest loading items of the original scale. Like the MIBI, the 27-item MIBI–S comprises three subscales (Centrality, Regard, and Ideology). Martin and colleagues used confirmatory factor analysis to examine the construct validity of the MIBI–S with a sample of more than 1,000 African American college students and a community sample of more than 300 African American adults. The data from both the college and the community samples fit the current factor structure of the MIBI (Centrality subscale, two Regard subscales, and four Ideology subscales), suggesting support for the construct validity for the MIBI–S in these samples. The MIBI–S uses a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 =

*Disagree Strongly* to 7= *Agree Strongly*). *Racial Centrality* assesses the degree to which race is a central aspect of the individual's identity (e.g., "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am") (4 items;  $\alpha = .68$ ). *Racial regard* assesses the degree of positive feelings towards one's racial group (e.g., "I'm happy that I am Black"; *Private regard*) (3 items;  $\alpha = .77$ ) and how individuals feel others view Blacks (e.g., "Overall, Blacks are considered good by others"; *Public regard*) (4 items;  $\alpha = .82$ ). *Assimilationist ideology* assesses the view that Blacks should become more like Whites and emphasize mainstream American identity over a Black identity (e.g., "Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system") (4 items;  $\alpha = .61$ ). *Humanist ideology* assesses the belief that people should be viewed in light of their similarities with all human beings instead of social identities such as race (e.g., "Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race") (3 items;  $\alpha = .63$ ). *Minority ideology* assesses the extent to which individuals view the similarities between Blacks and other oppressed minority groups (e.g., "The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups") (3 items;  $\alpha = .74$ ). *Nationalist ideology* highlights the uniqueness of Blacks' experiences as an oppressed group in the United States (e.g., "Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses") (4 items;  $\alpha = .65$ ).

***Communalism.*** The Communalism Scale (Boykin, et al., 1997) includes 31 items, which assesses respondents' thoughts about interdependence and responsibility to others. The items are assessed through a Likert-type scale with a 6-point range (1 = *Completely false* to 6 = *Completely true*). Sample items include: "I am constantly aware of my responsibility to my family and friends" and "I place great value on social relations between people." The measure was developed using African American college students but is at an 8th grade reading level. The scale was found to have good construct validity as indicated by scores on this scale being directly and significantly associated with reports of cooperativeness and inversely and significantly associated with being more

individually oriented (Boykin et al., 1997). The scale also had good internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .83-.87 in the initial study that included multiple samples (Boykin et al., 1997). Internal consistency was also found to be particularly good for the analytic sample ( $\alpha = .90$ ). Communalism's relationship to success was considered in exploratory analyses.

***Religiosity/Spirituality.*** Religiosity was assessed using two indicators. First, participants were asked to indicate their religious affiliation (e.g., Protestant, Islamic). In addition, participants were asked, "Overall, how religious (or active in the practice of your faith) would you say you are?" (1 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Very*). Spirituality was assessed using a similar question (e.g., "Overall, how spiritual would you say you are"). Both religiosity and spirituality were explored in exploratory analyses.

**Potential couple-level correlates.** Several couple-level factors were assessed to evaluate the relation between couple-level variables and the occurrence and success of racial socialization communications.

***Relationship history.*** Couples were asked about the number of years they have been romantically involved and married (if applicable). Married couples were also asked whether they previously cohabitated.

***Relationship satisfaction.*** The six-item Quality of Marriage Index (QMI) is a unidimensional index that measures global perceptions of marital or relationship satisfaction (Norton, 1983) and has been widely recommended for use with community samples. A sample item is, "Our relationship is strong." Response options range from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree* for the first five items, and 1-10 ("*Very unhappy*" to "*Very happy*") for the final item. Items were summed to create a composite score, with higher scores reflecting a more positive evaluation of the relationship ( $\alpha = .94$ )

**Communication quality.** Five items to assess positive communication quality and six items to assess negative communication quality from The Communication Skills Test (CST; Saiz & Jenkins, 1996) were administered. Example items for positive and negative communication quality include, “When our talks begin to get out of hand, we agree to stop them and talk later” and “we have arguments that erupt over minor events,” respectively. These items are rated on a seven-point scale (1= *Strongly disagree* to 7= *Strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating more positive (for the first five items) and negative communications (for the last six items). Variations of this measure have been used in a number of studies with couples, with evidence of both reliability and validity (e.g., Owen et al., 2012; Stanley et al., 2005). Among the current sample, reliability was good for both positive ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and negative ( $\alpha = .82$ ) communication.

**Coparenting quality.** The Coparenting Relationship Scale (CRS) (Feinberg, Brown, & Kan, 2012) is a comprehensive self-report measure of the quality of coparenting in a family. The original scale is comprised of 35 items and seven subscales. For the purposes of this study, the first 30 items, which are concerned with the extent to which a particular statement about coparenting (e.g., “My partner and I have the same goals for our child”) is true (0 = *Not at all true* to 6= *Very true*) were asked. The *CRS Brief* subscale was computed by averaging responses to twelve of these items, and used to assess overall coparenting quality (averaging scores 12 of these items) was created ( $\alpha = .65$ ).

**Potential environmental/contextual correlates.** Similar to individual and couple-level factors, four contextual factors were assessed for their relationship to the occurrence and success of coparenting discussions.

**Neighborhood context.** Neighborhood context was assessed using multiple indicators. Current neighborhood racial composition was assessed using a 5-point scale (1 = “*Almost all Black*”

to 5 = “*Almost all other races*”). In addition, parents were asked to provide their current 5-digit zip code.

***Parents’ experiences with racial discrimination.*** Both mothers’ and fathers’ experiences with discrimination were assessed using the Daily Life Experiences (DLE) Scale of the Racism and Life Experiences Scales (Harrell, 1997). The DLE uses a 6-point Likert-type scale (0 = “*Never*” to 5 = “*Once a week or more*”) to measure how often respondents have experienced racism or negative events associated with their race (e.g., “How often have you been ignored, overlooked, or not given service in a restaurant, store, etc.?”; “How often have you been treated rudely or disrespectfully because of your race?”). A similar Likert-style scale is used to measure how bothered participants were by the events (0 = “*Never happened to me*” to 5 = “*Bothered me extremely*”). Both frequency of discrimination ( $\alpha = .91$ ) and the extent to which the respondent was bothered by discrimination ( $\alpha = .92$ ) were assessed, with higher scores corresponding to higher levels of racism-related stress. The RaLES has proven to be a reliable and valid measure of perceived discrimination in previous studies (e.g., Neblett et al., 2004; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

### **Outcome variables**

***Occurrence of racial socialization conversations.*** Parenting dyads were asked to endorse whether or not they have ever communicated about five racial socialization topics. These topics are consistent with the primary message types emphasized in the reviews by Hughes et al. (2006) and Lesane-Brown (2006). An example item is, “Have you ever talked with your partner about discussing Black history and heritage with your child?” A sum score was computed, such that parent responses could range from 0 (*None of the conversations have occurred*) to 5 (*All of the conversations have occurred*).



***Success of racial socialization conversations.*** Success was defined using both self-reported success and a behaviorally observed ratings of success.

*Self-reported success.* Parenting couples that endorsed having at least one dyadic conversation, were asked to rate how well they felt the conversation(s) had gone overall on a scale from 1 (*Not at all successful/Very unsuccessful*) to 10 (*Very successful*) with 5 representing “*Successful*”.

*Coder rated (observed) success.* Success with regard to the racial socialization agenda were also defined based on the presence of positive interactive styles and the absence of negative ones, as identified in the coparenting literature. In both instances, verbal statements and nonverbal cues (physical and affective behavior) are used to code behaviors. Communication and other aspects of effective coparenting (e.g., accommodation, support) were assessed using a global coding system adapted from the Iowa Family Interaction Rating Scales (IFIRS) (Melby et al., 1998). The IFIRS is a global or macrolevel coding system designed to measure the quality of behavioral exchanges between family members. The system has been used extensively in the coding of adult-dyad interactions, and has been validated in African American families (Melby & Conger, 2008). It has also been used in previous investigations of racial socialization, investigating mother-child dynamics (Frabutt et al., 2002). In order to best approximate the key coparenting domains of interest, mother and father observable behavior was coded using dyadic interaction and dyadic relationship scales. Dyadic interaction scale ratings are determined by the following three components: (a) the frequency of the behavior, (b) the intensity of the behavior, and (c) the context in which the behavior occurs (e.g., is a possibly nice comment, ‘you’re a genius’, said condescendingly?). For these ratings, a score is assigned to each partner. Dyadic relationship scale ratings measure process characteristics of the dyad that cannot be ascribed to an individual. For these ratings, one score is assigned to the dyad.

The coding system has a 9-point scale that ranges from 1 (*not at all characteristic*) through 9 (*mainly characteristic*).

For the current study, four dyadic interaction scales (warmth/support, communication, negotiation/compromise, effective process) and one dyadic relationship scale (family enjoyment) were assessed: *Warmth/Support* (expressions of care, concern, support, or encouragement toward partner), *Communication* (the speaker's ability to neutrally or positively express his/her own point of view, needs, wants, etc., in a clear, appropriate, and reasonable manner, and to demonstrate consideration of the partner's point of view), *Effective Process* (behaviors that assisted in problem solving during the scenarios), *Negotiation/Compromise* (willingness to settle differences, or to help others settle differences, by arbitration or consent reached by mutual concessions), and *Family Enjoyment* (the pleasure, fun, and/or enjoyment shown during the scenario problem-solving process). Given the moderate to strong positive intercorrelations among most of the five factors for both mothers ( $r_s = .39$  to  $.70$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and fathers ( $r_s = .34$  to  $.61$ ), an exploratory factor analysis was conducted as a potential data reduction step. This technique has been done often with IFIRS scales (see Melby et al., 2001; Williamson et al., 2011). Principal axis factor analysis was applied to the 5 codes using the Factor function of SPSS Version 24.0. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (mothers,  $KMO = .66$ ; fathers,  $KMO = .65$ ) and Bartlett's test of sphericity (mothers,  $\chi^2(10) = 105$ ,  $p < .001$ ; fathers,  $\chi^2(10) = 67$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicated that the use of the one factor model was appropriate, and scree plots were consistent with a single factor as well. All items loaded well onto the latent factor ( $>.50$ ). As such, observed-success was defined as the average score for each partner across the five scales. Since all scales assessed positive dyadic relationships, higher average scores connoted more successful racial socialization discussions. The internal consistency for this composite was found to be good ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

*Training and coder reliability.* Training of the IFIRS coding system was undertaken in the following manner: the PI (S. Jones) corresponded with Dr. Janet Melby to obtain the IFIRS manual. The PI reviewed the manual and followed up with Dr. Melby's team with questions of clarification related to the scales of interest both via e-mail and telephone consultation. Following this consultation, the PI created a smaller, project specific coding manual to be used for training (see Appendix B). Three undergraduate members of the research lab volunteered to serve as coders. Potential coders were given the project manual to study and given a brief test to assess knowledge of the relevant issues with coding. After successful completion of the quiz and an in-person review of the manual as a team, coders watched one videotaped interaction in the presence of the PI and were then asked to rate the partners on the relevant scales for this (and a second) tape on their own. Consistent with the approach to coding outlined by Melby and Conger (2008), one undergraduate student assumed the role of primary coder as she was best able to learn the material and achieve sufficient inter-observer reliability (based on percentage agreement) with the PI. A second observer was asked to randomly code videotaped interactions ( $N = 9$ ; 22.5% of tapes) for the purpose of consistency checks. This procedure for reliability is consistent with those outlined by Melby and Conger (2008).

According to the authors of the IFIRS, intra-class correlation correlations (ICCs) represent one method for assessing inter-observer agreement. As such, ICCs were computed<sup>7</sup>, consistent with guidelines discussed by Hallgren (2012). Specifically, a two-way mixed model was used, given that the two raters (and only those raters) provided scores for the subset of dyads. Reliability was calculated from a single measurement (single measures) and consistency was used to characterize the agreement between coders. Intra-class correlations for both mothers and fathers are presented in

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<sup>7</sup> Although 9 videotapes were recorded, the scores for two were highly discrepant in a manner inconsistent with the remaining seven dyads. As such, inter-observer reliability was computed using scores from those seven cases.

Table 1. Notably these correlations were generally in the “fair” range (.40 -.59) as defined by Cicchetti (1994), and comparable to ICCs obtained in a recent factor analysis of the IFIRS (Williamson et al., 2011). ICCs for the composite measure of success were “good” (.74) to “excellent” (.82) for fathers and mothers respectively.

### **Quantitative Phase Data Analytic Plan**

Before exploring the quantitative aims of the study, it was important to identify a proper analytic approach (or set of analytic approaches) to use, both as a means of maximizing power and yielding results that were meaningful. Given that the study assessed Black mothers and fathers on a number of between-dyad (e.g., marital status), within-dyad (e.g., gender), and mixed (e.g., relationship satisfaction) variables, and because one purpose of the study was to better understand the dynamic role that parents play in the racial socialization of their children, the actor-partner interdependence model (APIM: Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006) was utilized. The APIM was considered because it allows a research to assess effects at the level of the dyad, as well as the role that both one’s own scores (actor effect) and their partners’ (partner effect) has on outcomes of interest (Kenny & Ledermann, 2010). Furthermore, this approach was ideal in our study because it allowed me to handle the somewhat paradoxical case in which partners provided different answers to what were assumed to be between-dyad factors (e.g., there were some differences in parent’s report of relationship length). Two important considerations in the use of APIM are the determination of non-independence and the determination of distinguishability.

**Assessing non-independence (or interdependence).** According to Kenny et al. (2006), the extent to which responses between parents are non-independent (i.e., correlated) has both theoretical and statistical implications. Theoretically, such non-independence suggests that influence of the dyad. Statistically, non-independence requires an approach that takes these correlated data into

consideration (i.e., APIM). In the current sample, interdependence was assessed using an SPSS program developed and outlined by Alferes and Kenny (2009), *Inter1.sps*. The program computed standard Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between mothers' and fathers' scores on variables and a t-test was performed to assess the null hypothesis of zero correlation between parents. A number of individual, couple, and contextual level factors were assessed. A number of variables (e.g., racial socialization practices, positive communication, relationship quality, occurrence of racial socialization conversations) suggested significant correlations between parents, while others did not (e.g., racial identity, racial discrimination experiences). Given that a number of predictor and most outcomes factors were correlated among dyads, the decision was made to move forward with the APIM approach. See Table 2 for subset of correlations from this analysis.

**Assessing distinguishability.** Once it was determined that an APIM approach would be used, the issue of whether to treat parents as distinguishable or not was considered both theoretically and empirically. Theoretically, the dyads were distinguishable by gender/role (i.e., mother and father). However, Kenny and Ledermann (2010) note that the distinguishing factor (i.e., gender) must also make an empirical difference (i.e., “do a better job reproducing the data”; Kenny & Ledermann, 2010, p. 360). As such, each model was estimated treating dyads as both distinguishable and indistinguishable, and model comparison techniques were performed. To optimize comparison of results, analyses are discussed assuming distinguishability. However, results highlighted when distinguishability was not empirically warranted.

**Missing data and descriptive statistics.** Missing data in this study existed in the case of four couples (all married) who only participated in the survey portion of the study (i.e., were never brought in for the observational coding). Given that these couples' scores would have been based on their observed dynamic, imputation was not considered. Rather, all analyses were conducting using

the maximum number of dyads allowable. Means, standard deviations and bivariate correlations (on responses for each partner) were explored. Bivariate correlations were explored for potential control variables.

**Model estimation.** All models were estimated using a multilevel modeling (MLM) approach in SPSS Version 24.0. This method was chosen given the large number of potential control variables and the absence of latent constructs (see Barr & Simons, 2014). MLM estimation for APIM was modeled following the guidelines outlined by Kenny et al. (2006), with individuals nested within parenting couples. All predictor variables were grand-mean centered.

***Quantitative research question 1: Occurrence of racial socialization conversations.*** What individual, couple, and contextual-level factors are associated with the occurrence of racial socialization conversations? Self-reported occurrence was assessed using the 5-point composite scale (0=*No conversations* to 5=*Every conversation type*), and Poisson generalized linear mixed modeling was used. Given the assumption of correlations within dyads, an unstructured covariance structure was used to define repeated measures (i.e., partners within dyads). A number of models were run based on the study hypotheses. Regarding individual-level factors, a model that examined the role of socioeconomic status variables at the individual (i.e., years of education, individual income) and dyad (i.e., family income) level was run. A pair of models, examining the role of the impact of one's own and one's partner's received and delivered racial socialization messages was run next. The final model run at the individual-level explored the impact of racial identity on occurrence of such messages. At the couple-level, a model examining the role of perceptions of relationship satisfaction, as well as communication and coparenting quality was explored. Finally, at the contextual level, a model exploring the role of the frequency of one's discrimination experiences, how bothered respondents were by those experiences, and the racial composition of the neighborhood was

explored. Parent gender was entered in all analyses as a means of exploring whether effects varied significantly for mothers versus fathers. I initially planned to include marital status as well as number and gender of children. However, given the lack of association of these variables with the outcome for either mothers or fathers, these variables were not included for the sake of model parsimony.

***Quantitative research question 2: Success of racial socialization conversations.*** What individual, couple, and broader contextual-level factors are associated with “successful” racial socialization coparenting conversations? Self-reported success was measured using respondents’ assessment on a scale on 1 to 10. Observed success was measured using the average ratings on the five aforementioned scales from the IFIRS. In both cases a linear mixed modeling approach was undertaken. Similar to occurrence, models were run by ecological level. With regard to individual-level, two models were run, one exploring the impact of racial identity, and another exploring average current racial socialization practices. With regard to the couple-level, the relationship quality, as well as communication and coparenting quality were assessed together. Lastly, with regard to the contextual-level, a model exploring the frequency of discrimination as well as how bothered the responded was by these experiences, was run. All models were run for both outcomes. Again parent gender was entered to assess distinguishability. Notably, self-reported success was entered into models of observed success.

As stated earlier, all models assumed dyad distinguishability. However all “distinguishable” models were compared to those without such an assumption (“indistinguishable”). As such models were run using Maximum Likelihood estimation, and Chi-square likelihood ratio tests were performed<sup>8</sup>. This approach was chosen following guidelines by Kenny (2013).

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<sup>8</sup> In subsequent analyses, results with significant gender interactions were empirically distinguishable. Models without significant interactions were empirically indistinguishable.

## Qualitative Data Collection and Procedures

**Participants.** Eleven couples from the quantitative phase were semi-randomly assigned to complete the qualitative phase, in-depth dyadic interviews. The semi-random nature of this subsample was due to skewed enrollment of married couples. Stratified randomization schemes was initially developed (using a random number generator) for married and cohabiting couples. However, as it became apparent that the study was enrolling primarily married couples, a decision was made to “oversample” for cohabiting dyad interviews, while maintaining the randomization scheme for married couples. Despite this decision, the final breakdown for dyadic interviews was 9 married and 2 cohabiting<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, it was discovered near the conclusion of one of the interviews that although the couple was coparenting a biological child, he was markedly younger than the desired age range (age 4 at time of study), and the child in question was not the biological child of the father. As such, this interview was not included in the exploration of themes. The final analytic sample then consisted of 8 married couples and 2 cohabiting couples. Given Creswell’s (1998) recommendation of at least ten interviews for phenomenological research and recommendations of 10-12 in-depth interviews by Guest and Namey (2014), I still felt confident in my ability to draw meaningful themes from the data.

**In-depth interview procedures.** An in-depth interview is a conversation designed to elicit depth on a topic of interest (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, p.113). Dyadic interviews involve having such a conversation with two people (i.e., both parents) at once. Couples selected for the interview were informed of the interview prior to taking part in the videotaped session. In all but one case, the interview took place after the completion of the observational task. One couple was unable to equip their videoconferencing software and thus had to complete the observational task at a date

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<sup>9</sup> This breakdown occurred because I reached 10 interviews before the second cohabiting couple was enrolled in the study. This couple was interviewed and data collection for the qualitative phase ended.



later than the interview. Interviews focused broadly on whether and how parents communicate and coparent about various aspects of racial socialization. The interview was anchored using the observational task. Topics included racial pride, preparation for bias, and behavioral messages, as well as a broader discussion of aspects of coparenting around race. Interview setting procedures were similar to those for the observational task; 3 interviews were conducted in the university clinic, 3 were conducted at in-home visits, and the remainder were conducted using Skype. Recent research supports the use of Skype as a viable replacement for face-to-face interviews (Fanghorban et al., 2014; Sullivan, 2013). In all cases, couples completed the observational task and interview in the same location (e.g., both tasks in-clinic or in-home).

***Quality assurance.*** Regardless of the interview delivery modality, significant effort was taken to establish rapport. I used non-specific therapeutic skills that I have learned from work with couples and families, always provided opportunities for questions both before, immediately following and after the interview, both about the research and the researcher (i.e., S. Jones). Parents were also invited to “flag” important topics of inquiry to return to them at the conclusion of the interview. The placement of the observational task immediately prior to the interview served both as a means of opening the couple to the interview questions and me with alliance-building material. Finally, the interview guide (Appendix C) contained rapport-enhancing elements (e.g., “Thank You”, reflections). The interviews were conducted conjointly using a semi-structured format, consistent with guidelines identified by Guest, Namey, and Mitchell (2013). This means that I did not allow couples who were not in the same physical space to videoconference. The interview guide was to be generally followed; however, probes were inserted as necessary. Probes that began to recur or seemed to particularly resonate were retained and brief notes were written on the physical interview guide as a reminder. One example was the invoking of remarks from a previous couple to

help explain or expand upon a topic. Care was also taken to ensure that both partners were given an opportunity to speak on a topic if they desire. This was often through the use of the probes “*how do you see that?*” and “*anything else to add?*” Although untimed in the moment, analysis of interview audio showed that most interviews lasted between 45 and 55 minutes, with the shortest interview taking roughly 31 minutes and the longest taking just under 70 minutes. Couples were compensated \$50 dollars for their time and were also invited to a future workshop wherein the findings from the current study will be discussed.

### **Qualitative Phase Analytic Plan**

**Qualitative Research Questions 1-5.** What is the nature of Black parenting couples’ conversations around racial socialization? How do Black parenting couples decide which socialization messages they will transmit to children? How do Black parenting couples discuss the “division of labor” for racial socialization? How do Black parenting couples navigate coparenting dynamics (e.g., communication, support, and accommodation)? What are Black parenting couples’ definitions of successful racial socialization conversations? To explore these questions, interview data were analyzed using traditional qualitative procedures for coding and developing themes (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). Steps in the qualitative data analysis included the following: (1) transcription of the dyadic interviews; (2) preliminary exploration of the data by briefly reading through transcripts and writing brief notes (i.e., memos); (3) coding the data using paper and pen methods; (4) entering and re-coding (as necessary) the codes using qualitative software (i.e., ATLAS.ti); (5) exploring the codes to create themes through aggregation and specification; and (6) connecting and interrelating themes to form a narrative that answered the research aims. Each of these steps is discussed in detail below.

***Transcription.*** All interviews were transcribed by a post-baccalaureate level transcriber with expertise in transcribing in-depth interviews and knowledge of parental racial socialization. The transcriber was asked to transcribe all interviews verbatim from start to finish (this often included my initial rapport building and explanation of the purpose of the interview). The transcriber and I worked together to create a code “xxx” for inaudible portions of the interview. I then returned to the audio to attempt to decipher what had been stated and edited this information where possible. All transcribed interviews were organized using transcription headings to provide information on the date of interview, transcriber, and symbols for each speaker (Mack, Woodsong, McQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005) and were formatted with wide-right margins to allow me to write codes (see Appendix E for an example). Although I ultimately did not transcribe any of the interviews, I occasionally listened to segments of the interviews and followed along with the transcripts to ensure tone was maintained.

***Preliminary data exploration and manual coding.*** Consistent with steps outlined in the *Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Saldaña, 2009), I next briefly read over each transcribed interview (in chronological order of the interview date) and jotted brief memos as a means of refreshing myself with the main themes raised by each couple. In instances wherein I had written impressions immediately after the interview, I added these notes to the memos. Each memo built upon the next, such that as I read through each interview in succession, I began to link themes via reminders in the memos (e.g., “*the impact of discrimination is relevant again*”). I then undertook an initial round of coding via manual (paper and pencil) coding. Although I planned to (and eventually did) manipulate codes using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS; i.e., ATLAS.ti), I wanted to follow the recommendations outlined in the *Coding Manual* given that this was my first time coding data in this manner. Throughout the coding process I kept a

sheet with the qualitative research questions for this study, as well as a number of common questions recommended by Saldaña (2009, see p. 18). In my first cycle, manual coding approach, I primarily employed *Descriptive*, *In-Vivo*, and *Process* coding. Briefly, *descriptive coding* involves using words or short phrases to approximate the main topic of a subset of text (Saldaña, 2009). These codes were often applied to parents' descriptions of certain racial socialization messages (e.g., *Behavioral messages*). *In-vivo* coding, as the name implies, uses quotations that emerge directly from the text as codes (e.g., "*Caught off guard*"). *Process coding* uses gerunds to code action in the text, and proved very useful in helping me to think about how the process of parental discussions around race unfolded (e.g., *asking questions*). As is customary, these coding types were often combined, for example descriptive and process codes (e.g., *Conversations: Letting children decide*). As coding progressed, colons and dashes were used to create subcodes (e.g., *RS messages: Behavioral\_Books*). This initial coding produce 818 codes across the 10 interviews, roughly 80 codes per interview. However, not all these codes were unique, as there was overlap in the codes created across texts.

***Recoding in ATLAS.ti.*** CAQDAS coding makes the process of analytic reflection easier and allows researchers to see relationships among code in visually appealing ways (Saldaña, 2009). Given the aforementioned inability to see the overlap of codes combined with my desire to observe categories and themes in a more graphically tangible way, I next decided to enter the codes from my first cycle of coding into ATLAS.ti version 7. ATLAS.ti was chosen for two primary reasons, 1) the wealth of tutorials and demonstration materials available, and 2) unrestricted access to the program through university license. Interviews were uploaded and codes were transferred in approximately the reverse direction as they were coded (i.e., the last manually coded interviews were entered into ATLAS first). An initial step involved making a number of decisions to assist in the organization of

the data into ATLAS.ti (see Woolf, 2007). This included the use of coding prefixes and coding families. An example of coding prefixes involved using *#Mother* and *#Father* to facilitate and crediting the source of a given quotation or code. *@CGen* was also created to highlight times when a parent specifically referred to their male or female child (as well as instances of co-ed referral).

Although intended to be a transfer of codes from one format into another, the process became an exercise in recoding: some codes were consolidated, some eliminated completely, and others still added. Also, the length of text used to frame codes changed. Furthermore, many text segments began to be associated with multiple codes (e.g., *Black History Month* and *Behavioral Messages: Events*). Analytical memos were drafted in ATLAS.ti after each interview's code has been transferred. These memos helped to crystalize major categories and to identify themes (see Appendix F for Memo examples). Notably, at the conclusion of my transfer/recoding process, there were 227 codes.

***Identifying major themes and creating a narrative.*** Next, I printed the aforementioned codes and categories and analyzed them by identifying codes that could be consolidated or collapsed into existing categories, or codes that needed to be expanded to create new categories. After recoding, I then used the *Code Families* function in ATLAS.ti to create subthemes that seemed to emerge from the focused codes. Further second cycle coding was done to link these focused codes in ATLAS.ti using the *Network* function (e.g., *Generational transmission IS AN Approach to Racial Socialization*). The resulting subthemes and focused codes are discussed further in Chapter 5.

**Data Validation.** Validation is an important aspect of qualitative research, but differs dramatically from indices of validity used in quantitative analyses (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). It is my belief that the use of dyadic interviews are a form of validation in themselves, essentially a form of triangulation. By having both partners comment on the process of how racial socialization

unfolds in their family, discrepancies are identified, explored, and captured in the moment.

However, as an added form of data validation, I also presented disconfirming evidence for the themes that were identified (see Chapter 5). Finally, themes were discussed with other scholars familiar with the body of work on racial socialization and my dissertation advisor.

### **Mixed Methods Analytic Plan**

How do the findings from the qualitative data and quantitative data compare? The procedures for integrating the two phases (Quan & Qual) of the current project follow guidelines by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) for managing concurrent or parallel data analysis (i.e., for Triangulation designed research). Stage 1 of analysis has been described above: namely, both phases of the research were explored and analyzed separately. In the second stage, the data were merged as a means of addressing the question above. It is possible for a researcher to either transform one type of data (e.g., Qual into Quan) to make the datasets comparable, or to compare the data without transformation, either by using narrative discussion or visual matrices. Given the desire to maximally preserve the stories identified in the in-depth interviews, I employed the latter. For example, I compared the factors found to be significantly related to occurrence and success of dyadic conversations (e.g., racial identity) to those factors identified in the emergent themes.

## CHAPTER 4

### QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

#### Preliminary Analyses

Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables. Again, these statistics are presented for both partners. With regard to the occurrence of dyadic conversations around race, both parents indicated having approximately four such conversations, with fathers reporting slightly more conversations on average ( $M = 3.98$ ;  $SD = 1.53$ ) than mothers ( $M = 3.75$ ;  $SD = 1.71$ ). Regarding self-reported success, parents in the sample indicated that they felt conversations had gone very successfully, with mothers endorsing an “8 of 10” on average ( $M = 8.08$ ;  $SD = 2.14$ ), and fathers indicating slightly less success ( $M = 7.63$ ;  $SD = 2.34$ ). Lastly, parents’ average rated success on the IFIRS scales was just under 7 (on a scale from 1 to 9;  $M_{\text{mothers}} = 6.73$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ;  $M_{\text{fathers}} = 6.70$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ).

While an exhaustive discussion of all interrelationships is beyond the scope of the current research aims there are a number of observations that are instructive before proceeding to the results of the mixed models. First, although not presented, there was not a significant difference in average coded success (i.e., IFIRS composite score) as a function of the method of videotaping (i.e., in clinic vs. in home vs. via videoconference;  $F = 2.16$ ,  $p > .05$ ). Second, there was not significant difference in outcomes as a function of marital status. ( $F_{\text{occurrence}} = 1.36$ ,  $F_{\text{self-reported success}} = .21$ ,  $F_{\text{observed success}} = 2.56$ , all  $ps > .10$ ). Third, neither of the child number variables (i.e., number of children, number of children in the target age range) was correlated with the outcome variables, nor did outcome vary

significantly by child gender ( $F_{\text{occurrence}} = 1.56$ ,  $F_{\text{self-reported success}} = .05$ ,  $F_{\text{observed success}} = 1.67$ , all  $ps > .10$ ). Finally, looking at sociodemographic factors, neither individual nor dyad level indices of SES were significantly associated with the outcomes.

Bivariate correlations among the remaining individual, couple, and contextual factors, show the potential utility of the APIM approach, as there were a number of significant actor (own score) and partner (other parent's score) associations. For example, both parents' own racial centrality was positively associated with self-reported success (indicative of a possible actor effect). We also see that, for mothers, father's assimilation ideology is negatively associated with their own self-report of successful racial socialization conversations (indicative of a possible partner effect). Additionally, mothers' report of the occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversations are positively associated with their own frequency and rated bother of discrimination experiences, as well as the extent of bother their male partner reported (indicative of a possible actor and partner effect).

## **Occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversations**

### **I. Individual-level models**

**Socioeconomic status.** In order to assess the role of socioeconomic status indicator variables at both the individual and couple level on the occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversations, a Poisson generalized linear mixed model was fit. It was hypothesized that those with higher SES would have a greater likelihood of having these conversations. The model showed no significant effects for actor or partner educational status or individual income, nor the family estimated income (see Table 4, column 1).

**Racial identity.** Column 2 of Table 4 shows the results of the Poisson generalized linear mixed model for dyadic racial socialization conversation occurrence as a function of actor and partner racial identity. It was hypothesized that positive racial identity (e.g., high centrality, high



private regard) would increase the likelihood of having such conversations. Results suggest a main effect for partner centrality ( $e^b = 1.21, p = .03$ ), meaning that for those with average scores on other racial identity variables, those whose partners endorsed higher centrality showed an increased likelihood of the occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversations. All other effects (actor, partner, gendered interactions) were non-significant.

**Received racial socialization.** Column 3 of table 4 shows the results of the Poisson generalized linear mixed model for the occurrence of racial socialization conversations as a function of the amount of racial socialization parents (and their partners) received as a youth. I hypothesized that parents who reported receiving more racial socialization messages in their childhood would have a greater likelihood of having conversations about racial socialization with their partners. Results indicated a significant gender\*actor interaction ( $e^b = .737, p = .04$ ). Exploring this interaction revealed that the actor effect existed only for fathers: holding other factors constant, fathers who reported a 1-unit increase in racial socialization messages in childhood had a 26% increase in the expected number of types of racial socialization conversations they reported having with their female partners ( $e^b = 1.26, p = .02$ ).

**Racial Socialization Practices.** Column 4 of Table 4 shows the results of the Poisson generalized linear mixed model for the expected occurrence of racial socialization conversations as a function of the actor and partner average racial socialization practices. It was hypothesized that parents reporting more general delivery of racial socialization messages to youth would be more likely to report having conversations with their partners. Results indicated a significant actor effect ( $e^b = 1.51, p < .005$ ), suggesting that holding partner practices constant, an increase in one's own racial socialization practices was associated with a greater expected occurrence of dyadic conversations around race.

## **II. Contextual-level model**

Results of the Poisson generalized linear mixture model assessing the role of racial discrimination and neighborhood racial composition on the occurrence of racial socialization conversations are shown in Table 5. It was expected that those higher salience due to racial discrimination experience or racially diverse neighborhoods would be more likely to have these conversations. However, the model produced no significant results.

## **III. Couple-level model**

Finally, although no a priori hypotheses were made for the impact of couple-level factors on racial socialization conversation occurrence, a Poisson generalized linear mixed model was fit to the data including relationship, communication, and coparenting quality variables (see Table 6). Findings revealed a significant gender\*actor effect interaction for negative communication ( $e^b = .78$ ,  $p = .03$ ). Exploring this interaction revealed that the impact of negative communication worked in opposite directions for mother and fathers, with mothers being less likely to have racial socialization conversations as their report of negative communication patterns increased ( $e^b = 0.85$ ,  $p = .18$ ), while fathers seemed more likely to have these conversations as their report of negative communication patterns increased ( $e^b = 1.41$ ,  $p = .05$ ).

## **Self-reported Success of Racial Socialization Conversations**

### **I. Individual-level Models**

**Racial identity.** Column 1 of Table 7 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for the self-reported success as a function of actor and partner racial identity. It was hypothesized that positive racial identity (e.g., high centrality, high private regard) would be associated with one's report of more successful racial socialization conversations. Results suggest a main effect for actor humanist ideology, suggesting that among those near the average for other racial identity variables,

those with higher humanist ideology reported having less successful conversations ( $B = -0.58, p = .02$ ). Notably, this main effect was qualified by a cross-level interaction (gender\*actor effect,  $B = 0.51, p = .04$ ). Specifically, the actor effect for humanist ideologist was only significant for mothers ( $B = -1.09, p = .01$ ), indicating that only mothers' humanist ideology impacted their self-rated success. Notably, there were also significant gender\*actor effect interactions for nationalist ideology and public regard. Exploring actor effects by gender revealed that the actor effects for nationalist ideology were in opposite directions for mothers ( $B = 0.72$ ) compared to fathers ( $B = -0.50$ ), though neither effect was significant ( $ps > .05$ ). Higher public regard (feeling that Blacks are viewed favorably by other groups) was positively and significantly associated with self-reported success, but only for mothers ( $B = 0.80, p = .01$ ). Though not significant, fathers' public regard was *negatively* associated with self-reported success. Finally, there was a significant gender\*partner effect interaction for private regard ( $B = -0.68, p = .02$ ). Exploring this interaction, partner effects were in opposite directions, such that fathers' higher private regard was associated with higher self-reported success for mothers ( $B = 0.50, p = .34$ ), with an opposite dynamic for fathers ( $B = -.86, p = .09$ ). See Table 8 for all actor and partner effects by parent gender.

**Racial socialization practices.** Column 2 of Table 7 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for the self-reported success as a function of actor and partner's average racial socialization messages. It was hypothesized that more racial socialization messages would be associated with report of more successful dyadic racial socialization conversations. Results suggested there was a main actor affect for racial socialization practices, suggesting a positive and significant influence of racial socialization messages on self-reported success ( $B = 2.47, p = .01$ ). There was no significant partner effect, nor any significant gender interactions.

## II. Couple-level Model

Table 9 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for self-reported success as a function of actor and partner responses of couple-level variables including relationship quality, relationship satisfaction, positive and negative communication, and coparenting quality. It was hypothesized that more positive communication, higher relationship quality, and greater coparenting quality would be associated with more positive ratings of dyadic racial socialization conversations. Results suggested a main effect for actor negative communication: the more a parent endorsed a negative communication style with their partner, the less successfully they rated discussions around racial socialization ( $B = -0.90, p < .01$ ). There was also a main effect for partner negative communication ( $B = 1.06, p < .01$ ). This main effect was qualified by a gender\*partner effect interaction. Exploring this interaction revealed a large, positive and significant partner effect for fathers ( $B = 1.98, p = .02$ ), suggesting that fathers' self-reported success increased the greater mothers' report of negative communication quality. Notably, the partner effect for mothers was not significantly different from zero. Lastly, there were significant partner effects for both positive communication and coparenting quality, such that partners' higher endorsement of these couple-level factors were associated with one's own higher self-report of success ( $B = 0.85, p = .01$ ;  $B = 1.55, p = .01$ , respectively).

### **III. Contextual-level Model**

Table 10 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for self-reported success as a function of actor and partner racial discrimination (frequency and bother). It was hypothesized that dyads with partners experiencing more discrimination may report less successful discussions around racial socialization. However, the model found no significant actor, partner or interaction effects.

### **Behaviorally Coded Success of Racial Socialization Conversations**

#### **I. Individual-level Models**

**Racial identity.** Column 1 of Table 11 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for the self-reported success as a function of actor and partner racial identity. The hypotheses were the same for those outlined for self-reported success. Results suggested a number of actor and partner effects. There was an actor effect for racial centrality, such that one's centrality was positively associated with their average scores on the IFIRS scales ( $B = 0.43, p < .01$ ). There were negative and significant actor effects for assimilationist, nationalist and minority ideology, such that greater endorsement of these ideologies was related to lower average observed success ( $Bs = -0.23, -0.42, -0.16$  respectively,  $ps < .05$ ). With regard to partner effects, there was a significant positive partner effect of centrality ( $B = 0.31, p = .03$ ). This partner effect was qualified by a gender\*partner effect interaction. Exploring this interaction revealed a significant partner effect for fathers only, such that mothers' centrality was positively associated with fathers' average observed success ( $B = 0.60, p < .05$ ). There was a significant negative partner effect for minority ideology ( $B = -0.22, p < .01$ ), indicating that the more one's partner endorsed an ideology focused on the similarities between Blacks and other oppressed groups, the less highly rated one's success was. Interestingly, there was a negative partner effect for private regard ( $B = -0.37, p < .01$ ), such that partners' private regard (positive feelings about being Black) was associated with poorer average observed success. Finally, there were significant gender\*partner effects for humanist and nationalist ideology (notably these predictors both showed trends for their partner effects). Exploring the interaction for partner humanist ideology revealed a significant effect for mothers only, such that fathers' greater endorsement of humanist ideology was associated with mother's average observed success ( $B = 0.48, p < .05$ ). Exploring the interaction for partner nationalist ideology revealed a significant partner effect for fathers only, such that mothers' greater endorsement of nationalist ideology was associated

with less positively rated success for fathers ( $B = -0.69$   $p < .05$ ). See Table 12 for all actor and partner effects and their significance.

**Racial socialization practices.** Column 2 of Table 11 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for self-reported success as a function of actor and partner's average racial socialization messages. However, there were no significant actor, partner, or interaction effects.

## **II. Couple-level Model**

Table 13 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for self-reported success as a function of actor and partner responses of couple-level variables including relationship quality, relationship satisfaction, positive and negative communication, and coparenting quality. Hypotheses were the same as those stated for self-reported success. Results suggested a main effect for actor communication both positively and negatively, suggesting that the more a parent endorsed positive or negative patterns of communication, the higher their average rated success ( $B_{\text{pos}} = .45$ ,  $p = .02$ ;  $B_{\text{neg}} = .40$ ,  $p = .02$ ). There was also a positive and significant actor effect for relationship quality, such that the higher one rated the quality of their relationship, the higher rated they were on the IFIRS scales ( $B = .12$ ,  $p = .03$ ). The final actor effect emerged for coparenting quality; however, this was qualified by a gender\*actor effect interaction ( $B = -.1.01$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Exploring this interaction revealed that the direction of the actor effect for coparenting quality was in the opposite direction for mothers (.37) compared to father (-1.64), though neither effect was statistically significant. Finally, there was a significant positive partner effect for positive communication ( $B = 0.49$ ,  $p < .01$ ), such that the more one's partner endorsed a positive communication style, the more highly one rated their own scores during the problem-solving scenarios.

## **III. Contextual-level Model**

Table 14 shows the results of the conditional linear mixed model for observed success as a function of actor and partner racial discrimination (frequency and bother). It was hypothesized that dyads with partners experiencing more discrimination may report less successful discussions around racial socialization. Results revealed a significant partner effect for discrimination frequency such that the more one's partner reported discrimination experiences, the less highly rated one's own success during the scenarios was ( $B = -.66, p = .02$ ). No other effects were found to be significant.

## Quantitative Discussion

The findings from the quantitative portion of the current study attempted to assess the occurrence and success—both self-reported and observer coded—of parental racial socialization conversations, as well as to determine the various ecological correlates associated with these conversations. With regard to occurrence, two things are initially worth noting. First, the number of conversations parents endorsed having among themselves ranged from none to five (i.e., a parent indicated that they talked with their partner about racial pride, preparation for bias, socialization behaviors, self-worth, and messages concerning cross-race interactions), with parents endorsing having four of these conversations on average. Second, although positive and significant, the correlation between fathers' and mothers' reports of occurrence was only moderate (.49). At a minimum, this suggests that mothers and fathers did not have agreement on the frequency and type of dyadic conversations.

The results of the actor-partner interdependence models (APIM) for occurrence provided partial support of the hypotheses. As predicted, racial centrality, received racial socialization, and current racial socialization practices were associated with an increased likelihood of having conversations with one's partner about socializing their children around race. Moreover, this set of findings speak to the richness of the APIM approach. In the case of centrality, a partner effect was found; in the case of current socialization practices, an actor effect; and in the case of socialization received in childhood, there was a gendered actor effect (only significant for fathers). Although the outcome variable (occurrence) and methodological approach (APIM) are both relatively novel in our exploration of parental racial socialization, these findings are not wholly surprising, in terms of the direction of associations. What makes these findings more instructive is that they bring to bear questions about how (and for whom) individual and broader contextual findings impact parents'



discussion of a racial socialization agenda. For instance, the finding that received socialization was only influential for fathers could add texture to the findings regarding gender differences in received socialization (e.g., Richardson et al., 2015). Interestingly, similar to findings by previous scholars (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999), fathers in this study reported receiving significantly *fewer* cultural socialization messages than their female partners. That fathers may have received fewer messages but that those received were still associated with having conversations with their partners, opens possibilities for the impact of transmission of parental values. Notably, neither SES, neighborhood composition, nor experiences with racial discrimination were associated with occurrence in this sample, contrary to my hypotheses. The lack of salience-related variables, particularly racial discrimination, on parents' conversations was surprising; however, the average reported level of frequency and bother reported in this sample was low, with only 16% of all parents endorsing lifetime discriminatory events "a few times" or more on average. Thus, it is possible that an association could emerge in a sample with more experience with discrimination.

Results from the success analyses, both via self-report and through the behavioral observation task, provided further illuminating findings. Similar to occurrence, hypotheses regarding individual and contextual factors were partially supported. Moreover, and perhaps to a greater extent than the findings surrounding occurrence, these findings further highlight the complexities of the dynamic influence that Black parenting couples have on one another with regard to racial socialization. Take for instance the impact of racial identity on self and observer reported success. While some of the associations between racial identity and success emerged (i.e., the positive impact of centrality on observed success), other hypothesized associations (e.g., the positive impact of private regard) were found to operate in unexpected directions once actor and partner effects were taken into consideration. Moreover, dimensions of racial identity that operated in one direction for

self-reported success (e.g., a negative actor effect for humanist ideology), operated in the opposite direction for observed success (e.g., a positive partner effect for mothers). Given the myriad magnitude, directional, and gendered caveats for these results, it is perhaps most important to focus on the overall messages these data are conveying: namely, that a mother's (or father's) significance and meaning of race, as well as her partner's, can impact both how successfully she feels conversations about racial socialization unfold, as well as be associated with her ability to effectively discuss these topics with her partner. In some ways this work confirms investigations by scholars such as White-Johnson and colleagues (2010), who found associations between racial identity and patterns of racial socialization messages per se. The distinguishing factor here is that these dimensions seem to also impact coparenting around race, and do so in very complex ways. Notably, though racial discrimination was not associated with the occurrence of dyadic conversations around race, it was negatively associated with observed success, in the direction predicted. That this was a partner and not actor effect is also worth noting; it could be the case that knowing that a partner has experienced discrimination causes the parent to be less effective in communicating around issues of race, perhaps as a means of being sensitive to those experiences.

Perhaps most instructive given their absence in the literature surrounding racial socialization were the findings related to couple-level factors. As expected, positive communication, greater relationship quality, and higher coparenting quality were all associated with either self-reported or observed success (or both). However, that both positive and negative communication were positively associated with one's IFIRS scores was counterintuitive given that a negative communication style would seemingly hamstring a problem-solving task. Given that positive communication was also associated with observed success, it could be the case that there was some social desirability, whereby the idea that their interactions were being recorded led couples to "be on their best

behavior”, despite less positive styles that they endorsed in a confidential survey. Additionally, observed success was measured using a composite score, averaged across all five IFIRS scales. It could be instructive to see how the findings for self-reported communication styles hold for specific scales, for example the IFIRS Communication scale. One interesting observation was that, despite a number of significant actor effects, the couple-level models had the greatest number of significant partner effects. In many ways, this finding is to be expected; unlike individual-level factors such as racial identity or received socialization, the couple-level factors are about the couple dynamic, even despite each parent answering for his or herself

Taken together, the quantitative results do much to add to our understanding of the nature of parental conversations around racial socialization. Nevertheless, these results do so in very complicated ways that are worth further exploration. The combination of actor and partner effects in the context of racial socialization is intriguing and has only been explored in one another study to date (McNeil Smith et al., 2016). In their investigation, partner effects (of discrimination on racial socialization practices) arose only for mothers, with the investigators citing that this was intuitive considering that mothers are often viewed as the primary socialization agent. However, in the current investigation, partner effects emerged for both mothers and fathers, suggesting that at least within the context of dyadic conversations around racial socialization, the influence of both parents is at play. Lastly, that partner effects are found in both in the positive and negative directions further underscores the potential for further untangling exactly how parents influence one another in these processes. Methods for understanding the direction and magnitude of actor and partner effects have been suggested in recent expansions of the APIM (see Kenny & Ledermann, 2010).

## CHAPTER 5

### QUALITATIVE RESULTS

The results of the 10 dyadic interviews are presented in this chapter. Table 15 presents a descriptive profile of the dyads that were included in the interview portion of this study. Also presented in this table are each parents' subscale scores on the measure of racial socialization practices. Notably, although not discussed in detail here, parents' narratives regarding the messages they reported giving to their children generally mapped to those messages that were endorsed in the survey. Lastly, Table 15 presents parents' reported occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversations, their self-reported success of said conversations, and their average observed/coded success from the behavioral coding procedure. These latter results will be discussed in the context of answering the mixed method question (in Chapter 6). The major emergent subthemes, focused codes (i.e., codes that emerged from the second analytic coding cycles) and textual support (and disconfirming evidence) is presented by research question.<sup>10</sup> Table 16 contains a summary of subthemes and focused codes by research question.

#### **The Nature of Black Parenting Couples' Conversations**

My first research question was "*what is the nature of Black parenting couples' conversations around racial socialization*". I present the subthemes and focused codes addressing this question in the subsequent sections. Notably, in addressing the first qualitative research question, a parallel between parents' racial socialization practices and their dyadic conversations became apparent. Said

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<sup>10</sup> Focused codes are distinguished by "Quotation Marks"; specific codes are provided in ***bold italics*** font.

another way, elements used to organize racial socialization practices—frequency, type, content, intent—were also present in understanding the nature of couples’ conversations.

**Occurrence/frequency of parental conversations around racial socialization.** Most couples ( $n = 8$ ) interviewed endorsed having conversations with one another as a means of considering how to talk with their children around a variety of racial socialization messages. For example, one couple whose partners endorsed conversing with one another as a means of thinking through how to deal with topics of bias, self-worth, and racial pride stated the following:

##Interviewer## Great. So if I was a fly on the wall when you all are having these conversations with one another, what sorts of things might I hear you all talking about?

##M16Mother## I think a lot about their school environment....it’s the biggest part of their lives right now, and a lot of potential issues on the horizon...we’ve been there long enough to hear some of the challenges that the older kids are facing, and that comes up a lot with us....Obviously, things that happen on the news are sparking these kind of conversations frequently. Unfortunately, that is coming out way too often...

##M16Father## You’d definitely hear something about them standing up for themselves. Not letting anybody take advantage of them. Speaking up for themselves. Having pride in themselves...

##M16Mother## And their looks.

##M16Father## And their looks, and their hair, and their skin color. About the toys they play with. That’s been a big factor in this house too.

##M16Mother## (laughs)

##M16Father## We’ve even discussed...often times we probably don’t recognize how much they hear it is the difference between our cultures.

Interestingly, a couple who reported rarely engaging in *actual* racial socialization practices with their son noted that they still often have conversations about how they *might* talk to him:

Yeah, and it happens that way a lot when there's a current event that encourages us to have some type of talk and J\_\_ will say to me "K\_\_ is going to be a big, black dude, and people are going to be intimidated by that or whatever, and I want to make sure that I am teaching K\_\_ how to be best received as a big, black dude." (Mother, M004)

In contrast, two couples denied having conversations with one another about how to socialize their children around race. In response to this prompt, one family drew an analogy to church attendance:

##Interviewer##: But my primary question is do you all have those conversations with one another about how you're going to talk to your kids about what it means to be black, Black History, being proud of being black and that kind of thing?

##C02Mother## Uh-uh, we just do it.

##Interviewer##: Yeah. So, yeah exactly, I've actually found that some black parents have those conversations explicitly and some "just do it" like you said.

##C02Mother## It's so deeply rooted and implemented in our family, so...

##C02Father## It's like what Lord you believe in. It's like going to church. We don't talk at home about church. We take them to the church.

##C02Mother## This is what we do (laughs).

Exploring this response further revealed a focused code "Just Doing It"—analogous to the famous Nike slogan—wherein these two couples emphasized acting over conversing. This concept can be seen in a mother discussing preparing her son for bias:

##Interviewer##: Do you all find yourselves talking with one another about how you're gonna maybe prepare your son to deal with biases or discrimination?

##M03Mother## No, I don't think we have any conversations about it. I just think you know again it kind of goes back to the thing of when you're constantly preaching "You gotta do better. You gotta do better."

### **Intentionality/Formality and Timing: The Texture of Racial Socialization Conversations**

Most of the couples who endorsed talking with one another about raising their children provided insight into how the conversations come to occur, leading to two focused codes, "Intentionality" and "Conversational Timing".

**Intentional/Formal vs. random/informal conversations.** The first distinction involved whether dyadic conversations happened intentionally (e.g., as a result of one or both parents wanting to address something), or if a conversation seemed to arise "at random" ("Yeah, but not planned conversations" –Mother, M009). Interestingly, the intentionality of these conversations seemed often to be determined by something the couple's child(ren) had either said, done, or experienced. For example, one couple noted that they decided to have a conversation following an incident their child had at school:

I got home and I was telling \_\_\_ that we need to have a conversation with N\_\_\_, because whatever they said in school today she was torn up about it... we were almost forced to think about how do we talk about this to a four year old in terms she will understand, and let her know. (Father, M013)

Moreover, children's experiences appeared to drive many parents' conversations, whether prompting them to have a conversation "on the fly" or leading them to be intentional about preparing for talking about a topic, such as in the aforementioned example.

**Timing.** Of note, many parents described having *both* planned and unplanned conversations. The notion of having intentional, dedicated conversations at times, and random, unplanned conversations at others defined the focused code “Conversational Timing”—which was used to assess under what circumstances dyadic conversations occurred—and was succinctly articulated by one mother following my attempt to clarify when these conversations happened: “If there’s something coming up we’ll make purposeful conversation, but in general, every day, not so much” (Mother, M009). The idea of “something coming up” as a means of having an intentional conversation was also seen in the responses of couples who noted that they too would have conversations in advance of trips (e.g., thinking of how to expose children to the culture of Kenya) or when thinking about other events (e.g., activities in advance of Black History Month; toys at Christmastime).

Another temporal element discussed by parents centered on when internal conversations would occur relative to discussions that included the children. Some parents described a timeline wherein parents checked in or huddled first, then later conversed with their child:

Yeah, like this past Black History Month, I brought it to him “What can we do different?”....So we had some discussions about some of the things that we can kind of tell him about. I know at one point, after we had that discussion he would come home and say “Did you know that such and such invented the doorknob, and he was a black man?” (Mother, C001)

Yeah, with each other. Usually before they get home, so that gives us the opportunity to think about any questions they may have or how we’re going to talk to them about what’s going on in the world with the riots and everything. Do we do this or not? (Mother, M005)



Another example of checking in seemed to connote a back-and-forth, with conversation starting between the child and one parent, which then prompted a dyadic conversation: “His mother before she answers him or tells him whatever he asks her, she’ll run it across me, and then we’ll run it across him. It all depends on whoever he talks to first.” (Father, C002).

Another couple discussed having *post-hoc conversations*, those occurring after a family-wide discussion: “We might sometimes might have to have a conversation afterwards like, “We weren’t expecting that or do we need to have a follow-up conversation because we were caught off guard and we made something up off the fly?” (Father, M013). Finally, though implied across a number of couples, one mother explicitly discussed the importance of having these conversation when her children are not around to hear them:

I think debates are good for him to see, but things like that that can stay in his psyche, I prefer to do them at night when the boys are asleep and we can fully talk it out in raw form before we talk to him about it. I don’t necessarily want him to see the raw version of talking because he’s going to see that regardless. (Mother, M015).

In summary, most parents discussed having conversations with one another as a means of determining how to talk with their children about various aspects of race, though two couples denied having such conversations. Parents distinguished intentional and planned conversations versus those that occurred more randomly. In addition, elements of timing of these conversations (e.g., before/after talking with children, when children are absent) were also revealed.

### **Deciding Through Action: Parents’ Processes for Enacting Racial Socialization**

In addressing the next question, “*How do Black parenting couples decide which socialization messages they will transmit to children*”, a set of action-oriented concepts emerged, as couples discussed entrees into enacting their racial socialization agenda. The first two focused codes “Asking

Questions” and “Looking for Signs” described how parents “took the temperature”, or assessed the utility of inserting racial socialization messages. The third focused code, “Doing RS Homework” centered more on how parents actively crafted a racial socialization agenda, once the decision to convey particular messages was established.

**Asking questions.** This theme was endorsed by over half ( $n = 6$ ) of the couples; however, the target of the questions varied. In most instances, parents directly asked their children questions as a means of either understanding more about a situation, or assessing what their children’s understanding was, before deciding to deliver a particular message. As an example, one mother described taking this approach regarding socialization behaviors around Halloween costumes, rather than enforcing a particular stance (the father’s preference):

So let’s try to understand why they want to be this character. It may be different than what you feel it needs to be, but they may have a solid reason. So I won’t deny my child of being a white character if they have some valid reasons and they’re feeling strongly about that. I’m going to ask questions. (Mother, M001)

Parents also discussed asking questions of environments that their child interacted with, such as in the case of one couple’s attempt to assess the importance of culture at a school:

Actively engage in being...I don’t want to say anti-racist, but to actively make sure you’re being inclusive when you’re choosing books, or when you’re having conversations, or if you’re gonna celebrate heritage months, and things like that. Asking questions about those types of things. (Mother, M013)

Finally, parents discussed asking questions of one another as a means of solidifying their coparenting stance around race: “. So I’ll start with ‘Ok, I see why you felt there was a need to act. Can we talk more about how we act?’” –Mother, M004.

**Looking for signs.** Parents also described a less direct approach to determining whether and how to bring up racial socialization topics. This strategy involved listening out for “teachable moments” as one parent discussed. Another parent outlined how looking for signs and opportunities leads to further racial socialization:

“Well, you know like we said, just continuing to monitor him very closely, just listening to the things that he says...just listening to the subtle nuances...just watching for these things, and not only just watching but if or when they do happen making sure he has the knowledge, discernment, and skills to navigate it”. (Father, M015)

**Doing RS homework.** While it would be appropriate to label the previous two action-oriented processes as parental “homework”, this focused code was reserved for actions that parents took to set the stage for racial socialization. For instance, one father described looking over Black History Month materials from school to amend any discrepancies. Two mothers discussed searching online to find Black toys for their children. Three families discussed intentionally looking for Black spaces (e.g., barbershops, churches) and even vetting the cultural stances of their children’s potential playmates. Taken together, these actions, as well as asking questions and looking for signs defined a very intentional practice that many parents engaged as a process of deciding on and beginning to enact a set of racial socialization messages.

### **Context and Considerations**

Directly related to understanding how Black parenting couples decide which socialization messages to provide their children is the question of “*what factors contribute to these decisions*”. The subtheme Context and Considerations describes the myriad factors that parents highlighted as impacting their racial socialization decisions. These factors were consistent with a cultural ecological framework, that is, they consisted of multiple systems of influence.

## Child-Centered Context and Considerations

As was mentioned earlier, some parents discussed that the *nature* of their dyadic conversations around race were in part determined by things that their children brought to bear, both in terms of immutable factors and experience-related factors.

**Children's age.** One of the most commonly referenced factors influencing whether and what messages to give children was age. While some parents explicitly discussed chronological age as a factor (e.g., “she’s only 10”), more often parents discussed factors associated with age, such as *maturity*, *independence*, and *supervision*. One mother drew a nice distinction between “number age” and *maturity* in her decisions:

I guess the timeline is based on how much he is ready to receive at that age, how much he can understand. If it’s too much here then you know you kind of have to wait until he matures to that level, but there’s definitely not a number age. It’s just a level of maturity.

(Mother, C001)

Notably, despite drawing that distinction, the mother still noted that they do “give it to him raw”, regarding discussing issues of race with their 9-year old son. In another example, a couple elaborates on how to include more preparation for bias messages as their son starts to gain *independence* and is less supervised:

##M04Father## Yeah, and I also think like we said when he starts doing more things on his own.

##M04Mother## Right.

##M04Father## Because for the most part he is monitored by a parent or another trusted adult. So it’s not like he’s going to the store by himself or anything. So you know I think when he’s old enough to be...

##M04Mother## Independent.

##M04Father## Yeah, responsible. Then we will really kind of just go ok, with independence comes a certain degree of responsibility and others things that will need to be addressed.

**Children's gender.** The focused code "Gender Differences" arose to illustrate the role that gender and gender expectations played in parents' racial socialization decisions. This concept emerged as salient among couples with children of both genders, as well as in households with only one. In one instance a parent described the impact of gender differences on socialization behaviors related to toys:

##Interviewer## Can you all maybe speak a little bit to the degree to which you all as a parenting unit or as a couple make decisions about those sorts of nonverbal messages that you all have?

##M16Mother## Definitely in the toys for my daughter, more so than my son because there's not as much ethnic variety among toys for boys and a lot of them are not race-specific...

##M16Father## Robots...

##M16Mother## Robots, cars, Transformers, and then even some of the superheroes, Iron Man, Spider Man, they have their faces covered. So, even though their alter egos are White, but the kids are really identifying with the outward appearance of their costume, not skin color and hair, to the same degree that girls with the Barbie dolls and the baby dolls are doing.

Another couple described being taken aback at having conversations about hair with their sons because they assumed it was a gendered topic:

##M01Mother## One of my kids wanted to have his hair done a certain way like a character from a TV show. The kid that he was modeling was a white child?

##M01Father## Yeah, a white kid.

##M01Mother## I didn't have daughters for a reason. I didn't think I would have to have a conversation why your hair isn't straight to a male child that is African American, and we talked about that. We had to talk about what that means and the other kids saying "good hair". I just thought I'd get to skip that conversation having 3 male sons.

In each case, as in others, the concept of intersectionality—that both race and gender were important in determining these decisions around racial socialization—was relevant.

**Children's experiences and agency.** In addition to the demographic factors of age and gender, parents also described two additional child-centered factors that had a great influence on their decisions to talk about race. The focused code "Children's Experiences" explored how a child encountering trauma or loss motivated parents to have discussions around race. For example, the couple who described talking with their 9-year old "raw", clarified that this decision came after his classmate was killed. In two other cases, parents talked about their daughters' experiences with racial traumas—one being called names while playing basketball, the other learning about "White only" fountains in preschool—as prompting discussions around racism awareness. One unique child experience involved couple M004, who noted that at least part of their infrequent racial socialization discussions with their son was due to his ASD diagnosis, which in their eyes was a priority. Beyond experiences, parents discussed *children bringing up topics* and *children talking among themselves* as yet another example of the bidirectional nature of racial socialization. These specific codes became the focused code "Child as an Active Agent". In these examples, discussions of race (both with children and between partners) were almost "forced" as one parent stated, following the child asking questions or overhearing children wrestling with issues:

Well, interestingly the day after I finished the survey, she says...her school teacher this past year was a young, white man. It was his first year teaching, and she seemed to like him a lot. She's one of those students that is really into school, likes to get to know the teacher, and giving to the teacher. So all of a sudden she says I think my teacher may not call on me as much...It was two days before the end of the school year and I'm like "Where is this coming from?" and what I gathered is they were doing some kind of activity, she kept raising her hand, and she was partnered with another person in her class who is African American, and they didn't get called on. She said, "Well he called on other kids who were not brown." And I said, "Well, maybe he was trying to give everybody a chance to answer." She said, "No, they had chances to answer." So we talked through the whole thing. Based on what she was telling me and my experience with the teacher I don't think it was racial. I think she just wanted to get called on. (Mother, M009).

In this example, the child's reaction to seemingly not getting called on led the mother to investigate this further and then also speak with her husband about how to handle the situation moving forward.

### **Parent-centered Context and Considerations**

Parent-centered contextual factors and considerations defined the subtheme What Parents Bring to Racial Socialization. Of note, for nearly all of these subcategories the idea of similarities and differences arose as a means of capturing times when what a parent was "bringing" was either concordant or discordant with that of their partner (a concept that is discussed more in the section on division of labor).

**Culture.** Although parents did not mention their age or gender as influential in their racial socialization decisions, one demographic factor, *culture/ethnicity*, did emerge for 4 couples. Parents

talked about the role that their own culture played in their decisions about teaching their children history and heritage:

I'm first-generation and he's from the West Indies, and I think that culture has always been something that's really relevant and I know my husband tends to have passionate views about this stuff. So it's kind of like how do we communicate this to our kids.....I think we both have different experiences from it. Between us, we have 3 different cultures that are relevant in our households. We have African Americans. My mother is African American and Puerto Rican/Latina. My father is Jamaican. His mother is Trinidadian. We have interracial relationships on both sides that have happened, so I try to bring up culture very often.

(Mother, M001)

The impact that growing up in different cultures had on *not* having conversations was also offered, as in the example of a father explaining how his Bajan upbringing impacted his view on racism:

Um, so personally in my upbringing racism wasn't exactly a thing. I was born in Barbados. I lived there until I was 16 and then I moved to New York. Then after that it was kind of like "Haha, that's something you see in a movie." kind of thing...I'm just naïve about it and haven't sat down and really thought "Hmm..." (Father, M004)

**Parents' own racial socialization and racial identity.** Another factor highlighted by parents was the role that their own received racial socialization (70%), as well as their feelings about being Black (80%), had in impacting their racial socialization decisions. With regard to their own childhood racial socialization, some parents described a generational transmission of sorts:

Well I know for me, what you're asking, when we were growing up we would go and participate in the National Black Theatre Festival and volunteering and all of that. My mother set that from the beginning. As we were kids, that's what we did. We volunteered and



participated in the weeklong theatre festival, and went to the shows and this and that. So, automatically I take my kids. They go and they get to see all the things related to Black Theatre, and stuff like that. (Mother, C002)

I mean my parents came up segregated Jim Crow South, and I grew up hearing stories about this stuff so it's very much a part of my DNA and my parents' experiences. My dad was a Civil Rights lawyer, so all of those issues about lunch counter sit-ins and marches, all of that was very much a part of my family history growing up, and my parents always instilled a great deal of pride in me about being Black, and history, and the struggle, and my family's contribution to the struggle. That's probably one of the reasons I talk about it so much (laughs) (Mother, M016)

In contrast, one father cited his lack of discussions about race as a child as influencing him to be more mindful of teaching his children about racism: "I could say when I was younger me and my father didn't talk about race. I guess I came up during a time that was maybe towards the end of the cusp. You know what I'm saying?" (Father, C001). Still other parents seemed to imply that their received socialization messages made them depart from their parents' teachings:

##M04Mother## I know growing up my mom bought us black baby dolls. We didn't get white baby dolls. Coincidentally, my sister is married to a white man, has a daughter who's biracial. So did the black baby doll really...it may not. I don't know. But of course K\_\_ has some action figures that...well he doesn't have a lot of action figures.

##M04Father## Yeah. He has a lot of Legos.

##M04Mother## But his Lego people, we don't only buy black Lego people.

Couples also implied that various dimensions of racial identity, including centrality ("I'm more racially, I guess you can say heightened, than he probably is, because that's just me and my concern

with society against black men and black boys”-Mother, C002), private regard (“I’m strong about black people. I love my people” –Father, M001), and national ideology (“My husband and I are definitely into Pro-Blackness I guess you could say, and you know trying to build up our people as a whole. So yeah, we definitely talk to our son about that” –Mother, M015) were related to their decisions to talk with their children about racial pride and racism awareness.

**Parents’ experiences with discrimination.** Parents from six couples described the impact that their experiences with racial discrimination, both in childhood and currently, have had on their decisions to talk with their children about racism. Notably, these experiences were provided by both fathers and mothers. In most cases these experiences intensified their plan to talk with their children about racism:

I can’t remember a lot of events in my life that I would consider racist experiences until high school. I worked at a hotel, and there was a guest that gave me a compliment “for a black girl” and it was just like “Hmm...” so that experience (laughs) that racist experience might help me teach K\_\_ when you’re giving a compliment don’t put qualifiers in it. Like if you’re saying you’re pretty say “You’re pretty.” (Mother, M004)

In the aforementioned example, the mother’s experience with feeling that her performance was evaluated in the context of stereotypes about Black people, motivated her decision to teach her son how to provide compliments in a different manner. However, one father discussed that his experiences with racism growing up actually caused him to avoid such discussions with his wife and his children, which he described as a “self-preservation mechanism”:

That’s just more growing up in New York, growing up in Queens, and hearing the word “Nigger” regularly thrown at me, thrown around me, and just learning to cope....And being

in a variety of scenarios where if I made the wrong move I could get beat up by a gang of white dudes. (Father, M016)

**Other relevant experiences.** In addition to racial discrimination, parents highlighted other experiences, both positive and negative as relevant to their decisions to provide messages to their youth. This included exposure to crime and violence ( $n=2$ ), experiences in college, such as attending a Historically Black College or University (HBCU;  $n=2$ ), and attending predominately White schools ( $n=1$ ):

When I was in middle school that's when we moved to the suburbs, so I had the experience of being the first black student to do this and the first black student to do that. I think I got pins for it. So I could kind of see okay this is getting ready to happen. You know what I mean? So you just want to give him a heads up (Father, M009).

**Additional parent factors: desires and concerns.** Another phenomenon emerged in speaking with all parenting couples: their own experiences, combined with their cognitive and emotional responses to them, had created a set of desires and concerns that seemed to influence their decisions to deliver a set of messages as part of the family racial socialization agenda. The affective tone of their reflections differentiated the focused code “desires” for children, which reflected positive parental feelings from “concerns/fears” which reflected negative parental emotions. It is important to note that in some cases “desires” and “concerns/fears” resulted in parents’ decisions to deliver the same types of messages. For example, one couple expressed that their plans to teach their children about racism stemmed from “wanting them to be race conscious” (which they considered a positive thing), whereas a mother in another family discussed being driven by a concern for her son’s well-being:

It's always something in the back of my mind, especially being a mother and being the type of very overprotective mother too (laughs)...So it's always in the back of my head how to go about talking to your son, making sure they're respectful, making sure they don't lose their life over something stupid if I can help them prevent it. (Mother, M015)

### **Broader Ecology Context and Considerations**

Beyond child- and parent-centered factors were factors associated with parents' decisions around racial socialization that extended beyond the immediate family. The three focused codes were "Neighborhood and Environment", "School", and "Media and Current Events". Four couples spoke about the impact that their neighborhood or broader environment (e.g., The South) had on their decisions. For instance, one father talked about needing to talk with his children about race, as the lack of diversity in his neighborhood ("we're in a space that Whiter than we've ever been in" – Father, M013), led him to believe that it was "only a matter of *when*" his children would be confronted with a race-based issue. Another couple's desire to return to their environment-of-origin (Boston), led them to consider increasing the frequency of their racial socialization messages. With regard to the school environment, as was mentioned earlier, some couples brought up specific instances that occurred in the school setting (e.g., getting overlooked in class), while others discussed a broader notion of the school setting as difficult for Black children, such as the mother who mentioned preparing her son because of her perception as her county system having a "school-to-prison pipeline feel". On the other hand, a favorable school setting was seen as a reason to defer having certain conversations: "K\_\_ is currently in a mixed school for the most part, so the hope is that the level of the naivety in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade at this point is enough to kind of shield them from racism." – Father, M004. Lastly, every couple provided at least one example of how the media (including social media) and current events impact their decisions about talking with their children about race.

These responses showed a wide range, from family outings at the circus where Trayvon Martin and Black Lives Matter were brought up, to the way in which shows like *Black'ish* and *DocMcStuffins* have made certain socialization behaviors easier, to the “battle versus technology” that one parent described, noting how social media platforms such as KiK were potential opportunities for their children to be called racial slurs. The current racial climate in this country was also captured by specific codes such as *police* and *the black male*—related concepts that expressed parents’ concern about how their male children in particular may be viewed by society.

In summary, subthemes and focused codes supporting the second qualitative research question suggested that parents employ action-oriented strategies as a means of determining which messages to transmit to their children. Moreover, these decisions are based on an interrelated set of child-centered, parent-centered and broader ecological factors.

### **Leads, Deference, and Roles: Dividing the Labor of Parental Racial Socialization**

In addressing the third qualitative research question: “*How do parents discuss the ‘division of labor’ for racial socialization*”, the couples provided continued insight into how they co-parent around race as a unit. Embedded in this question was a desire to explore who discusses which particular types of messages, and under what circumstances. In this section, the relevant focused codes related to division of labor are summarized. One observation that deserves attention was that both parents in all couples interviewed reported doing at least some of the work as it pertains to racial socialization. Said more succinctly, in these dyads racial socialization emerged as a both-parent job. Still, certain couples discussed conditions under which one parent may play a more or less prominent role in delivering particular types of messages. Moreover, parents articulated the subtext under which these conditions do (or might in the case of topics not yet broached) apply. Notably, although one couple mentioned explicitly discussing these conditions (“I’ve been tasked

with that”) and another (M013) clarified that they have never had a frank discussion about division of labor, it was often difficult to ascertain how explicitly parents had been in defining these conditions.

The focused code “Leads, Deference, and Roles” was identified to explain how parents described roles that were bestowed upon a parent. In some cases, it was evident that the role(s) were ones that the parent relished or had undertaken voluntarily, as was the case with the “Black Panther parent” father (M001) or “questioner” and “militant” mothers (C001, M016):

##Interviewer## Yeah. So in terms of...you said you kinda leave it up to...(looks at father)

##M05Mother## Yeah (laughs)

##Interviewer## You’re the one to kind of bring those things up when it comes to Black History. Is there any reasons why in particular?

##M05Father## Well...

##M05Mother## He’s more historian.

##M05Father## (laughs) Well a lot of people say I have a mind for history, because I do so much research about it. This is what I used to do back in high school. I used to do a lot of research.

Another important observation elucidated in the example above is that oftentimes these roles were based on a “skillset” of one parent relative to another, such as one parent being more adept at talking about Black history. In other cases, roles seemed to be bestowed to another parent without an explicit discussion, such as this mother’s hope that her husband speaks to their son about police bias: “So I ‘d like for you to have that conversation, and that’s not something we’ve ever discussed, like have a police talk with the boy. But I let you take the lead on that.” (Mother, M009). This latter case of assumed roles seemed often to fall along gendered lines. In 3 cases, mothers mentioned a desire to

have their male partner take the lead on teaching their children—and male children in particular—about discrimination. Unlike the aforementioned “skillset”, the rationale in these instances seemed to be based more on experience: “And I rely on him a lot as far as the kind of boy with race relations, because I’m African American, but I can’t identify with being a man and so he’s probably had some of those experiences” (Mother, C001). In contrast, one mother (C002) mentioned bringing up discrimination with her son as an extension of her “maternal instinct”. Her partner also reported that he would send his son to her if the topics were “emotional, needing a woman’s point of view”. These gender roles were not inflexible, however; one father (M016) made it clear that he would be “completely comfortable” providing messages about hair and skin tone to his daughter. Another father’s (M009) wearing locs was cited as a positive influence for his daughter. As was mentioned in the section on gender differences, these gestures again highlight the relevance of intersectionality.

A final nuance within roles that emerged among two couples again denoted children’s agency and preference in talking with parents about certain race-related topics:

I mean at this stage the kids both have...kind of like cats. Cats will choose a person. If you bring a cat into a household, after about 2 weeks you’ll know which person the cat likes to be with. Period. The kids seems to have also chosen who they want to talk about with each of us. (Father, M009)

**On teamwork and balance.** As stated earlier, all couples discussed that racial socialization was a task they both undertook together. A number of parents spoke about the importance of presenting racial socialization as a united front as well as providing their children with a full picture of their perspectives on race. These concepts defined the focused codes “Teamwork” and “Balancing One Another”, respectively. With regard to teamwork, parents discussed the value of presenting a particular message together as a means of showing teamwork:

We're parenting you. We're both on the same page about this. You need to understand that we're on the same team when we give you this message. So because we're on the same team we're both gonna be there talking to you. (Father, M004)

In this example, the mother went on to explain that she did not want her son to be confused about where his parents stood on an issue. Another family explained that the desire to parent as a united team at times required conversations to "find common ground" (Mother, C001).

A related focused code, "Balancing one Another" underscored how parents were focused on making sure that their child understood the unique perspective of both parents, even if those perspectives did not always align perfectly:

So, a lot of times I teach my son about seeing people as a whole, because there are good people out there. My husband can talk to that standpoint of what he's seen as far as the not-so-good side. So, we help balance each other. Certain things that I might not hear him hit on, I will try to hit on and vice versa. So, we just piggy back off of one another, which helps with our son because he gets the best of the worlds. (Mother, M015).

In sum, parents indicated that although both parents were active in socializing their children around race, there were certain conditions (e.g., gendered topics, relative skill), wherein one parent took the lead, whether explicitly or in a more subtle manner. Actions, such as deferring and balancing one another, were viewed within the context of racial socialization coparenting as teamwork.

### **Support and Compromise in Coparenting around Race**

My fourth research question, "*How do Black parenting couples navigate coparenting dynamics*", was not formed initially in defining the qualitative aims. However, it became apparent in speaking with parents about their decisions around racial socialization that beyond communicating about racial socialization, support and compromise, the additional elements discussed in the



introduction and assessed in the behavioral observation task, also played an integral role in coparenting around racial socialization. These elements were particularly apparent within the context of parents' discussions about teamwork and division of labor.

The focused code "Support" describes the way in which parents assisted one another in the work of racial socialization, and was mentioned by every couple. In some cases, couples discussed examples of behavioral support, such as *reinforcement* or *filling in*. In these instances, parents talked about one parent stepping in to provide or extend the racial socialization messages of the other: "If I'm not here, his mom is here because one time I wasn't here....So if he had any questions hopefully his mother can tell him a little more about it." (Father, M005). In other cases, parents described more emotional and symbolic support, such as *trust*, *having patience*, and *modeling*:

I think the biggest thing we do to support one another...in terms of being a solid, black man \_\_\_ models that on a daily basis. He carries himself well. He knows his history and is able to speak about it. He's comfortable doing things that stereotypical black guys won't do like "Let's go skiing. We're going to Wyoming to do that." It's a good model for \_\_\_ and also \_\_\_ in terms of what she should expect. Even with his hair and the locks and stuff I wouldn't be surprised if when \_\_\_ comes of age she will want to lock her hair. (Mother, M009)

The focused code "Compromise" emerged to describe the ways in which parents handled differences of opinions regarding raising their children around race. Most ( $n=9$ ) couples described using some form of compromise as the primary way to resolve these issues. Notably, some of the aforementioned processes related to deferring and balancing were viewed as ways to compromise. However, parents also described how one parent might dampen messages ("I think he's able to decrease his intensity level a little bit to enough that I feel comfortable" –Mother, M001) or that one parent may give in on a particular issue ("Someone's always giving in a little bit, but the key is it's

not always one person over the other.-Father, M009). Relating back to the types of dyadic conversations parents have around race, couples also mentioned that conversations may ensue when there is a disagreement, often with the hope of resolving the issue through gaining an understanding of the other's perspective: "So we just pretty much try to talk about it and try to do our best explaining why we feel the way we feel (Mother, M015). Finally, 30% of families admitted that at times they have to "agree to disagree" or return to a topic at a later time:

##M04Mother## And sometimes we don't work it out. Sometimes it's just this...

##M04Father## A thing that sits there for a while until it needs to be worked out.

Lastly, regarding both support and compromise, parents seemed to emphasize that *reciprocity* was a crucial and present element helping to enhance their approach to socialization, again speaking to the teamwork involved in the process:

Regardless there's always I want this or she wants this. If someone answers in your survey that it's always even, they're lying. Someone's always giving in a little bit, but the key is it's not always one person over the other (Father, M009).

### **Success in Their Own Words**

The initial purpose of the final research question, "*what are Black parenting couples' definitions of successful racial socialization conversations*", was to provide nuance to the more objective measure of success from the quantitative analyses (i.e., self-report using a Likert scale and via observation). However, given that a number of couples declined having intentional racial socialization conversations, the interview prompt was modified slightly to allow all couples to provide responses. Each parent was asked to expound upon the statement, *successfully raising our children around race together means...*

The majority of responses to this prompt were defined using the focused code "Outcome-

Focused” as one parent coined the phrase, to represent how parents reflected on success as defined by their children either adopting a broad stance on race or being endowed with a skillset. For some “outcome-focused” parents ( $n= 7/20$ ), success centered on their children being “in the know”, whether in regard to understanding positive aspects of race and heritage: (“I feel like they should know about their family tree, their roots, their heritage, what their ancestors did” –Father, M005) or being “an adult who is prepared for any and all discriminatory incidents that they encounter” (Mother, C002). These responses seemed to align with the racial identity of the parents/couples, such as a family who argued that success around race would be determined by their son’s understanding that race should not define him. A smaller subset of “outcome-focused” parents highlighted the importance of the generativity of their children, “Black men in our future contributing to society” (Mother, M001), with the father adding that success was to include generational transmission of values about race (“be very confident in who they are, in hopes that they’ll raise their children the same way with the same values”).

Though only referenced by 25% of the parents interviewed (5/20), success was also defined using the focused code “Co-parenting Focused”. For this subset of parents, success evoked some of the aforementioned themes such as being intentional (“I would say it means knowing the endgame, and being purposeful. Not leaving it to chance or letting the chips fall where they may. Not being apologetic.... It needs to be a way of life...” –Mother, M009) and employing balancing and teamwork (“It means respecting each other’s perspective and culture and working together to pass on the best of our experiences around race and culture to our kids” –Mother, M016).

Finally, the response of one brave parent (Father, M013)—“ For me, it means being comfortable being uncomfortable in knowing that we’re gonna mess up or make mistakes and that’s okay, but it’s gotta be done (laughs)” —punctuated revealed a subtheme, Challenges of Coparenting

around Race, a seeming counter-response to the notion of success in the context of racial socialization. Exploring the narratives of parents further, it was clear that whether it was due to being “caught off guard” by their child asking a race-related question at a young age, “fighting against technology” or “fumbling through a response”, each family relayed the difficulties around teaching children about race. One particularly salient focused code that emerged under the subtheme of challenges was “Tension”, which described parents’ struggle to ensure their racial socialization decisions were aligned with the best interest of their children:

He deserves a right to believe that he can do anything. You want to keep it real, but at the same time you don’t want to take their dream away. Like you know, you can’t do...you don’t want them growing up to think that their limited. (Mother, M003)

There’s nothing about K\_\_ that I want him to change, in terms of who he’s going to be. I don’t want him to be like “I don’t want to be this person, because it might get me in trouble.” with this fictional person in the future. But at the same time, it’s hard not to think about ok if this could get you in trouble let’s curve this a little bit. (Mother, M004)

Overall, parents described success as either based on child outcomes or the co-parenting process per se. Moreover, parents noted that these desired successes came with a number of unique challenges. In spite of these challenges, however, the tone and spirit in the narratives of these parents throughout the interviews seemed ultimately to echo the sentiments of one father:

We’re not always going to be perfect. As you know, there’s no handbook to this thing. So, you know, it’s an everyday, ongoing process trying to navigate these waters. So we’re just trying to be the best that we can (M015).

## Qualitative Discussion

The ability to capture the unique and united voices of Black mothers and fathers from the ten-couple subsample provided unprecedented insight into the ways in which Black couples communicate and co-parent around the racial socialization of their children. Some of the subthemes and focused codes here in many cases evoked the work around racial socialization that has come before. For example, many of the child, parent, and broader contextual factors that emerged as relevant in parents' decisions to talk with their children about race have been well-defined in the literature and summarized in the two reviews (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006) that still serve as the conceptual fulcrum of this area of research. At the same time, these parental narratives add to the literature on racial socialization in important ways. For instance, the nonlinear way in which parental received socialization (or lack thereof) was described as relating to decisions to provide certain racial socialization messages to children deepens our understanding of the impact of certain contextual factors. Whereas previous investigations have suggested a positive association between received socialization and one's own parenting practices, the narratives complicate that finding by showing how the absence of such messages as a child can also motivate one's practices.

The subthemes related to the nature of dyadic discussions around racial socialization, again, both confirm and extend our current understanding of enacting racial socialization per se. In fact, it was very evident from talking with parents that similar dynamics that characterized internal parental conversations also typified conversations that parents were having with their children—a distinction that I tried constantly to clarify. As an example of this symmetry, Lesane-Brown (2006) distinguished between deliberate and inadvertent racial socialization, a process that was reflected in distinguishing between intentional/formal and random/informal dyadic conversations. Similarly, parents' discussion of timing of these conversations, as well as the focused code of "Child as Active

Agent” resonate with the concepts of bidirectionality and proactive, active, and reactive racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006) and also fit within a transactional conceptualization of development (Sameroff, 2009) . In contrast, there does not seem to be a direct comparison in the extant literature to describe the ways in which some parents discussed a “Just Do It” approach to racial socialization (i.e., the lack of having dyadic conversations beforehand), versus those who had planning conversations before delivering certain messages to their children. Parents in both instances would be considered deliberate per Lesane Brown’s taxonomy; however, their intentionality is expressed in different ways in terms of what it means for co-parenting communication.

Moreover, while certain aspects of the subtheme around parent-centered context and considerations (“what parents bring to racial socialization”) consisted of individual and contextual factors that are referenced in the aforementioned reviews, the focused codes around “Desires” and “Concerns/Fears” represent additional factors that are worth considering with regard to decisions around racial socialization. Notably, these factors are seen in more recent investigations of racial socialization. Hughes et al.’s (2008) mixed method study identified similar cognitive (*beliefs*) and more aspirational (*goals*) rationales for engaging in racial socialization. In addition, a qualitative study of Black mothers by Edwards and Few-Demo (2016) also provides focused codes that center on positive desires for children as well as fears of negative consequences. Taken together, these findings suggest that scholars may want to consider including questions surrounding the motivations for racial socialization moving forward. Edwards and Few-Demo (2016) also mentioned the ways in which mothers in their sample discussed waiting for their children to bring them a racially-charged topic of discussion. This dovetails nicely with the subtheme for actions and processes, which will do much to add to our assessment of parental racial socialization. It may be instructive to ask a father

not only if he teaches his daughter about Shirley Chisholm, but also if he does so through Socratic questioning to find out what she knows (“Asking Questions”) or after first reading a short biography on the former presidential candidate (“Doing RS Homework”).

The singular most important richness captured in these narratives was the ability to obtain perspectives from both parents at the same time. This is seen no more prominently than in the subthemes related to division of labor and coparenting around race. The subthemes and focused codes herein provide insight into the complexities of coparenting around race. In the description of their experiences, parents really explored how they balance one another, capitalize on strengths, and agree (or fail to agree). In focused and specific codes such as “Compromise”, *reinforcement*, and *roles*, we see the central mechanisms of effective coparenting—open communication, mutual support, and accommodation—outlined by McHale and Fivaz-Depeursinge (2010). However, in the same way Spencer’s (1997) PVEST model places the Ecological model of Bronfenbrenner in context, so too do these narratives offer a nexus of coparenting and racial experiences unique to Black parents. In addition, these themes add another dimension to the synergy and dynamism of racial socialization as described by Hughes and colleagues (2006), by capturing the factors parents weigh as a couple before, during, and after doing the work of racial socialization with their children.

Regarding success, while parents’ responses to the prompt did not perfectly match onto the research question as initially intended, the responses themselves provided insight into how parents view the ultimate end goal of racial socialization. The distinction between “Outcome-focused” and “Co-parenting Focused” success again challenges the field to be wary about taking a reductionist stance regarding racial socialization, allowing parents’ voices to dictate how success is defined. Lastly, the associated challenges of racial socialization provided in these narratives serves as a poignant parallel to the empirical study of the topic: as researchers such as myself are attempting to

better comprehend the complex process of racial socialization, parents are doing the daily work to resolve and reconcile tensions related to teaching children about the racialized world around them.



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **INTEGRATIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

The overarching goal of the present study was to understand whether and how Black parenting couples communicate and co-parent around the racial socialization of their youth. In the previous two chapters, the quantitative and qualitative analyses have been interpreted. Though findings from both strands independently offer insight into these questions, the integration of the quantitative and qualitative findings provides us with a much fuller picture. Moreover, outlining where one strand complicated or expanded the findings from another provides logical areas for future directions. Consistent with the framework offered by Bryman (2006), the rationale for integrating these data strands falls along three lines: triangulation (mutual corroboration), offsetting (balancing each method's weaknesses), and completeness (giving a more comprehensive account).

#### **Understanding the Occurrence of Intra-couple Racial Socialization Conversations**

Comparing the quantitative and qualitative findings related to the occurrence of dyadic racial socialization conversation highlights the importance of a mixed methods analysis. Returning to Table 15, we see a slight discrepancy between parents' endorsement of occurrence on the survey (all parents from all couples reported having a minimum of two conversations), and the in-depth interviews, where two couples indicated that they did not have such conversations. Interestingly, only 8 parents (9%) of the larger sample reported having no dyadic conversations. How do we make sense of this discrepancy? One possibility is that parents misunderstood what the question in the survey was attempting to address. Alternately, some parents did mention that although they did not

have *planning* conversations (i.e., conversations in advance of giving certain messages), they may have conversations in a *post-hoc* manner, as a means of responding to a topic children brought up. Regardless, given that this is the initial foray into understanding parents' conversations with one another as it pertains to racial socialization, it is comforting that at least a subsection of parents were asked this question in both formats. Moving forward, it would be important to include an open-ended question (e.g., "briefly tell us about one such conversation") wherein parents can further expound upon the dyadic conversations they endorse. Including this open-ended question would not only provide a means of cross-validating the response to the close-ended, "Yes/No" question, but would also give insight into aspects of the nature of the conversations, such as whether they are intentional and whether they happen in a proactive (e.g., planning) or reactive (e.g., post-hoc) manner.

The multiple Context and Considerations offered by the parents in our subsample helped to both corroborate and expand the findings from the APIM models from the quantitative strand. Each factor that was found associated with the occurrence of dyadic conversations (i.e., racial identity, received racial socialization, racial socialization practices) was also mentioned in the in-depth interview as contributing to decisions to talk with their children about race. Notably, while factors being associated with decisions to provide messages is different than these factors being associated with the occurrence of the dyadic conversations themselves, parental narratives did suggest that factors at times influenced both:

....all of that was very much a part of my family history growing up, and my parents always instilled a great deal of pride in me about being Black, and history, and the struggle, and my family's contribution to the struggle. That's probably one of the reasons I talk about it so much (laughs) (Mother, M016)

In this example, the mother was explaining that her received socialization as a child prompted her to have conversations with her husband, as well as serving as a driving force in her socialization practices. In addition, one factor that emerged as impactful in the interviews that did not reach statistical significance in the quantitative findings was the impact of experiences with racial discrimination, with fathers in particular describing conversations with their partner about preparing their children for biases following a discriminatory experience. Moreover, factors that were not included in the quantitative analyses (such as the multiple child-centered factors) emerged from the interviews as potential considerations for future investigations. For example, it may be the case that parents' individual "Desires" and "Concerns" may prompt them to have intra-couple conversations. Alternatively, a child's lack of independence because of their young age may be a reason that fewer such conversations occur. Hypothesis generating revelations such as these, combined with the hypothesis testing afforded in the quantitative strand highlight another strength of this mixed methods approach. Furthermore, the integration of hypothesis testing and hypothesis generation has been offered as integral to better understanding the processes undergirding racial socialization and other culturally-relevant factors (Jones & Neblett, 2016).

### **Compounding on Success**

Our couples' discussions of the nature of division of labor and coparenting around race further show the ways in which the dyadic interviews work to complement and contextualize the quantitative findings, and vice versa. For instance, although certain couple-level factors (e.g., positive communication) were not explicitly discussed by parents in our subsample during the interview portion, these factors had a distinct impact on both the self-reported and coded success for these couples. Alternatively, although the APIM findings implicate a number of factors that are associated with self-reported and observed success, understanding how parents perceive coparenting

around race helps to contextualize what defines a “10” in terms of self-reported success. Moreover, these narratives may help us to understand parents’ scores that are not as high. For example, the father from M013’s self-reported success was among the lowest (5/10); however, understanding the ways in which this father felt that he was often “fumbling through” conversations and “caught off guard” sheds light into his endorsement. Similarly, the mother from C002’s relatively lower score on the behavioral coding task may be better understood in context. For this mother, who described a “Just Do It” approach to racial socialization, her lower score may reflect that she was less comfortable in having a dyadic problem-solving discussion around race, given that she and her partner denied typically having such conversations. Additionally, given the ways the Qual subsample defined aspects of coparenting around race, including deferring, checking in, and reinforcement, it may be the case that the scales used from the IFIRS do not adequately define how these behaviors play out in dyadic racial socialization conversations. For instance, a family with strong gendered roles regarding preparation for bias may have resulted in a mother not being rated as high on negotiation/compromise, not from a lack of ability, but rather because the family has already determined that the father would take the lead in this regard. To this end, it may be useful for a future study to develop a coding protocol that is specific to coparenting around racial socialization, a task which could be accomplished using an exploratory (Qual → Quan) mixed methods approach. Specifically, although not undertaken in the present study, assessment of these videotaped interactions using qualitative approaches (i.e., developing codes based on what emerged in the couples’ interactions), combined with the emergent subthemes and focused codes from the interviews could be an initial qualitative phase from which such a coding protocol could emerge. A subsequent quantitative phase could then validate this protocol in a new sample. Lastly, given that most parents’ definitions of success centered on outcomes, it may be prudent that future

investigations of coparenting around racial socialization incorporate both process (e.g., we presented the message together) and outcome-related (e.g., the child brought up the message at a later time) measures of success.

### **Understanding Actor and Partner Effects Thematically**

In discussing the bidirectional nature of socialization within the context of families, Kuczynski and colleagues (1997) make two observations: 1) that parents often experience (and report) their relationship differently, and 2) that a mother's values do not always correspond to the father's values. These two observations are brought to the fore in examining the complexities of actor and partner effects seen in the findings from the quantitative strand. Notably, these effects, and particularly the partner effects, can be at least partially understood in exploring the subthemes and focused codes related to division of labor and coparenting around racial socialization. For example, both "Balancing one another" and "Leads, Deferring, and Roles" can help to make sense of the partner effects that were examined. For instance, one mother described having to "reel in" her husband ("Balancing") due to his "Black Panther" parenting style making her uncomfortable about how children would receive his messages. This is analogous to a racial identity (either due to the centrality or racial ideology of the father) partner effect. In another narrative, we learned that one mother discusses racism awareness with her children at a much greater frequency than her husband, which he noted was due to him "trying not to think about those things" as a result of his personal experiences with discrimination. While not explicitly described by this mother as such, it is possible that she has taken the lead regarding preparing her children for bias almost as a means of compensating for her husband's experiences (a racial discrimination partner effect). Both of these examples show the value in including both the actor and partner effects in these analyses. Moreover, they drive home the ecological and transactional developmental dynamics (Cicchetti & Toth, 1997)

that begin to help better explicate how and under what circumstances a child internalizes these messages around race.

### **Limitations and Additional Future Directions**

Notwithstanding the bevy of promising findings, and despite the benefit of mixed methods in balancing internal and external validity, there are a number of methodological, analytic, and sample characteristic limitations that are worth noting.

**Methodological limitations.** First, both the quantitative and qualitative strands contained questions that were either relatively (or completely) novel, and at times it was difficult to ensure that participants were responding appropriately to the questions asked. Though the modification of research questions due to emergent data is not an uncommon occurrence in qualitative methodology, future research could use cognitive interviewing to confirm that survey and interview guide items are being understood in their intended context. Second, the data were cross-sectional, limiting our ability to determine the direction of the associations that were found. As such, future investigation should examine the interplay of these factors over time. Doing so has at least two benefits. The first is that it allows for cross-lagged models to see the impact that changes in contextual factors, such as instances with racial discrimination or neighborhood composition, have on the occurrence and success of dyadic racial socialization conversations. The second benefit of longitudinal designs is that they would better explore how changes in the child(ren)'s development and experience impact parents' coparenting decisions. The impact of the child highlights a third methodological limitation in the current investigation. Although this work was admittedly undertaken to understand the intra-couple dynamic as it pertains to racial socialization, the centrality of child factors was evident in the in-depth interviews, both with regard to impacting socialization decisions and in parents' conceptualization of success around racial socialization. Future research examining coparenting

around racial socialization should be sure to better include these child-centered factors. This includes asking parents to be specific about the child target (or targets) of their racial socialization. Moreover, it would be instructive for future behavioral observations of coparenting around racial socialization to include both parents and children. This could be achieved by blending the task utilized in the present study with similar mother-child tasks used by Johnson (2005) and Smith-Bynum and colleagues (2016). Lastly, the assessment of broader context in the current study (i.e., neighborhood racial composition), lacked the nuance necessary to truly elucidate the impact of neighborhood effects. Moving forward, newer and richer methods for assessing neighborhood, such as geographic informational system (GIS) methods, geospatial methods, and systemic social observation should be employed. Using such neighborhood assessment is in keeping with the shift in this area (Duncan, Kawachi, Subramanian, Aldstadt, Melly & Williams, 2014; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002), and will better illuminate how the broader environment impacts parental decisions around racial socialization.

**Analytic limitations.** One major limitation of the current study was that we were unable to recruit our target sample size for adequate power according to Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007). Thus, it is possible that we lacked power to detect even more findings, a possibility driven home by a number of trend-level findings in the expected direction of hypotheses. A second analytic limitation related to the first was that, although attempts at data reduction were made, a number of models were run given that a singular model would have resulted in the estimation of more parameters than observations. As such, there is potential that Type I error is inflated.

**Sample-based limitations.** One of the strengths of the current study is that the use of technology allowed for a more nationally representative sample, with couples enrolled from ten states. Nevertheless, the socioeconomic standing of our sample was skewed toward more highly

educated, higher income earning couples. Future investigations should make even greater strides than the ones taken here to increase the geographic and socioeconomic diversity of the sample. Doing so would give us greater confidence that the findings related to the occurrence and success of dyadic conversations around race hold across couples from different backgrounds, or equally informative, identify subsamples for which different factors emerge. This is particularly relevant given that previous investigations (e.g., McHale et al., 2006) has found racial socialization to vary by family indicators of SES. In addition, although this study endeavored to include cohabiting as well as married couples, our ability to generalize beyond married Black couples is limited, given our small number of cohabiting couples. Researchers exploring this work in the future should continue to honor cohabitation as an often intentional alternative to marriage, and their narratives should continue to be better captured.

Lastly, in the recruitment of this study, my research team was often emailed by adoptive parents, blended families, and/or interracial parenting couples who were eager to share their experiences. Though beyond the scope of the current investigation, this research area should expand its conceptualization of Black parenting units to better reflect the rich mosaic of Black families in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This should also include single-parent families, which may employ non-residential coparents<sup>11</sup> (largely fathers) or enlist extended (e.g., grandparents) or fictive (e.g., “play” uncle) kin to assist in coparenting around racial socialization. Identifying the similarities and differences in coparenting communication and decision-making across these family structures will not only enhance our conceptual understanding of familial racial socialization, but could also highlight groups who may need special attention as a result of unique challenges they are facing. For example, work with dyads with a non-residential father may center on how a healthy coparenting relationship

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<sup>11</sup> Notably, the single-parent (largely mother) household continues to be the dominant Black family structure (Pew Research Center, 2015). This includes both unmarried cohabiting couples as well as non-residential fathers, a group whose racial socialization practices have just begun to be understood (see Cooper et al., 2014).



is cultivated even in the absence of a romantic relationship; work with Black LGBT parenting dyads may be distinguished by the double-discrimination they may face.

### **Strengths of the Study**

Though mentioned at intervals throughout the quantitative, qualitative, and integrative discussions, this study has a number of strengths that deserve restating here. First, this study is among the first to intentionally assess the coparenting dynamic as it pertains to racial socialization. Second, this work serves as one of the few studies on racial socialization that include the perspectives and experiences of both Black mothers and fathers. Relatedly, the analysis of these experiences through an interdependence lens—both in the quantitative and qualitative strands—corrects previous assumptions that data from different family members stand alone. An additional strength of this study is that it included Black parents from a number of different states with a number of ethnic backgrounds, giving us richer information about the role that cultural differences and regional context play in coparenting around race. A final strength of this study is the multimethod approach, which included self-reported and observer-reported measures, both open and closed ended questions, and the effective use of technology. This approach aided greatly in the validity of the findings presented.

### **Methodological, Clinical, and Broader Implications**

The implications of the current study are multifold, touching upon both basic and applied applications and extensions of this work. The current study is ripe with opportunities to enhance the methodological approaches to studying racial socialization. First, this study adds to the small but growing investigations incorporating a mixed methods design. The viability of conducting this research using mixed methods will hopefully encourage researchers to adopt a similar analytic approach which, while labor and resource-intensive, is integral as we continue to make strides in

understanding the processes underlying racial socialization and other racial-ethnic protective factors. Second, this project provides a new avenue of basic research surrounding parental racial socialization, namely the emphasis on the coparenting dynamic. In doing so, the current study offers opportunities for the inclusion of problem-solving vignettes to understand how parents work through potential racial socialization topics. In addition, the myriad themes that were generated from the dyadic interviews should be addressed in future investigations. One tangible example would be the creation and validation of a racial socialization coparenting scale. Another involves the aforementioned creation of a behavioral coding protocol for specifically assessing coparenting around racial socialization. A final methodological implication again centers on the use of the actor-partner interdependence model as a means of better understanding the transactional nature of racial socialization moving forward.

As a clinician, it is always important to situate my work within the clinical context. The tremendous clinical work of Nancy Boyd Franklin's (2006) *Black Families in Therapy* immediately resonates with both the quantitative and qualitative findings herein. The complex ways in which Black parenting couples are balancing their personal historical and contemporary experiences, as well as the historical and real-time unique challenges of being Black in America, all while doing the work of coparenting has implications for how Black parents and the larger Black family may present for therapy. The challenges, tensions, and considerations that Black parents face around racial socialization, illuminated briefly here, must be taken into consideration within the context of parent training, family therapy or couples counseling. One concrete way clinicians could better understand the salience of these factors is to use current existing measures—such as the RSQ (racial socialization), DLE (racial discrimination), and CRS (coparenting quality—as a part of the standard packet for therapeutic work for coparenting couples. A second possibility is the use of culturally-

sensitive open-ended questions (such as those asked in the interviews) to assess any challenges or unique contributions Black parents feel that coparenting around race brings, both to the couple dynamic, and to the family context more broadly. Asking questions about racial socialization may not only illuminate relevant dynamics at play, but the racial socialization coparenting context may be one that is instructive in highlighting other parenting or couple dynamics.

Lastly, this work has application for broader intervention. The findings from this study can be used to further develop extant psychosocial interventions. Specifically, the balance of this work on both content (e.g., types of messages, specific decision-making considerations) and process (e.g., action-oriented methods for making decisions, coparenting dynamic factors) could easily translate into a set of coparenting interventions. In keeping with the desire to understand how parents navigate racial socialization together, some of these interventions would be process-centered. For example, scholars at the University of Pennsylvania have developed a culturally-informed family-level intervention, *Engaging, Managing, and Bonding through Race (EMBRace)*. In talking with these scholars, I plan to infuse the specific coparenting dynamics that have been identified in this study to help families more effectively work through racial trauma, for example identifying potential areas for balancing and deferring based on parental skillsets and experiences. However, as was seen, some parents may feel that they are effective in coparenting, and may be more suited for a content-based intervention (i.e., what messages to say, when, and how). Still others may need a mix of both content and process-level interventions. Determining a family's need for a particular type of intervention, would depend on several factors, including skillsets (and struggles), experiences, and the developmental stage of the couple or child. In this way, this set of interventions would be delivered using a universal-targeted-indicated framework with tailored interventions (see Gordon, 1983; Strecher, Wang, Derry, Wildenhaus, and Johnson, 2002) A final potential extension is born out of

my plan to conduct parenting workshops as a means of disseminating the findings from the current study. These workshops will be recorded and will also serve as a pilot for the development of future co-parenting co-learning workshops (“CoCos”), which will center on having Black parenting units exchange ideas on how they work together to enact racial socialization in their households.

## **Conclusion**

But on the larger scale, across whole communities of us, a lot of people don't have the resources or [time] to be so intentional. As in, "I was having a good old time—and now I am parenting." It sometimes just happens. [...] We're just living, you know? When you're living, there is not this intentionality, but parenting introduces this need for intentionality. In a racial environment, we all have to get very serious about the fact that equity and racial understanding must start early, especially when we don't have books to explain it. You know, I once told someone that I was going to write this book *Yes, Your Teacher Is Nice—And He Is Still a Racist*. This is what we deal with.

– GrassROOTS Community Foundation President Janice Johnson Dias

The quote above comes from a July 2016 *Elle* magazine article entitled, “*What does it mean to raise a Black kid now?*” I read this article as I was preparing to finish this work, and I have included Dr. Johnson Dias’s words not simply because they mirror the narratives of the phenomenal Black parents included in this study, but also because the inclusion of these words, in a fashion magazine, with a largely White readership, in 2016 punctuates the magnitude of this topic. It yet again invokes Dr. McAdoo’s declaration of racial socialization as the most important (and challenging) parenting task facing Black parents. And it is within this context that the present study must be understood. This research was not undertaken for the pursuit of scholarly inquiry alone (“science for science’s sake”), but rather as a small attempt to assist in solving the question levied by the article’s author and salving the beautiful Black families who are attempting to safeguard, protect and edify their equally beautiful Black children on a daily basis.

Table 1

*Intercoder Reliability (ICCs) for the Iowa Family Interaction Rating Scales*

Code	Mother	Father
Warmth/Support	.48	.49
Communication	.56	.60
Negotiation/Compromise	.51	.33
Effective Process	.53	.56
Family Enjoyment	.39	.39
Composite measure of success	.82	.74

*Note.* Family enjoyment assigns one score to the couple as a dyad.

Table 2

*Tests of Nonindependence of Outcome and Predictor Variables.*

Variable	Level (Individual, couple, contextual)	Pearson product-moment correlation	p-value
Discrimination Frequency	Contextual	.09	.565
MIBI Centrality	Individual	.19	.21
MIBI Private Regard	Individual	.15	.33
MIBI Public Regard	Individual	.49	<b>.001</b>
RSQ Racial Pride	Individual	.43	<b>.004</b>
RSQ Racial Barrier	Individual	.57	<b>.000</b>
RSQ Egalitarian	Individual	.02	.91
RSQ Composite	Individual	.38	<b>.011</b>
Messages			
Positive Communication	Couple	.39	<b>.03</b>
Relationship Quality	Couple	.53	<b>.000</b>
Coparenting Quality	Couple	.11	.48
Occurrence of racial socialization conversations	Outcome	.49	<b>.001</b>
Self-reported success of racial socialization conversations	Outcome	.14	.39
Observed success (using IFIRS)	Outcome	.64	<b>.000</b>

*Note.* Null hypothesis is correlation of zero. Significant p-values in **bold**.

Table 3 *Bivariate Correlations of Study Variables*[illegible]

Note. F = Father; M = Mother; \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 4

*Poisson Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Occurrence of Dyadic Racial Socialization Conversations-Individual-level*

	1	2	3	4
	e <sup>^</sup> b	e <sup>^</sup> b	e <sup>^</sup> b	e <sup>^</sup> b
<b>Actor Individual level predictors</b>				
<b><u>Sociodemographic</u></b>				
Gender	.84			
Educational Status	1.06			
x Gender	.97			
Individual Income	.99			
x Gender	1.00			
Family Income	.95			
x Gender	1.03			
<b><u>Racial identity</u></b>				
Centrality		1.05		
x Gender		.98		
Public Regard		.95		
x Gender		.97		
Private Regard		.95		
x Gender		1.00		
Assimilationist Ideology		.98		
x Gender		1.01		
Humanist Ideology		1.04		
x Gender		.98		
Nationalist Ideology		1.13		
x Gender		.96		
Minority Ideology		.99		
x Gender		.92		
<b><u>Racial socialization</u></b>				
Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)				1.51
x Gender				.93
Received RS (White Johnson et al)			1.08	
x Gender			.96*	
Received Cultural Soc (Hughes & Chen)			1.12	
x Gender			1.00	
Received Prep for Bias (Hughes & Chen)			.97	
x Gender			.99	
<b>Partner Individual level predictors</b>				
<b><u>Sociodemographic</u></b>				
Educational Status	1.00			
x Gender	.96			
Individual Income	1.01			
x Gender	1.00			



**Racial identity**

Centrality	1.21*
x Gender	.97
Public Regard	.98
x Gender	1.04
Private Regard	.94
x Gender	1.01
Assimilationist Ideology	1.08
x Gender	.98
Humanist Ideology	1.01
x Gender	1.01
Nationalist Ideology	1.03
x Gender	.97
Minority Ideology	.96
x Gender	1.07

**Racial socialization**

Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)		1.2
x Gender		.95
Received RS (White Johnson et al)	1.10	
x Gender	1.00	
Received Cultural Soc (Hughes & Chen)	1.09	
x Gender	.93	
Received Prep for Bias (Hughes & Chen)	.98	
x Gender	1.03	

Gender	.84	1.06	1.05	1.03
Intercept	5.76	3.75	3.73	3.79

**Empirical Distinguishability**

*Note. \*  $p < .05$*

Table 5

*Poisson Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Occurrence of Dyadic Racial Socialization Conversations-Contextual-level*

	e <sup>b</sup>
<b>Actor contextual-level predictors</b>	
Neighborhood racial composition	1.00
Discrimination frequency	.99
x Gender	1.10
Discrimination bother	1.12
x Gender	.89
<b>Partner contextual-level predictors</b>	
Discrimination frequency	1.09
x Gender	.88
Discrimination bother	1.04
x Gender	1.06
Gender	1.29
Intercept	3.69

*Note.*  $p < .10$  for all displayed coefficients

Table 6

*Poisson Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Occurrence of Dyadic Racial Socialization Conversations-Couple-level*

	e <sup>Δ</sup> b
<b>Actor couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	1.08
x Gender	.96
Relationship Quality	.99
x Gender	1.00
Positive communication	1.19
x Gender	.97
Negative Communication	1.10
x Gender	.78*
Coparenting quality	1.11
x Gender	1.00
<b>Partner couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	1.01
x Gender	.92
Relationship Quality	.98
x Gender	1.02
Positive communication	1.06
x Gender	1.02
Negative Communication	.92
x Gender	1.07
Coparenting quality	1.24
x Gender	1.00
Gender	1.02
Intercept	3.73

Note. \*  $p < .05$

Table 7

<i>Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Self-Reported Success-Individual-level</i>		
	1	2
	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor Individual level predictors</b>		
<b><u>Racial identity</u></b>		
Centrality	.31	
x Gender	.41	
Public Regard	.06	
x Gender	-.74***	
Private Regard	.57+	
x Gender	.34	
Assimilationist Ideology	-.32	
x Gender	.23	
Humanist Ideology	-.58*	
x Gender	.51*	
Nationalist Ideology	.11	
x Gender	-.61*	
Minority Ideology	-.14	
x Gender	-.27+	
<b><u>Racial socialization</u></b>		
Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)		2.47**
x Gender		0.70
<b>Partner Individual level predictors</b>		
<b><u>Racial identity</u></b>		
Centrality	.23	
x Gender	.25	
Public Regard	-.22	
x Gender	.33+	
Private Regard	-.18	
x Gender	-0.68*	
Assimilationist Ideology	-.41	
x Gender	.30	
Humanist Ideology	-.20	
x Gender	.03	
Nationalist Ideology	.00	
x Gender	.44	
Minority Ideology	.20	
x Gender	.04	
<b><u>Racial socialization</u></b>		
Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)		0.36
x Gender		0.48

Gender	-.39*	-1.88
Intercept	7.89	3.85
Empirical Distinguishability	Yes	No

*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , +  $p \leq .10$

Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the restricted (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models

Table 8

*Actor and Partner Effect by Gender for Racial Identity (Self-reported Success)*

Effect	Mother	Sig.	Father	Sig.
<b>Actor Effect</b>				
Centrality	.10	No	.73	No
Public Regard	.80	Yes	-.69	Trend
Private Regard	.23	No	.91	No
Assimilationist	-.55	No	-.08	No
Humanist	-1.09	Yes	-.02	No
Nationalist	.72	No	-.5	No
Minority	.13	No	-.42	No
<b>Partner Effect</b>				
Centrality	-.02	No	.48	No
Public Regard	-.54	Trend	.11	No
Private Regard	.50	No	-.86	Trend
Assimilationist	-.71	Trend	-.11	No
Humanist	-.23	No	-.17	No
Nationalist	-.44	No	.44	No
Minority	.16	No	.24	No

Table 9

*Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Self-Reported Success-Couple-level*

	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	.15
x Gender	-.18
Relationship Quality	-.06
x Gender	-.03
Positive communication	.42
x Gender	.51
Negative Communication	-.90*
x Gender	-.33
Coparenting quality	-.26
x Gender	-.60
<b>Partner couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	.33
x Gender	.20
Relationship Quality	-.08+
x Gender	-.04
Positive communication	.85*
x Gender	.36
Negative Communication	1.06**
x Gender	.95
Coparenting quality	1.55***
x Gender	.23
Gender	-.48*
Intercept	7.66
Empirical Distinguishability	Yes

*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , +  $p \leq .10$

Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the restricted (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models

Table 10

*Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Self-Reported Success-Contextual-level*

	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor contextual-level predictors</b>	
Discrimination frequency	.63
x Gender	.39
Discrimination bother	-.32
x Gender	-.06
<b>Partner contextual-level predictors</b>	
Discrimination frequency	.46
x Gender	-.76
Discrimination bother	.58
x Gender	.48
Gender	-.12
Intercept	7.72
Empirical Distinguishability	No

*Note.*  $p < .10$  for all displayed coefficients

Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models



Table 11

<i>Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Behaviorally Coded Success-Individual-level</i>		
	1	2
	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor Individual level predictors</b>		
<b><u>Racial identity</u></b>		
Centrality	.43**	
x Gender	-.17	
Public Regard	.11	
x Gender	.11	
Private Regard	-.02	
x Gender	-.17	
Assimilationist Ideology	-.23*	
x Gender	-.14	
Humanist Ideology	.19	
x Gender	.03	
Nationalist Ideology	-.42**	
x Gender	.29+	
Minority Ideology	-.16*	
x Gender	.07	
<b><u>Racial socialization</u></b>		
Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)		.00
x Gender		.15
<b>Actor Self-Reported Success</b>		
	-.04	-.04
x Gender	-.04	-.06
<b>Partner Individual level predictors</b>		
<b><u>Racial identity</u></b>		
Centrality	.31*	
x Gender	.29	
Public Regard	-.01	
x Gender	-.15	
Private Regard	-.37**	
x Gender	-.15	
Assimilationist Ideology	-.19+	
x Gender	.01	
Humanist Ideology	.21+	
x Gender	-.27*	
Nationalist Ideology	-.23+	
x Gender	-.46**	
Minority Ideology	-.22**	
x Gender	.06	
<b><u>Racial socialization</u></b>		
Racial Socialization Practices (RSQ-P)		.08

x Gender		.08
<b>Partner Self-Reported Success</b>	.03	.00
x Gender	.09	.12+
Gender	-.52	
Intercept	6.84	
Empirical Distinguishability	Yes	No
<i>Note.</i> *** $p < .001$ , ** $p < .01$ , * $p < .05$ , + $p \leq .10$		
Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the restricted (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models		

Table 12

*Actor and Partner Effect by Gender for Racial Identity (Observed Success)*

Effect	Mother	Sig.	Father	Sig.
<b>Actor Effect</b>				
Centrality	.60	Yes	.25	No
Public Regard	0	No	.22	No
Private Regard	.15	No	-.20	No
Assimilationist	-.09	No	-.38	Trend
Humanist	.16	No	.23	No
Nationalist	-.70	Yes	-.13	No
Minority	-.22	Trend	-.10	No
<b>Partner Effect</b>				
Centrality	.02	No	.60	Yes
Public Regard	.14	No	-.16	No
Private Regard	-.22	No	-.51	Yes
Assimilationist	-.20	No	-.18	No
Humanist	.48	Yes	-.06	No
Nationalist	.23	No	-.69	Yes
Minority	-.28	Yes	-16.0	No

Table 13

*Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Behaviorally Coded Success-Couple-level*

	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	-.23
x Gender	-.03
Relationship Quality	.12*
x Gender	.10+
Positive communication	.45
x Gender	-.06
Negative Communication	.40
x Gender	.00
Coparenting quality	-.63
x Gender	-1.00**
<b>Actor Self-Reported Success</b>	-.01
x Gender	-.13
<b>Partner couple-level predictors</b>	
Relationship Satisfaction	-.01
x Gender	-.11
Relationship Quality	-.01
x Gender	.03
Positive communication	.49*
x Gender	.27+
Negative Communication	.40+
x Gender	.41
Coparenting quality	.01
x Gender	.37
<b>Partner Self-Reported Success</b>	-.03
x Gender	.18+
Gender	-.48*
Intercept	7.66
Empirical Distinguishability	Yes

Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , +  $p \leq .10$

Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the restricted (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models

Table 14

*Linear Actor-Partner Interdependence Model Predicting Behaviorally Coded Success-Contextual-level*

	<b>B</b>
<b>Actor Contextual-level predictors</b>	
Discrimination frequency	-.33
x Gender	.45
Discrimination bother	.17
x Gender	-.12
<b>Actor Self-Reported Success</b>	-.01
x Gender	-.03
<b>Partner Contextual-level predictors</b>	
Discrimination frequency	-.66*
x Gender	-.22
Discrimination bother	.34+
x Gender	.06
<b>Partner Self-Reported Success</b>	.02
x Gender	.09
Gender	-.55
Intercept	6.70
Empirical Distinguishability	No

*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , +  $p \leq .10$

Empirical Distinguishability assessed using the -2LL of the restricted (indistinguishable) and full (distinguishable) models

Table 15

*Descriptive Statistics of Dyadic Interview Sample*

Dyad	Parent	Age	Years Together	Children	Educational Status	Household Income	Neighborhood Racial Composition	EM	RB	RP	SB	SW	Occurrence	Reported Success	Observed Success
C001	Mother	37	12.5	M 10; F 13	Masters Degree	\$75,000 - \$99,999	More Black people than people of other races	1.00	1.75	2.00	1.2	2.00	4	7	7.60
	Father	42			High School / GED			1.25	2.00	1.75	1.2	2.00	5	7	6.80
C002	Mother	32	8.0	M 11, 7	2-year College Degree	\$35,000 - \$49,999	Almost all Black people	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.0	2.00	5	10	4.80
	Father	33			High School / GED			1.00	1.50	2.00	2.0	2.00	5	10	6.20
M001	Mother	37	13.5	M 9,8,7	Masters Degree	\$75,000 - \$99,999	Same number of Blacks and people of other races	1.00	1.50	2.00	1.6	2.00	5	9	6.20
	Father	35			4-year College Degree			2.00	0.50	2.00	1.4	2.00	5	10	6.40
M003	Mother	45	14.0	M, 10	Doctoral Degree	over \$250,000	More people of other races than Black people	0.50	1.75	2.00	1.8	1.50	5	10	6.40
	Father	52			Masters Degree			1.50	2.00	2.00	1.8	1.75	5	10	6.60
M004	Mother	32	6.0	M 10, 5mo	4-year College Degree	\$100,000 - \$250,000	More people of other races than Black people	0.00	0.00	0.75	1.6	1.50	2	8	8.00
	Father	33			4-year College Degree			0.00	0.00	0.50	0.8	1.50	4	4	7.60
M005	Mother	43	11.0	M 14,10,8,5	Masters Degree	\$50,000 - \$74,999	Same number of Blacks and people of other races	1.00	0.00	0.50	0.4	0.75	4	5	6.80
	Father	44			Some College			1.50	1.00	1.25	0.6	2.00	3	6	5.20
M009	Mother	46	21.0	M 14; F 11	Masters Degree	\$100,000 - \$250,000	More people of other races than Black people	0.50	1.00	2.00	1.8	1.50	4	6	7.60
	Father	47			4-year College Degree			2.00	1.75	1.25	1.4	2.00	4	7	7.40
M013	Mother	30	11.0	M 10, 3; F 8	Masters Degree	\$50,000 - \$99,999	Almost all people of other races	0.25	0.00	1.25	1.4	1.75	5	7	6.60
	Father	32			Masters Degree			1.00	0.00	1.50	1.8	1.50	2	5	6.80
M015	Mother	30	11.5	M 10, 3	4-year College Degree	\$25,000 - \$34,999	Almost all Black people	1.00	0.50	1.75	1.2	2.00	4	10	8.20
	Father	32			Masters Degree			1.75	1.00	2.00	1.4	2.00	4	8	7.60
M016	Mother	43	9.5	M 6; F 8	Professional Degree (JD, MD)	\$100,000 - \$250,000	More Black people than people of other races	0.75	0.75	2.00	2.0	1.50	5	10	7.20
	Father	42			Masters Degree			1.75	1.75	2.00	1.8	1.50	5	9	7.20
Overall Sample	n/a	41	14.46	n/a	4-year College Degree	\$100,000 - \$250,000	More people of other races than Black people	1.16	1.07	1.58	1.37	1.76	3.86	6.71	7.85

*Note.* Sample means and medians are for the full sample. EM = Egalitarian, RB = Racial Barrier, RP = Racial Pride, SB = Socialization Behaviors, SW = Self-Worth

Table 16

*Themes, Subthemes, and Focused Codes by Research Question*

<b>Overarching Theme/Research Question</b>	
<u>Subtheme</u>	
<u>"Focused Code"</u>	
<i>exemplar specific codes</i>	Brief Definitions
<b>Nature of Black Parenting Couples' Conversations</b>	
"Just Do(ing) It"	Parents' way to describe a preference for action over having dyadic conversations
"Intentionality"	Extent to which parents had planned, intentional conversations with one another
"Conversational Timing"	Temporal factors underlying dyadic RS conversations
<i>post-hoc conversations</i>	
<b>How Parents Decide on RS Agenda</b>	
<u>Processes for Enacting Racial Socialization</u>	
"Asking Questions"	Parents' use of questioning (either child, partner, or relevant others) to assist in deciding which RS messages to provide
"Looking for Signs"	Parents listening and looking for RS-relevant opportunities
"Doing RS Homework"	Actions undertaken by parents to aid in transition from deciding on to enact a RS agenda
<u>Context and Considerations</u>	
<u>Child-centered factors</u>	
"Children's Age"	Elements of child's developmental level that impact decisions around RS
<i>maturity</i>	
<i>supervision</i>	
<i>independence</i>	
"Gender Differences"	Impact of child gender and gender-related norms on RS decisions
"Children's Experiences"	Relevant experiences (e.g., racial trauma) that make RS more or less salient
"Child As Active Agent"	RS decisions based on child presenting with questions or issues

*children bringing up topics*  
*children talking among themselves*

### What Parents Bring to RS

"Desires"

Goals and wishes held by parents with a positive emotional tone

"Concerns/Fears"

Parents' wariness of negative outcomes for their children

### Broader Ecological Context

"Neighborhood and Environment"

Role of composition of proximal and more distal living environment on RS decisions

"School"

Role of school as a space for or that necessitates RS

"Current Events and Media"

Impact of social milieu on influencing RS decisions

*police*

*the black male*

### **Division of Labor**

"Leads, Deference, and Roles"

Explicit and implicit decisions to have one parent assume a position of relative authority on an RS topic

"Teamwork"

Actions taken to present the RS agenda as a unified front

"Balancing One Another"

Parents' attempt at complementing one another's approach to RS

### **Navigation of Coparenting Dynamics**

"Support"

Parents' use of behavioral and/or emotional/symbolic gestures to assist in coparenting around race

*reinforcing*

*filling in*

*trust*

*having patience*

*modeling*

"Compromise"

Couples' attempts to mutually accommodate the styles and preferences pertaining to RS

### **Parental Definitions of Success**



"Outcome-Focused"

Definitions of success centered on positive child outcomes

"Coparenting-Focused"

Definitions of success centered on effectively doing the work of RS as a team

Challenges of Coparenting Around Race

"Tension"

Parents' difficulty in balancing multiple considerations for RS

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## APPENDIX A: BLACK PARENTING COUPLE DECISION-MAKING VIGNETTES

**Instructions to video interviewers:** *Read the instructions below to describe to the dyad what you want them to do. Before you leave the room, make certain they know what they are to do. Make certain they understand they will be videotaped, but that you will leave the room. In addition, make sure the dyad knows to work through one scenario at a time, and that they will receive a notification when it is time to move to the second scenario. Let them know that when the time is up, you will come back in the room. Be certain the videotape is recording when they start to talk.*

### Scenario 1: Cultural Socialization

“As you both know, February is Black History month. Please come up with a reasonable plan for how you will structure your household and family activities for Black History Month, keeping your child in mind. Take about 8 minutes and get as far as you can. If you don’t finish working through every detail, it is OK.”

### Scenario 2: Preparation for bias

“Imagine you have just watched a CNN news story on the killing of an unarmed Black child and you are not sure if your child has heard about this story at his/her school. Spend about 8 minutes talking with one another about how you want to handle this situation, keeping your child in mind. That is, come up with a plan, together. Do not worry if you are unable to work through a final decision before time is up.”

## APPENDIX B: UNC BLACK PARENTING COUPLE PROJECT (BPCP) CODING AND SCORING PROCEDURES

1. The UNC BPCP codes the 15-16 minutes of interaction between dyads that occurs between the two scenarios (“Black History Month” and “CNN Headlines”) using the Iowa Family Interaction Rating Scales (IFIRS: Melby et al.)
2. Raters will be rating each partner of four scales: Warmth, Communication, Effective Process, and Negotiation/Compromise. In addition, each dyad will receive a score for Family Enjoyment.
3. The format for viewing and coding is as follows:
  - a. One general viewing of the scenarios to understand the context (and to assess Family Enjoyment)
  - b. Viewing the video an additional two times for each focal
    - i. Randomly select one focal to concentrate on using a coin-toss
    - ii. Watch that focal twice
      1. First time scoring as many of the four scales as you can
      2. Second time to get clarity of scores and catch any additional
    - iii. Log scores for one focal before moving on to the next
  - c. Initially, this may take around 75 minutes per video; however, eventually you may decrease the amount of time for the second focal viewing only
4. Please record notes for each focal using the note sheet (below). Make notes for each focal to justify your score for each scale. You are welcome to use your computer to type notes, or you may opt to print and using paper and pencil. You will need a note sheet for each dyad (please use the dyad ID and circle marital status, if known).
5. Please record final scores for each partner/dyad on each the score sheet below. Again, you will need a new score sheet for each couple. The page numbers referring to scoring criteria are provided for each of the scales
6. Please place your name and other information on each sheet. Do not worry about the Coder Type.

# IOWA FAMILY RATING SCALES

## Notes for UNC BPC Project

Couple # \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_

C

Coder ID # \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ (AM/PM)

Reliability

Completion Time: \_\_\_\_ minutes

Marital Status M

Coder Name

Coder Type: Primary

Male Focal

Female Focal

Warmth (61)	
Communication (79)	
Negotiation/Compromise (140)	
Effective Process (135)	
Family Enjoyment* (142)	

## APPENDIX C: BLACK PARENTING COUPLE DYADIC INTERVIEW GUIDE

[Begin by asking for general thoughts about the scenarios: Get a sense of the extent to which this felt like a novel concept—making decisions about race-related matters regarding your child or household.

**\*\*Use this initial discussion to establish initial rapport as well as to set a context for the interview\*\***

*This interview is a chance for the both of you to really talk in detail about how you consider raising your child around race. Researchers and clinicians such as myself know a great deal about the types of messages that both mothers and fathers tell their children as a means of helping them understand what it means to be Black, and to prepare them for discrimination. This is often called racial socialization. What we know far less about is whether parents such as yourselves actually have discussions about these messages, whether you make decisions such as the ones you did in the scenario etc. It is also important to see what these conversations look like because we know this is not a unidirectional process. Children will come and share experiences of race. Understanding how you would problem solve as a unit is important.*

*So again, the next hour or so will be devoted to having you serve as the experts, helping me understand whether and how you navigate this process together.*

*So, just a few points of emphasis before we begin. First, I will be asking a number of questions, but feel free to also offer up other points that my questions may not directly address. Again, my hope is to learn about the experience of Black parents around this topic by speaking with you. Second, I want to stress that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions and I encourage you to speak openly and honestly. This may also mean letting me know if the questions I asked do not make sense or do not apply to you as a couple. Third, I feel that talking with you at the same time will allow me to best understand the issues you are working through. As such, I want to make sure you are both able to share your opinions to any questions I may raise. I may occasionally ask if either of you has anything to add or if you see an aspect in a different light. Finally, this interview is expected to take about 1 hour, but I am happy to talk with you for whatever length of time is convenient (shorter or longer) even if we have to spread this interview over multiple sessions. Before we begin, do you have any questions for me?*

### **Section I: General questions around racial socialization discussions**

Do you all find yourselves talking to your child about race, racism, or about being African American/Black?

(Probe) can ask about how often, frequency

a. Can you give me some examples of what you might talk about?

“These are great examples, some of which map onto what I will ask today”

### **Section II: Racial Pride/Cultural Socialization**

Earlier on the task where we recorded you, we had you go through two examples. The first example we had you all work through regarding Black History Month is a set of messages parents may give to their children.

- Do you all have these kinds of conversations with one another? Said another way, do you talk with each other about how you want to talk to your child about?
  - What it means to be Black/Being proud to be Black
  - Black History

*Assuming the parents deny having such conversations, “That’s perfectly fine. It seems that some Black parents have these conversations explicitly and others do not” (normalize).*

Probe: Can you think of some examples of how you two work together around teaching your children about Black history and pride?

If affirmative: What would I hear from you if I were a fly on the wall?

*Assuming you have these discussions*, how do you decide who will *actually* talk to the child about these aspects?

- What goes into determining this? What goes through your mind?

*Assuming you have these discussions*, do you usually wait until Black History Month or some other event?)

- What things go through your mind?

### **Section III: Racial Barrier/Preparation for Bias**

The other scenario we had you two work through involved how to prepare yourself to talk to your child about discrimination.

Again, is this a type of conversation that you all generally have with one another? What's that look like?

*Assuming the parents are not having such conversations*, "Again that's fine. Some parents have these conversations explicitly with one another and others do not" (normalize).

Probe: Can you think of some examples of how you two work together around preparing your child to deal with racism?

(following up with probes about prejudice/discrimination if need be)

*Assuming you have these discussions*, how do you decide who will *actually* talk to the child about these aspects?

- Again, what goes through your mind?
  - Only if not able to generate factors: some parents say "well my parents talked about these things" OR "we have to have a game plan living in this neighborhood"

*Assuming you have these discussions*, do you all talk to one other about when you will talk with your child about these things (For example, do you wait until child mentions an experience at school? Until an event like Mike Brown?)

- Are there any factors that determine this? Factors that may change your initial plan?

### **Section IV: Behavioral messages**

In addition to these types of conversations, parents such as yourselves may also make decisions about a number of messages that have less to do with actual words you speak, but more to do with behaviors and symbols you choose.

Do you all have conversations about what toys to buy your child, events to attend, or things to watch?

- What other things like this do you think about?
- *Can potentially probe here about division of labor and timing*

### **Section V: Coparenting around race**

In what ways do you feel you both support one another when it comes to raising your child around race?

- Do the two of you ever disagree about the things we've talked about today?
  - How do you work it out?

Finish this sentence for me...successfully raising our child around race together means \_\_\_\_\_

### **Concluding remarks**

I want to thank you so much for your time today. Your responses have been invaluable. Please stay tuned for a workshop that we will be looking to conduct to further discuss these issues.

Finale: Before we go today, do you have something else to add or are there any questions you have for me?

*Again, thank you so much for your time.*

APPENDIX D: BPCRS PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

**The following questions are about your background.**

**1. What is your gender?**

Female ☐<sub>1</sub>                      Male ☐<sub>2</sub>

**2. What is your date of birth?**

\_\_\_\_\_ (month)/ \_\_\_\_\_ (date)/ \_\_\_\_\_ (year)

**3. What is your age?**

\_\_\_\_\_ Years old

**4. Were you born in the U.S.?**

Yes ☐<sub>1</sub>                      No ☐<sub>2</sub>

**IF NO, how many years have you resided in the U.S.?**        \_\_\_\_\_ Years

**5. What race do you consider yourself to be (mark ALL that apply)?**



- Black ☐ <sub>1</sub>
- White/Caucasian/Anglo-Saxon ☐ <sub>2</sub>
- American Indian or Alaska Native ☐ <sub>3</sub>
- East or Southeast Asian ☐ <sub>4</sub>
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander ☐ <sub>5</sub>
- Other (specify below): ☐ <sub>6</sub>
- 

**6. What is your ethnicity (mark ALL that apply)?**

African American ☐ <sub>1</sub>

Caribbean (specify below) ☐ <sub>2</sub>

\_\_\_\_\_

African (specify below): ☐ <sub>3</sub>

\_\_\_\_\_

Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (specify below): ☐ <sub>4</sub>

\_\_\_\_\_

Other (specify below): ☐ <sub>5</sub>

**What is your current occupation?** \_\_\_\_\_

**How many years of education have you had?** \_\_\_\_\_

**What is the highest level of education that you have completed?**

Elementary School ☐ <sub>1</sub>

High school degree or GED ☐ <sub>2</sub>

A few years of college, no degree ☐ <sub>3</sub>

Associates or community college degree ☐ <sub>4</sub>

Bachelors or 4-year college degree ☐ <sub>5</sub>

Masters degree ☐ <sub>6</sub>

Graduate or professional degree ☐ <sub>7</sub>

**What is your approximate individual yearly income?**

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. under \$5,000       | 6. \$35,000 - \$49,999   |
| 2. \$5,000 - \$9,999   | 7. \$50,000 - \$74,999   |
| 3. \$10,000 - \$14,999 | 8. \$75,000 - \$99,999   |
| 4. \$15,000 - \$24,999 | 9. \$100,000 - \$249,999 |
| 5. \$25,000 - \$34,999 | 10. \$250,000 and over   |

**What is your marital status?**

Married ☐ <sub>1</sub> Co-habiting ☐ <sub>2</sub>

**If married, did you and your partner live together before you were married? Yes No**

**How many years have you and your partner been romantically involved? \_\_\_\_\_**

**If you and your partner are married, how many years have you been married?**  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Please list the age and gender of your child**

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: M F

**Please circle your religious affiliation:**

Catholic | Protestant | Jewish | Islamic | Buddhist | New Age/Metaphysical | None

Other \_\_\_\_\_

If protestant, please list denomination (including non-denominational)  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Overall, how religious (or active in the practice of your faith) would you say you are?**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not religious		somewhat religious			very religious	

**Overall, how spiritual would you say you are?**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not spiritual		somewhat spiritual			very spiritual	

**7. What is the 5-digit zip code of the community in which you reside? \_\_\_\_\_**

**8. What is the racial composition of the community in which you reside?**

Almost all Black people ☐ <sub>1</sub>

More Black people than of other races ☐ <sub>2</sub>

Same number of Black and people of other races ☐ <sub>3</sub>

More people of other races than Black people ☐ <sub>4</sub>

Almost all people of other races ☐ <sub>5</sub>

## RACIAL IDENTITY

<b>9. Please read the statements below and check the box next to the response that most closely represents how you feel. Do not check more than one response.</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b> ▼	▼	▼	<b>Neutral</b> ▼	▼	▼	<b>Strongly Agree</b> ▼
a. <u>Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
b. <u>It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
c. <u>I feel good about Black people.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
d. <u>Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
e. <u>I am happy that I am Black.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
f. <u>Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
g. <u>Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
h. <u>In general, others respect Black people.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
i. <u>Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
j. <u>I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
k. <u>Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
l. <u>Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
m. <u>Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
n. <u>Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
o. <u>I have a strong attachment to other Black people.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>

p. <u>The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
q. <u>Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
r. <u>Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
s. <u>Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
t. <u>The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
u. <u>Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
v. <u>There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
w. <u>Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
x. <u>The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
y. <u>In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
z. <u>I am proud to be Black.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
aa. <u>Society views Black people as an asset.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

<b>10. The next questions ask you to think about how being Black related to experiences you have had <u>IN YOUR LIFETIME</u>. On the left side, tell us how often you have experienced each event because you were Black. On the right side, tell us how much it bothered you when the experience happened.</b>	<b>How often did it happen to you because of race?</b> 0 = never 1= once 2= a few times 3 = about once a month 4=a few times a month 5 = once a week or more ▼	<b>How much did it bother you?</b> 0 = never happened to me 1 = didn't bother me at all 2=bothered me a little 3=bothered me somewhat 4=bothered me a lot 5=bothered me extremely ▼
a. Being ignored, overlooked or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)	_____	_____
b. Being treated rudely or disrespectfully	_____	_____
c. Being accused of something or treated suspiciously	_____	_____
d. Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated	_____	_____
e. Being observed or followed while in public places	_____	_____
f. Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"	_____	_____
g. Your ideas or opinions being minimized, ignored, or devalued	_____	_____
h. Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment	_____	_____
i. Being insulted, called a name, or harassed	_____	_____
j. Others expecting your work to be inferior	_____	_____
k. Not being taken seriously	_____	_____
l. Being left out of conversations or activities	_____	_____
m. Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way	_____	_____
n. Other people avoiding you	_____	_____
o. Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor)	_____	_____
p. Being stared at by strangers	_____	_____
q. Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted	_____	_____
r. Being mistaken for someone else of your same race	_____	_____

s. Being asked to speak for or represent your entire racial/ethnic group (e.g., “What do Black people think”?)	_____	_____
t. Being considered fascinating or exotic by others	_____	_____

## RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

<b>11. Sometimes, parents (or parental figures) talk or have discussions with their children about race and what it means to be Black. Below are several statements parents sometimes tell their children. Please tell us how often you have told your child each of these statements in the past year.</b>	<b>Never</b> ▼	<b>Once or Twice</b> ▼	<b>More than twice</b> ▼
a. I have told my child that Blacks and whites should try to understand each other so they can get along.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
b. I have told my child that learning about Black history is not that important.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
c. I have told my child that some people try to keep Black people from being successful.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
d. Involved my child in activities that focus on things important to Black people.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
e. Bought my child Black toys or games.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
f. I have told my child that some people think they are better than you because of their race.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
g. I have told my child it is best to act like Whites.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
h. Gone to Black cultural events (i.e., plays, movies, concerts, museums) with my child.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
i. I have told my child that because of opportunities today, hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
j. I have told my child that you are somebody special no matter what anybody says.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
k. I have told my child that you should try to have friends of all races.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
l. I have told my child that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
m. I have told my child to be proud of who you are.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
n. I have told my child that skin color does not define who you are.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
o. Gone to cultural events involving other races and cultures (i.e., plays, movies, concerts, museums) with my child.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
p. I have told my child that being Black is nothing to be proud of.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
q. Talked to my child about Black history.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
r. I have told my child that you can be whatever you want to be.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
s. Went to organizational meetings that dealt with Black issues with my child.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>



t. I have told my child that you should be proud to be Black.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
u. I have told my child that you can learn things from people of different races.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
v. I have told my child White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
w. I have told my child that some people may dislike you because of your skin color.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
x. I have told my child Blacks are not as smart as people of other races.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
y. I have told my child never to be ashamed of your Black features (i.e., hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>
z. Bought my child books about Black people.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>

### RECEIVED RACIAL SOCIALZATON

<b>Please answer the follow questions about your experiences growing up</b>	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
How often did your parents or the people who raised you talk about race, racism or other groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>
		Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
How often did your parents encourage racial pride?		<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>
How often did your parents teach you about Black history and culture		<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>
How often did your parents teach you about racial bias against Blacks		<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
Not including your parents or the people who raised you, how often did other close relatives such as your brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandparents talk with you about race, racism or other groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>
How often did your friends talk about race, racism or other groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>
How often did other adults such as church members, your teachers, or neighbors talk to you about race, racism or other groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>

## COMMUNALISM

Using this scale, please respond to each statement by choosing the number that best represents the degree of truth or falseness that the statement has for you	Completely False	Mostly False	Somewhat False (More false than true)	Somewhat True (More true than false)	Mostly True	Completely True
1. Although I might receive a lot of support from my close social relations, I don't think it is important that I give a lot in return	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
2. In my family it is expected that the elderly are cared for by the younger generation.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
3. I enjoy being part of a group effort	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
4. I believe that I can know myself better by getting to know my family and close friends.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
5. I don't mind if my aunts and uncles come to live with me.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
6. For me, increasing the quality of the relationships with family and friends is one of the most productive ways to spend my time.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
7. One big reason why people should own things is so that they can share with others.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
8. In my family, there are close friends that we consider family.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
9. I think that it is very important for	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6

people to keep up with current events.						
10. There are very few things I would not share with family members.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
11. I am happiest when I am a part of a group.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
12. It is family group membership that gives me a sense of personal identity.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
13. Older members of my family are often relied on for advice/guidance.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
14. I don't mind if my cousins come to live with me.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
15. I would prefer to live in an area where I know I have family members.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
16. I believe that a person has an obligation to work cooperatively with family and friends.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
17. It is not unusual for me to call close family friends "uncle", "aunt", or "cousin".	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
18. I enjoy helping family members accomplish their goals.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
19. I take care of my own needs before I consider the needs of others.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
20. I don't believe that people should view themselves as independent of friends and family.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>

21. I am always interested in listening to what my older relatives have to say because I believe that with age comes wisdom.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
22. I prefer to work in a group.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
23. I am more concerned with personal gains than with those of my family and friends.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
24. Among my family members, it is understood that we should turn to one another in time of crisis.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
25. I place great value on social relations among people.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
26. I make sacrifices for my family and they do the same for me.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
27. My first responsibility is to myself rather than to my family.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
28. I am constantly aware of my responsibility to my family and friends.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
29. I believe that when people are "close" to one another (like family or friends) they should be accountable for each other's welfare.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
30. I place high value on my duty to the group.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>
31. We all must depend on others for our existence and fulfillment.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>

### RELATIONSHIP QUALITY

FOR EACH ITEM, ENDORSE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER	Strongly Disagree			Neither Agree Nor Disagree			Strongly Agree
We have a good marriage or relationship.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
My relationship with my partner is very stable.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
Our marriage or relationship is strong.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
My relationship with my partner makes me happy.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>
I really feel like part of a team with my partner.	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>

On the scale below, circle the number that best describes the degree of happiness, everything considered, in your marriage or relationship. The middle point, “happy”, represents the degree of happiness most people get from marriage or their relationship. The scale gradually increases on the right side for those few people who experience extreme joy in the marriage or relationship and decreases on the left side for those who are extremely unhappy.

Very Unhappy				Happy					Very Happy
<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>8</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>9</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>10</sub>

## COPARENTING RELATIONSHIP

For each item, select the response that best describes the way you and your partner work together as parents:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not true of us		A little bit true of us		Somewhat true of us		Very true of us

- 1 I believe my partner is a good parent.
- 2 My relationship with my partner is stronger now than before we had a child.
- 3 My partner asks my opinion on issues related to parenting.
- 4 My partner pays a great deal of attention to our child.
- 5 My partner likes to play with our child and then leave dirty work to me. **(R)**
- 6 My partner and I have the same goals for our child.
- 7 My partner still wants to do his or her own thing instead of being a responsible parent. **(R)**
- 8 It is easier and more fun to play with the child alone than it is when my partner is present too.
- 9 My partner and I have different ideas about how to raise our child. **(R)**
- 10 My partner tells me I am doing a good job or otherwise lets me know I am being a good parent.
- 11 My partner and I have different ideas regarding our child's eating, sleeping, and other routines. **(R)**
- 12 My partner sometimes makes jokes or sarcastic comments about the way I am as a parent.
- 13 My partner does not trust my abilities as a parent.
- 14 My partner is sensitive to our child's feelings and needs.
- 15 My partner and I have different standards for our child's behavior. **(R)**
- 16 My partner tries to show that she or he is better than me at caring for our child.
- 17 I feel close to my partner when I see him or her play with our child.
- 18 My partner has a lot of patience with our child.
- 19 We often discuss the best way to meet our child's needs.
- 20 My partner does not carry his or her fair share of the parenting work. **(R)**
- 21 When all three of us are together, my partner sometimes competes with me for our child's attention.
- 22 My partner undermines my parenting.
- 23 My partner is willing to make personal sacrifices to help take care of our child.
- 24 We are growing and maturing together through experiences as parents.
- 25 My partner appreciates how hard I work at being a good parent.
- 26 When I'm at my wits end as a parent, partner gives me extra support I need.
- 27 My partner makes me feel like I'm best possible parent for our child.
- 28 The stress of parenthood has caused my partner and me to grow apart. **(R)**
- 29 My partner doesn't like to be bothered by our child. **(R)**
- 30 Parenting has given us a focus for the future.

## OCCURRENCE OF DYADIC RACIAL SOCIALIZATION CONVERSATIONS

Do you talk with your partner about how you want to talk to your child about? (Y/N)

- Black History and heritage (e.g., what it means to be Black/Being proud to be Black)
- Discrimination/Prejudice/Racism
- The purchase of Afrocentric items (e.g., dolls, books, music) or the attendance of Afrocentric events (e.g., museums)
- Having positive self-worth/self-esteem
- Dealing with other racial groups
- 

## SELF-REPORTED SUCCESS OF DYADIC RELATIONSHIP CONVERSATIONS

For items parents endorse, they will be asked “how successful do you think the conversation(s) with your partner have generally been”. Success will be rated on a scale from 1 (“*Not at all successful/Very unsuccessful*”) to 10 (“*Very successful*”) with 5 representing “*successful*”.

Not at all successful/Very unsuccessful				Successful					Very Successful
<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>6</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>7</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>8</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>9</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>10</sub>

## APPENDIX E: SAMPLE TRANSCRIPT TEMPLATE

1

Participant IDs: M01M, M01F  
Interview Name: Black Parenting Couple Project M001  
Site: UNC  
Date of Interview: April 10, 2015  
Interviewer ID: SCTJ  
Transcriber: Ebony Leon

##SCTJ## Ok, so I would like to just start off by asking you all your general thoughts about the scenario...Like does that feel like discussions you've had before or a new kind of thing for y'all to have those kinds of conversations.

##M01F## Oh yeah. I think as a household in general, I'm first-generation and he's from the West Indies, and I think that <sup>2</sup>culture has always been something that's really relevant and I know my husband tends to have <sup>3</sup>passionate views about this stuff. So it's kind of like <sup>4</sup>how do we communicate this to our kids? So, we've had this conversation of how do we <sup>5</sup>tell our kids without them feeling our real reactions to it, and how do we say it in a way that's <sup>6</sup>age-appropriate and <sup>7</sup>sensitive <sup>8</sup>without kind of influencing their thinking.

##SCTJ## Mhm. Ok.

##M01M## XXX. [We don't want our kids to become racist or viewed upon] So it's kind of like alright <sup>1</sup>how do you talk to them without getting the impression that all white people are evil, or this, this, and this. But yeah, we've definitely had this conversation before and talking about those things.

##M01F## With those subjects actually we've had that conversation.

##SCTJ## Ok, awesome that's great. It'll map on what I ask today. So both of those type of conversations you've had before. Ok...So I'm going to read a little bit of the overview. (Moves recorder) Basically this interview is really a chance for both of you to talk in detail about how you consider raising your children around race. As I said before, researchers and clinicians such as myself, we know a great deal about the types of messages that both mothers and fathers tell their children as a means of helping them understand what it means to be black, and to prepare them for racism and discrimination. This is often called "racial socialization" in the literature, which you may have heard. What we know far less about is whether parents such as yourself, actually have discussions with one another about these messages when you make decisions like we talked about in the scenario, and it's also important to have these conversations and know what they look like because we know that this is not a one-way process. We know children will also come and share their experiences of discrimination or race, so understanding how you would problem-solve as a unit is important. So again, the next 40-50...

##M01F## You have something on your cheek that I really want to get off. I don't want to freak you out, but it looks like an inchworm.

- 1 "I'm first generation and he's from the West Indies"
- 2 "culture"
- 3 "passionate views"
- 4 "tell kids w/o them feeling our real reactions to it"
- 5 "age-appropriate"
- 6 "sensitive"
- 7 "without influencing their thinking"
- 8 "impacting kids' impressions"



## APPENDIX F: SAMPLE MEMOS

### **MEMO: C001 Reflections**

Children have had some traumas

- Classmate death to violence
- Basketball tournament with slurs

Wonder about the importance of roles (question asker, historian, Black Panther parent)

Also process concepts such as supporting, reinforcing, deferring, etc...

### **MEMO: C002**

This is my first example of a "Nike Family". They "just do it" when it comes to racial socialization, and it seems to work well for them.

Also interesting here is the explicit discussion about the transmission of messages from generation to generation. I need to go back and see if there is more in others ones about this.

Also, the idea of vicarious socialization, by seeing how parents respond to something and then having a discussion about it. I believe this happened to M001 also.

Lots of attempts to show that they fit in majority spaces.

### **MEMO: M001**

The importance of parents considering a lot of questions in their decisions (how to do X,Y,Z)

- These questions are generally tied to either wanting to protect children or wanting to make sure a certain point is emphasized.

Lots of support in the form of reinforcement

Interesting here the issue of hair and skin tone among boys!

Importance of culture--West Indian and PR backgrounds

"Pro Blackness"--Potential impact of RI, especially centrality on messages

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