LET'S TALK ABOUT IT: INTERACTIVE EFFECTS OF MATERNAL SOCIALIZATION OF RACE AND EMOTIONS ON PSYCHOLOGICAL OUTCOMES IN AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUNG ADULTS

by

FUNLOLA G. ARE

(Under the Direction of Anne Shaffer)

ABSTRACT

Recently there has been a great deal of focus on the mechanisms through which parents promote positive social and emotional development. Much of this research has focused on emotion socialization practices that support children's emotional development as a foundation for later social and emotional competence. Recent emotion socialization research studying these processes in African American families has suggested that specific emotion socialization responses may be functioning differently in these families. Additionally, given the importance of socializing African American children to race, a separate body of literature has focused on understanding the mechanisms through which parents promote racial pride and prepare children for experiences with bias and discrimination, particularly for African American families. The current study seeks to integrate literature studying parental socialization of emotions and race, to develop a deeper understanding of how maternal socialization patterns relate to later outcomes by studying the interactive effects of maternal emotion socialization and racial socialization behaviors on psychological outcomes in a sample of African American young adults. The study explores the relations between retrospectively reported emotion socialization patterns and

psychological distress. Further, the study examines whether specific patterns of racial socialization and ethnic identity emerge within our sample. Lastly, moderation analyses were conducted to test whether differences in racial socialization/racial identity profiles will amplify or attenuate these relations.

INDEX WORDS: Emotion socialization, Racial socialization, Racial identity, African American, Young adults, Parenting

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Parenting practices are not universally beneficial or harmful, but can vary in their function and impact depending on the context of the family (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, Robinson, 2007). Because of this contextual variability, research is needed to elucidate ways in which parents utilize culturally-specific parenting strategies that are tailored to meet the needs of children from racial minority backgrounds. Within the broader parenting literature, a great deal of attention has focused on understanding parenting processes that promote positive socioemotional development. While much of the research on cultural variation in parenting practices has focused on discipline and autonomy control (Soenens, Vansteenkiste, &Van Petegen, 2015); there are other aspects of parenting that also vary by cultural context. Emotion socialization has recently emerged as central to promoting positive child outcomes (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 2006) including social competence (Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002), friendship quality (McElwain, Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007), and other aspects of children's social and emotional well-being (Eisenberg, Cumberland, Spinrad, 1998). While some research has explored racial and ethnic group differences in emotion socialization practices and outcomes (Morelen & Thomassin, 2013; Nelson et al., 2013; Raval V., Raval, P., Salvina, Wilson, Writer, 2013), little to no research has explored subjective and personal differences in racial and ethnic identity as a context for emotion socialization. Emerging literature has explored how parents socialize their children around race and race-related experiences as a primary parenting process that takes place in African American families. This research highlights the use of culturally-

specific parenting strategies to facilitate and promote positive youth outcomes in the face of experiences with discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008), but its intersections with emotion socialization have not been explored.

Much of the existing emotion socialization literature suggests that parents facilitate their children's emotional development by engaging in behaviors that are supportive of adaptive emotional functioning and overall well-being (Eisenberg et al., 1998). It has not been until more recently, that research has attempted to develop a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which parents promote or hinder positive emotional development through the use of various emotion socialization strategies. Much of the existent literature has explored emotion socialization processes in European American families. However, more recent research has attempted to study these processes in racially and ethnically diverse families (Cole, Tamang, & Shrestha, 2006). Consequently, this research has examined how cultural factors such as race influence how parents socialize their children's emotional development. While including racially diverse families and considering differences in socialization behaviors across racial groups is important, doing so alone may falsely present a homogeneous picture of socialization processes taking place within racial and ethnic minority groups.

Given that individuals are likely to differ on a number of characteristics and that these factors influence parenting behaviors, emotion socialization literature has sought to develop a more nuanced understanding of emotion socialization processes and factors influencing these processes. Thus, emotion socialization research conducted with racially and ethnically diverse families should also seek to develop a more nuanced understanding of how race and broader cultural experiences may influence emotion socialization processes. The goal of the current study

is to better understand how culturally-specific processes such as racial socialization and racial identity interact with emotion socialization and their links to psychological adjustment.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Culture and parenting

Parenting takes place within a larger context which includes various contextual influences that relate to beliefs, values, attitudes, and practices around parenting. Culture is one such factor that influences parenting behavior. While research studying parenting practices across different cultural groups is burgeoning, the vast majority of this literature has examined similarities and differences in parenting across different racial and ethnic groups. Given that historically this research has been conducted with European American families, much of the research has focused on comparing parenting processes in racial minority families to those in European American families. This research has identified several differences in parenting practices across racial groups. For example, research studying Asian American families has largely focused on how cultural values revolving around interdependence and group harmony have influenced parenting practices (Markus & Kityama, 1991). Additionally, a great deal of research studying the role of cultural context in parenting has focused on discipline practices in racial minority families (McLoyd & Smith, 2002; Querido, Warner, Eyberg, 2002). It is worth noting that most of this research has been comparative in nature and thus, while helpful in identifying differences across racial and ethnic groups, these studies are limited in their ability to disentangle how and why these differences exist. As literature studying parenting strategies has developed beyond simple comparative studies, efforts have focused on understanding whether these differences result in differential outcomes across groups. Some of these findings suggest

that parenting strategies traditionally believed to be universally promotive or detrimental to children's development may function differently in minority families (Soenens et al., 2015). These findings highlight the importance of examining parenting practices and differential outcomes for different minority groups.

Recent findings in emotion socialization literature suggest that culture may play an important role in understanding specific emotion socialization processes. For example, minority parents may socialize their children's emotional expression differently in order to contend with different cultural and societal expectations for appropriate behavior (Cole & Tan, 2007; Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, 2012). A study published by Nelson et al. (2013) found that expressive encouragement was negatively correlated with children's social and academic competence for African American children and positively correlated for the same outcomes in European American children. Similarly, Smith and Walden (2001) found that punitive and minimizing maternal reactions to children's negative emotions were positively related to girls' adaptive coping and negatively related to boys' aggressive behavior in African American families. Other researchers have found similar differences in relation to differential outcomes of emotion socialization practices. In a study of African American and European American young adults, African American participants reported feeling less hurt and shame than European American participants when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices (Perry, Leerkes, Dunbar, & Cavanaugh, 2017). Related, the same study found that African American participants also reported feeling more loved than European American participants when mothers engaged in punitive and minimizing practices, offering additional support for the idea that these behaviors may be operating differently in African American and European American families. These findings suggest that socialization practices

traditionally believed to be universally promotive of social and emotional development may have different implications for minority groups.

Consequently, different models have emerged for understanding the influence of parenting practices in racially and ethnically diverse families (Bowie, Carrere, Cooke, Valdivia, McAllister, Doohan, 2013; Lamborn & Felbab, 2003). Bowie and colleagues (2013) have proposed a cultural values model that suggests successful parenting practices vary across different racial and ethnic groups according to unique social, ecological factors. Within this model, they posited that minority parents are likely to raise their children in a way that is consistent with their own unique cultural beliefs and that successful parenting strategies for one group may differ from successful strategies for another group (Bowie et al., 2013). For example, negative emotional displays from African-Americans are more likely to be viewed as aggressive and threatening from the majority culture (Kang & Chasteen, 2009; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002). Thus, to contend with this, there is a greater tendency for African American parents to socialize their children to avoid emotional expression, which may be labeled as aggressive (Nelson et al., 2012). This message is likely to be delivered along with other messages about race and racial identity, a process referred to as racial socialization (White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers, 2010).

Racial Socialization

Socialization of children takes place in various settings including school, home, and within peer groups, to convey messages about identity and social expectations (White-Johnson et al., 2010); however, much of this research focuses on how parents socialize their children to certain expectations and beliefs. Racial socialization is a specific type of socialization experience where the primary task is to teach children about race, racial identity, and racial relations (White

et al., 2010). Specifically, racial socialization refers to teaching and conveying messages about racial and individual pride, preparation for bias, and intergroup relations among different racial groups (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes, Bachman, Ruble & Fuligni, 2006a; Stevenson, 1997; White et al., 2010). Cultural socialization is a term frequently used to describe parental practices that promote racial or ethnic pride, teach or expose children to relevant historical information about their culture (e.g., visiting African American History Museum, celebrating cultural holidays) (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005). In addition to teaching and exposing children to aspects of their culture via behavioral messages that promote pride in one's cultural background, preparing children for bias and discrimination is also an important aspect of racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006b).

Studies have suggested that between 67- 90 percent of African American parents report having conversations with their children related to preparing them for bias (Hughes et al., 2006a). This is likely due to African American parents acknowledging that minority youth contend with unique developmental tasks given the high prevalence of discrimination and bias towards racial and ethnic minorities (Hughes et al., 2006a). As a result, racial socialization is believed to be an important part of African-American parenting strategies. Extant literature has studied racial socialization as a protective factor in minority youth development (Jones & Neblett, 2016). This research has suggested that racial socialization is associated with positive identity development (Barr & Neville, 2008), self-esteem (Neblett et al., 2008), academic adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007), and may serve as a protective factor to buffer against experiences of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008).

Racial socialization is a complex process whereby multiple factors influence the way this is carried out including, the values, beliefs, messages, and behaviors that take place as a part of

the socialization process (Neblett et al., 2012). Thus, it is likely that variability within the socialization process will also result in variability in the outcomes of the socialization process. Much of the existing literature exploring racial socialization processes has focused on the influence of demographic characteristics (e.g. age, income, educational attainment), race-related experiences, and racial identity attitudes as it relates to patterns of racial socialization messages and behaviors in parents (White-Johnson et al., 2010). For instance, a great deal of racial socialization takes place in response to children's experiences of discrimination (Coard & Sellers, 2005). Thus, it is no surprise that Neblett and colleagues (2006) found that African American children who report greater experiences of racial discrimination also report receiving greater racial socialization messages from their parents.

Racial/ethnic identity

Racial socialization also plays an important role in how children develop their own racial or ethnic identity. Racial socialization prepares children for different environments by helping children develop a positive racial identity (Boykin, 1986; Johnson, 1981) which then serves as a protective factor against marginalization (Hughes and Demo, 1989; Marshall, 1995). A study of Asian American adolescents conducted by Tran and Lee (2010) found that the association between ethnic-racial socialization and social competence was mediated by ethnic identity. Thus, they found that parental messages that stressed equality and education in the cultural history of their racial groups were positively associated with ethnic identity, which was then associated with social competence.

A few studies have examined associations between racial and ethnic identity and psychological adjustment in African Americans (Mandara, Gaylord-Harden, Richards, and Ragsdale, 2009; Neblett, Banks, Cooper, & Smalls-Glover, 2013). For instance, Mandara and

colleagues (2009) found that for African American adolescents, an increase in positive feelings about one's racial group was associated with a decreased prevalence of depressive symptoms. Neblett and colleagues (2013) also found that a positive ethnic identity mediated the relations between racial socialization messages and depressive symptoms in young adults.

Emotion socialization

Emotion socialization refers to the processes by which children come to understand emotions and emotional experiences (Han & Shaffer, 2013; Morris et al., 2007; Shipman et al., 2007). Given that families serve as the primary context for emotional experiences, parents play a significant role in socializing their children to emotional experiences. During early childhood, emotion socialization is primarily composed of the parents' experience and regulation of their own emotions, and the parents' reactions to the child's emotions and the parents' discussion of emotions with the child (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Based on their interactions with their parents, children develop emotional competence skills, such as how to understand their emotions, identify them, and regulate them. Thus, emotion socialization teaches children how to label emotional experiences and facilitates the regulation of these experiences as well (Shields & Cicchetti, 1997). Early emotion socialization is further related to childhood emotional and social competence, including the ability to develop and maintain positive social relationships and display emotions in a socially sanctioned manner (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Several studies have also documented links between emotion socialization behaviors and internalizing and externalizing behaviors (Brand & Kilmes-Dougan, 2010; Eisenberg et al., 1998; Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

Much of existing emotion socialization literature suggests that supportive responses to children's expression of negative emotions such as encouraging emotional expression, and using

emotion-focused and problem-focused reactions are positively correlated with adaptive functioning and overall well-being (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). On the contrary, non-supportive responses such as distress reactions, punitive reactions, and minimization reactions have been negatively correlated with adaptive functioning and well-being (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Research has also acknowledged that factors such as family context including parenting style, family expressiveness, emotion-related parenting practices and culture also play an important role in the development of emotion regulation (Morris et al., 2007).).

A great deal of research has also focused on emotion regulation as an outcome of emotion socialization practices. Emotion regulation involves internal processes such as emotional experience, psychological arousal, and external process that modulate the influence of individual and situational factors in the emotional experience (Morris et al., 2007). Emotion regulation is a complex process that involves the specific emotion an individual experiences as well as the intensity, duration, and lability of the experience (Morris et al., 2007). The development and subsequent accumulation of emotion regulation strategies begins in infancy and is highly dependent on parental caregivers (Field, 1994). However, Cole et al. (2008) suggested that as children mature during early childhood they begin to play a more active role in regulating their distress (Cole, Teti, Zahn-Waxler, 2003). This process continues into adolescence as children's emotional competence increases, and learning to regulate their emotions becomes a central focus of emotional development (Eisenberg et al., 1998). An important component of emotion regulation is the ability to respond to emotionally arousing situations in a manner that is socially appropriate. Thus, emotion regulation is one context by which one can understand the quality of one's psychosocial adjustment, by examining how their emotional experiences fall within the bounds of appropriate societal and cultural rules (Garside & Kilmes-Dougan, 2002).

Research suggests that children regulate their emotional expression in part due to how they feel individuals will respond to their emotional expressions (Fuchs & Thelen, 1988; Shipman & Zeman, 2001; Zeman & Garber, 1996). Particular emphasis has been placed on how parents respond to children's displays of negative emotions. Eisenberg et al. (1998) found that punitive or negative responses to children's displays of negative emotion are linked to maladaptive emotion regulation strategies and emotion dysregulation. Parental minimization of children's emotions has been consistently linked to avoidant emotion regulation strategies in childhood (Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbon, 1992; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). Negative and dismissive parental responses have been associated with increased displays of child anger (Snyder, Stoolmiller, &Wilson, 2003). In contrast, maternal problem-focused reactions have been positively related to adaptive children coping responses (Eisenberg et al., 1996). Similarly, other researchers have demonstrated favorable outcomes in response to supportive emotion socialization strategies. Magai, Consedine, Gillespie, O'Neal and Vilker (2004) found that reward socialization responses increased positive affect and decreased negative affect.

Within the emotion socialization literature, much of the attention has focused on the influence of parental emotion socialization on childhood outcomes. Few studies have examined the relationship between early parental emotion socialization patterns and later adult emotion regulation skills and adaptive functioning. However, Garside & Kilmes-Dougan (2002) found that retrospectively reported that neglecting and punitive emotion socialization responses were positively correlated with psychological distress in young adults. Another exception reported that for young men, retrospectively reported punitive reactions to negative emotions were associated with increased anger expressions (Perry, Cavanaugh, Dunbar, Leerkes, 2015). Thus, there is also a need to better understand how early socialization patterns relate to later outcomes.

Emotion socialization and racial socialization

Despite the fact that emotion socialization has emerged as an integral parenting process, and racial socialization has similarly emerged as an integral part of African American parenting strategies, little work has been done to combine these two areas of study. One exception is the recent work of Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, and Calkins (2016), which puts forth an integrative conceptual model of parental racial/ethnic and emotion socialization. This model seeks to integrate racial socialization literature and emotion socialization literature in hopes of better understanding how these parenting processes join to influence African American children's social and emotional development (Dunbar et al., 2016). If one considers that a primary objective of racial socialization is preparing children for experiences of discrimination, it seems likely that emotion socialization is inherent within this process. In other words, in order for parents to prepare their children for experiences of discrimination, they must facilitate their children's understanding of how to cope with these experiences (Stevenson, 2003). Dunbar and colleagues (2016) suggest that African American parents may combine both traditionally deemed "supportive" and "negative" emotion socialization strategies to promote adaptive emotional functioning in the face of current societal demands. Thus, understanding emotion socialization strategies in African American families requires a much more nuanced approach. For example, a study of African American young adults found that those adults whose parents combined moderate-to-high levels of cultural socialization and supportive emotion responses with moderate levels of preparation for bias and "suppression" responses had lower levels of depression and anger than those whose parents combined high preparation for bias with low supportive responses and high "suppression" responses to emotion (Dunbar, Perry, Cavanaugh, & Leerkes, 2015). In their study they characterized traditionally identified unsupportive emotion

socialization responses as “suppression” responses in an attempt to better characterize the socialization goals of African American parents.

These findings suggest that adaptive functioning results from parents effectively combining racial socialization practices that promote positive racial identity and prepare children to adequately deal with discrimination experiences and emotion socialization practices that promote emotional understanding and regulation of these emotions (Dunbar et al., 2016). Conversely, if parents overemphasize preparation for bias without incorporating adaptive emotion socialization strategies, this leaves them without the capacity to effectively regulate or cope with these negative experiences (Dunbar et al., 2016). And as we know, experiences of discrimination are linked to adverse educational, psychological and social functioning in adolescence (Neblett et al., 2008), which may lead to later problem behaviors and psychological distress (Davis & Stevenson, 2006).

Current Study

The current study aims to better understand how culturally specific parenting practices and emotion socialization interact to relate to young adult outcomes. Specifically, I will examine the interaction between specific maternal emotion socialization responses and racial socialization and racial identity on young adult psychological functioning. Based on previous literature that suggests that African American parents may utilize different emotion socialization responses in order to contend with societal expectations for appropriate behavior, this study will extend our current knowledge by exploring the role of racial socialization and racial identity as moderators of the relations between emotion socialization and psychological outcomes.

The first aim of this study is to examine the relations between specific maternal emotion socialization responses and psychological functioning. Past research suggests that supportive

emotion socialization strategies (e.g. expressive encouragement, problem-focused responses, and emotion focused responses) will be negatively correlated with indicators of psychological distress. Conversely, unsupportive emotion socialization strategies (distress, minimization, and punitive responses) will be positively correlated with psychological distress. However, much of this work has been done with primarily European American families (Denham et al., 2000; Eisenberg et al., 2001; McElwain, Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007; Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002). As noted above, recent emotion socialization research studying these processes in African American families has suggested that specific emotion socialization responses may be functioning differently in these families (e.g. Nelson et al., 2013, Perry et al., 2017). Based on previous findings, I hypothesize that some traditionally identified supportive responses (i.e., emotion-focused and problem-focused responses to children's negative emotions) will be negatively correlated with psychological distress. Additionally, I hypothesize that some traditionally identified unsupportive responses (i.e., distressed responses to children's negative emotions) will be positively correlated with psychological distress. Although some research has found attenuated results for so-called "unsupportive" responses (e.g., punitive, minimization) in African American families, these findings are mixed (Nelson et al., 2013; Nelson et al., 2017; Smith & Walden 2001); however, I hypothesize that punitive and minimization responses will also be negatively correlated with psychological distress. Following Nelson and colleagues (2013), I expect that expressive encouragement, traditionally understood as a supportive practice, will be associated with increased psychosocial difficulties.

The second aim is to investigate profiles of racial socialization practices and ethnic identity. The extant literature on racial socialization utilizes a variable-centered approach as opposed to a person-centered approach (Coard & Sellers, 2005). Variable-centered analyses

relate individual or group characteristics to other characteristics. For example, several studies have examined the associations between racial socialization behaviors and developmental outcomes. However, these studies fall short of being able to identify how parents utilize different types of socialization messages to meet their goals. Conversely, person-centered analyses identify how variables combine across individuals (Magnusson, 2003). This type of analysis is better suited to investigate combinations of different racial socialization messages and how these relate to psychological outcomes. A few studies (Neblett et al., 2008; Stevenson, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010) have identified profiles of racial socialization. In their analyses, Neblett and colleagues (2008) identified four racial socialization profiles in African American adolescents' retrospective reports of racial socialization messages. They identified these profiles as a high positive, moderate positive, low frequency, and moderate negative profile. Furthermore, subsequent analysis found that each profile cluster differed significantly on the psychological outcomes measured in the study. These results support the idea that different combinations of racial socialization messages will emerge in the proposed study. To take this a step further, given that racial socialization messages are associated with racial and ethnic identity development (Neblett et al., 2009), I expect that retrospective reports of racial socialization will be highly correlated with young adults' racial identity. As such, I expect to identify at least three profiles of racial socialization and racial identity. Specifically, I expect to identify a profile characterized by higher reports of racial socialization behaviors and racial identity centrality and affiliation. I hypothesize that a second profile will emerge that will be characterized by low reports of racial socialization behaviors and racial identity centrality and affiliation. Lastly, I hypothesize that a third profile will be characterized by moderate reports of racial socialization behaviors and moderate degree of racial identity centrality and affiliation.

The final aim of this study is to determine whether the relation between parental socialization behaviors and young adults' psychological functioning varies as a function of cluster membership. Given past inter-group differences in the impact of emotion socialization practices on psychosocial outcomes, I expect that heterogeneity in racial socialization/racial identity development will amplify or attenuate these relations, such that group differences previously reported in African American samples will be stronger for those who report a high level of racial socialization and racial identity development. However, given lack of previous research in this area, these moderation analyses are largely exploratory.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Participants

136 participants were recruited from the research participant pool of a large university in the Southeastern US and via flyers posted around the university. Study announcements for voluntary participation were also made to relevant university listservs. Inclusion criteria included age 18 or older in order to give consent, currently enrolled students, and self-identified as African American. Prospective participants were excluded if over the age of 25, or diagnosed with intellectual difficulties or other disabilities that would result in difficulty comprehending or completing study materials.

Procedure

The proposed study was approved by the University's Institutional Review Board. Data collection was conducted via a secure online portal. Participants were briefed on the objective of the study and were required to provide informed consent via an informational letter at the beginning of the online data collection session. After consent was obtained, study participants completed a series of questionnaires detailed below during a one-time, online session. After completing the study, debriefing materials were presented; participants were thanked for their participation, and given the opportunity to record any questions or concerns, or contact the researchers if desired. Subsequently, study participants enrolled in Introductory Psychology were granted course credit for their participation and those not enrolled in Introductory Psychology were compensated ten dollars in cash or with a $10 gift card for their participation.

Measures

Demographics. Students completed a demographic questionnaire that included questions related to race, ethnicity, gender, family income, parental education, and parents' marital status.

Racial Socialization. Racial socialization was assessed using the Racial Socialization Questionnaire (RSQ) (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005). The measure utilized a three-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 2 (more than twice) measured the frequency and type of racial socialization messages and behaviors that participants received from their caregivers. The current study utilized a modified version of the RSQ. The Racial Pride subscale consisted of three items ($\alpha = .48$) that measured the extent to which primary caregivers emphasize Black unity, heritage, and focus on instilling positive feelings towards Blacks (e.g., "Told you that you should be proud to be Black"). The Racial Barriers subscale consisted of three items *(*$\alpha = .63$) that measured the extent to which an awareness of racial inequities and coping strategies are emphasized (e.g., "Told you that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead"). The Egalitarian subscale consisted of two items ($\alpha = .35$*)* that measured the extent to which messages regarding interracial equality and coexistence are emphasized (e.g., "Told you that because of opportunities today, hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else"). The Self-Worth subscale ($\alpha = .73$) consisted of three items that measured the extent to which messages emphasizing positive messages about the self are conveyed (e.g., "Told you that you are somebody special, no matter what anyone says"). The Socialization Behaviors subscale consisted of four items ($\alpha = .79$) that measured the frequency of various socialization activities or behaviors related to Black culture (e.g., "Bought you books about Black people"). This measure has been used by several researchers to assess racial socialization in adolescents and young adults (Neblett, 2008; Smalls & Cooper, 2012).

Ethnic Identity. Participants' racial identity was assessed using the *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity* (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998a). The MIBI includes 56 items across three broad subscales (Centrality, Regard, and Ideology) in which participants respond using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly). The Centrality subscale (α = .75) assesses the importance of racial group membership as a part of an individual's self-concept. The Regard subscale is related to the degree to which an individual feels positive or negative about their racial group membership and is further delineated into public and private regard. Public regard (α = .73) refers to the degree to which an individual feels that others view African-Americans in a positive or negative light, whereas private regard (α = .73) captures the degree to which an individual feels positively or negatively about African-Americans and how they feel about being a member of this community. The Ideology subscale assesses individual's views related to how they should live and interact with society. The MIBI captures four ideologies that it identifies as most prevalent in African American culture. The Nationalist ideology which stresses the distinct uniqueness of being Black, and the importance of African Americans being in control of their own destiny. The Oppressed Minority ideology emphasizes oppression plaguing African Americans and other minority groups and focuses on linking the oppressed experience of multiple minority groups. The Assimilationist ideology is characterized by its emphasis on the similarities between African Americans and the broader society. Lastly, the Humanist ideology emphasizes similarities across all humans and generally ignores distinctions of individuals by race, gender, class or other characteristics. The MIBI is based off the multidimensional model of Black identity (Sellers, 1993) and has been used in several studies to assess African-American racial identity (Harper & Tuckman, 2006; White-Johnson et al., 2010).

Emotion Socialization. Individuals completed a revised version of the *Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale* (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990), reworded to capture retrospective reports of maternal emotion socialization practices. The CCNES has been previously used as a parent-report measure of parental emotion socialization (Fabes et al., 2002; Suveg, Shaffer, Morelen, & Thomassin, 2011) and adequate internal consistency, test–retest reliability, and construct validity for this scale has been reported (Fabes et al., 2002). A revised version of the CCNES was used in the present study to measure our independent variable of retrospectively reported emotion socialization experienced during childhood, similar to a revision of the CCNES utilized by Leerkes, Supple, Su, & Cavanaugh (2013).

The revised CCNES asked participants to rate the extent to which they recall specific types of responses to negative emotion displays across 12 hypothetical scenarios, focusing on their mothers or mother figures. Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to indicate on a scale from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) the likelihood that their parent would respond to each of the distressing situations in each of the six possible ways listed for each item. For example, one question asked, "If you lost some prized possession and reacted with tears, your mother/father would: a.) get upset with you for being so careless and then crying about it; b.) tell you that you are over-reacting; c.) help you think of places you haven't looked yet; d.) distract you by talking about happy things; e.) tell you it's OK to cry when you feel unhappy; or f.) tell you that's what happens when you're not careful." The measure yields six subscales, with adequate reliability for all subscales: Minimizing reactions ($\alpha = .86$), Punitive reactions ($\alpha = .85$), Distress reactions ($\alpha = .78$), Expressive Encouragement ($\alpha = .92$), Problem-Focused responses ($\alpha = .88$), and Emotion-Focused reactions ($\alpha = .92$). Previous research has traditionally identified minimizing,

punitive and distress reactions as unsupportive emotion socialization practices, while expressive encouragement, problem-focused responses and emotion-focused reactions have been considered supportive (Fabes et al., 2002).

Psychological Distress. Psychological distress was measured via scales assessing difficulties with emotion regulation and current symptoms of psychopathology. Emotion regulation difficulties were measured using the *Difficulties in Emotion Regulations Scale* (DERS; Gratz & Roemer, 2004). The DERS is a self-report measure designed to measure emotion dysregulation. Individuals used a 5-point Likert scale to rate the degree to which they were experiencing or recently experienced difficulty regulating emotions, ranging from almost never (0-10% of the time) to almost always (91-100% of the time). Total scores on the measure range from 36 (almost never experiences difficulties) to 180 (almost always experiences difficulties). The DERS has high internal consistency ($\alpha = .92$), good test-retest reliability and adequate construct and predictive validity (Gratz & Roemer, 2004). The measure has been used successfully by other researchers studying emotion regulation (Han & Shaffer, 2013; Burns, Jackson & Harding, 2010; Neumann, van Lier, Gratz & Koot, 2010) to date. For the current study, five of the DERS six subscales were included in our analyses (Non Acceptance, Goals, Impulse, Strategies, and Clarity). The sixth DERS subscale, Awareness was omitted from our analyses due to recommendations by Bardeen et al., 2012 that cited insufficient factor loadings for the Awareness subscales and suggested that it does not belong to the same higher-order emotion regulation construct as the other subscales. As such, participants 'composite score across the five subscales of the DERS noted above ($\alpha = .89$), served as a current indicator of emotion regulation difficulties.

Internalizing symptoms were assessed using *The Symptom Checklist-90-Revised* (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1996). The SCL-90-R is a 90-item questionnaire that measures several psychological domains, including somatization, obsessive-compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, hostility, psychoticism, phobic anxiety, and paranoid ideation. The current study utilized a composite score of internalizing symptoms, which consisted of the depression, anxiety, and somatization subscales of SCL-90 ($\alpha = .89$). Higher scores are indicative of greater psychological distress. Adequate reliability and validity for this measure have been previously established (Derogatis, 1996).

Data Analytic Plan

Preliminary analyses. A power analysis was conducted to calculate the needed sample size ($N = 100$) based on an estimated effect size of .30 and p value of $\leq .01$. Preliminary analyses will first examine descriptive statistics to identify potential confounding variables (e.g., age, gender, household income), to determine whether they should be included as covariates in further analyses. Pearson bivariate correlations will also be calculated to test the hypothesized associations among emotion socialization responses, racial socialization practices, racial identity variables, and psychological outcomes (i.e., emotion regulation difficulties, internalizing symptoms).

Primary analyses. Model-based cluster analysis was used to identify profiles of racial socialization and ethnic identity based on scores on the racial socialization subscales of Cultural Socialization, Racial Barriers, Racial Pride, and Egalitarian beliefs, as well as subscales of Centrality, Public and Private regard, Assimilationist, Humanist, Oppressed Minority, and Nationalist racial identity dimensions. Latent class cluster analyses were conducted using Mplus v8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Latent class cluster analysis is a model-based cluster analysis

method used to identify subtypes of related cases (latent classes) from categorical, ordinal and continuous multivariate data (Lazarsfeld Henry, 1968; Muthén & Muthén, 2000; Vermunt & Parkinson, 2002). As a model-based approach, the statistical model is hypothesized from the study population. It comprises both latent class and latent profile analysis (Vermunt & Parkinson, 2002). Latent class cluster analysis assumes *k* latent groups or latent classes underlying the data set, and each case is thought to belong to one group. The number of groups or classes and their sizes are not known a priori and are derived from the data.

Unlike classical cluster analysis, such as *k*-means clustering, latent class clustering is a model-based technique that assumes that the data are generated by a mixture of probability distributions (Vermunt & Parkinson, 2002). Associations among observed variables are explained through hypothesized latent categorical variables, and observed variables are assumed to be independent within each latent group. Latent class analysis begins with the assumption that only one group exists within the data and estimates model fit based on increasing the number of groups until it determines the best-fitting model (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004). Probability estimates of a person's membership in each group are provided. Thus, each person's group membership is based on the group with the highest posterior probability of association. Multinomial regression analysis confirmed class membership. Akaike information criteria (AIC) and Bayesian information criteria (BIC) both provided estimates of model fit. Lower values are desired for both AIC and BIC.

To examine moderation effects related to cluster membership, regression analyses were performed. Interaction effects were computed using bootstrapping procedures recommended by Preacher and Hayes (2008) and provided via the PROCESS macro in SPSS.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were performed to evaluate descriptive statistics of study variables and to identify potential covariates for further analysis. Analysis of missing data was also performed, which determined that the The Self-Worth subscale of the Racial Socialization Questionnaire was only presented to n=7 (5%) participants during data collection efforts. As a result, the subscale was dropped from further analysis. Four participants were excluded from the current study because they were missing 100% of their data on racial socialization and ethnic identity variables. It is believed that at least two of these participants did not complete these questions due to mistakenly identifying as African American. Following this, data was analyzed to determine the degree to which missing values in the data were missing at random. Missing data values ranged from 0- 4%. Based on guidelines presented by Cheema (2014), that suggest that multiple imputation is appropriate for imputing missing values when less than 5% of data is missing and Little's MCAR test is not significant (χ^2 (96) = 99.31, p = ..39), we utilized multiple imputation to handle missing data. We imputed missing values for racial socialization, racial identify, and maternal emotion socialization responses using ten imputations following recommendations by Graham, Olchowski, & Gilreach (2007). Descriptive statistics and bivariate, zero-order correlations between maternal emotion socialization behaviors and emotion dysregulation, psychological distress and key study variables are presented in Table 1. Bivariate correlations were observed in the expected directions. Traditionally identified supportive

emotion socialization strategies (e.g. emotion-focused, problem-focused, and expressive encouragement responses) were significantly positively associated with less emotion dysregulation and fewer internalizing symptoms, although the latter relationships were not significant. With the exception of minimization responses, traditionally identified unsupportive emotion socialization strategies (i.e. punitive and distress responses) were significantly associated with greater emotion dysregulation. While minimization responses were associated with less emotion dysregulation and internalizing symptoms, the correlation was not statistically significant. Potential confounding variables (e.g., age, gender, household income) were examined and none had significant associations to study variables. As such, they were not reported or included in further analysis.

Racial Socialization/Racial Identity Profiles

In the present study, the best-fitting model yielded three profiles (AIC value = 4413.42; BIC value = 4559.41). According to Rafferty (1995) model preference should be determined by evaluating magnitude of difference between models. In the present study, (AIC Δ = 114.98; BIC Δ = 77.02), provides very strong support for the current model. A four-cluster solution did not improve model fit. We also calculated the mean posterior probability values for cluster membership. The probabilities were 0.98 for Cluster 1, 0.99 for Cluster 2, and 0.96 for Cluster 3. See Table 2 for model fit statistics.

Standardized profile means for racial socialization and racial identity variables were examined to characterize and label the clusters and are presented in Table 3. We examined differences across the clusters and determined that clusters were best characterized by the degree to which their profiles represented racial salience. Thus, similar to White-Johnson et al. (2010), cluster names reflect the salience of race to these individuals. Cluster 1 (n = 13, 9.56%) was

composed of participants who reported the second highest amount of racial socialization messages and behaviors as children. Similarly, they also had the second highest scores on the assimilation and oppressed minority racial identity subscales. They were labeled the *mid-race salience*. Cluster 2 (n = 91, 66.92%) was characterized by participants who reported receiving the greatest amount racial socialization messages and behaviors as children. These individuals also had the highest scores on the assimilation and oppressed minority racial identity subscales. They were labeled *high-race salience*. Cluster 3 (n = 32, 23.53%) was characterized by participants who reported the lowest amount racial socialization messages and behaviors as children. These individuals also had the lowest scores on the assimilation and oppressed minority racial identity subscales. They were labeled *low-race salience*. Visual depictions of cluster means are presented in Figure 1.

Profile Differences

We examined clusters to determine whether they differed on certain demographic variables (i.e. age, gender, year in college, mother's education level) and no significant differences emerged across clusters. Analysis of variance (ANOVAs) procedures were conducted to determine whether there were statistically significant group differences related to maternal responses to negative emotions, internalizing symptoms, and emotion dysregulation. These results are depicted in Figures 2 and 3. Cluster membership resulted in statistically significant differences in a group means related to retrospectively reported, maternal expressive encouragement, $F(2, 133) = 4.83$, $p = .01$, emotion-focused, $F(2, 133) = 6.88$, $p < .01$, and problem-focused responses, $F(2, 133) = 8.75$, $p < .01$ and emotion dysregulation, $F(2, 133) = 4.88$, $p < .01$. Tukey's HSD post hoc tests were performed to determine exact cluster differences. Specifically, individuals in the *high-race salience* group reported significantly greater maternal

expressive encouragement, emotion-focused and problem focused emotion socialization responses in comparison to the *low-race salience* group. Additionally, the *mid-race salience* group reported significantly greater emotion regulation difficulties than the *high-race salience* group.

Moderation Analyses

Moderation analyses were performed to determine whether cluster membership affected the relations between maternal emotion socialization responses and emotion dysregulation and internalizing symptoms. Given that these analyses were exploratory, we tested each subtype of maternal emotion socialization responses for its association to emotion dysregulation and internalizing symptoms. To test for moderation, interaction effects were computed using bootstrapping procedures recommended by Preacher and Hayes (2008) and provided via the PROCESS 3.0 macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Given that the present study utilized a multicategorical moderator, we utilized an indicator coding system to represent $k = 3$ categories or 3 clusters with k-1 variables. Subsequent moderation analyses were then performed by comparing one cluster to a second reference cluster and then testing the interactions for the two cluster comparisons (see Hayes and Montoya, 2017).

The relationship between maternal expressive encouragement responses and emotion dysregulation was significantly moderated by cluster membership. These findings are depicted in Figures 3-5. This relation was statistically significant and negative in the *low-race salience* group and statistically significant and positive in the *mid-race salience* group. That is, greater expressive encouragement responses predicted fewer emotion regulation difficulties in the *low-race salience* group and greater expressive encouragement responses predicted greater emotion regulation difficulties in the *mid-race salience* group (See Figure 3). Greater expressive

encouragement responses predicted fewer emotion regulation difficulties in the *high-race salience* group as well, although the simple slope was not significant.

The relationship between maternal emotion-focused responses and emotion dysregulation was also significantly moderated by cluster membership. This relation was statistically significant and negative in the *low-race salience* group, such that greater emotion-focused responses predicted fewer emotion regulation difficulties in the *low- race salience* group (See Figure 4). The same relationship was predicted for individuals in the *high-race salience* group, although the simple slope was not significant. For the *mid-race salience* group, greater emotion focused responses predicted greater emotion regulation difficulties, although this simple slope effect was not significant.

Additional moderation analyses testing the associations between maternal, problem-focused, minimization, distress and punitive responses and difficulties in emotion regulation were not significant for moderation by cluster membership. Cluster membership did not moderate any of the relations between maternal emotion socialization and internalizing symptoms.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Given that traditionally much of the research studying parenting processes has been conducted with European American families, recent efforts have focused on better understanding how cultural variables influence parenting processes. Within the emotion- focused parenting literature, several studies have established that minority parents utilize some emotion socialization strategies differently (Perry et al., 2017; Dunbar et al., 2016; Nelson et al., 2012; Raval and Martini, 2009). Cultural differences in parent's utilization of emotion socialization strategies and differential associations to aspects of behavioral and emotional functioning suggest that developing a nuanced understanding of emotion socialization behaviors and cultural variables is important for promoting adaptive development across cultural groups. Within the US, race-related parenting behaviors have been a major focus in the literature lately. Several studies have identified racial socialization parenting behaviors as promotive of positive outcomes in African American children and young adults. Burgeoning work by Dunbar and colleagues (2016) suggests that adaptive functioning is the result of African American parents combining racial socialization practices that prepare children to deal with bias and emotion socialization strategies that promote emotional understanding and regulation.

Integrating these two areas of parenting research, the current study was designed to investigate the relationship between racial socialization behaviors, racial identity, and emotion socialization behaviors and their association to aspects of psychological functioning. Given the heterogeneity within African American families, the study sought to determine whether patterns

of racial socialization behaviors and racial identity characteristics that exist, and test whether these variations might affect the ways in which maternal emotion socialization strategies predict emotional functioning in young adulthood.

Emotion socialization and psychological outcomes

The first aim of the study was to examine the relations between specific maternal emotion socialization responses and psychological functioning in a sample of African American young adults. Consistent with several studies of emotion socialization (Nelson et al., 2012; Fabes et al., 1999; Silk et al., 2011), it was predicted that emotion-focused and problem-focused responses would be negatively correlated with emotion dysregulation and internalizing problems. Similarly, we also predicted that distress responses to children's negative emotions would be positively correlated with emotion dysregulation and internalizing problems. In light of published work by Nelson and colleagues (2013), suggesting differential functioning of expressive encouragement responses in African American families, we predicted that expressive encouragement would be positively associated with emotion dysregulation and internalizing problems in our sample. Findings related to punitive and minimization responses have been mixed; however, we predicted that these responses would be negatively associated with emotion dysregulation and internalizing problems.

These hypotheses were partially supported. In our overall sample, problem-focused, emotion-focused, and expressive encouragement responses were significantly and negatively correlated with emotion regulation difficulties. These responses were also negatively correlated to internalizing problems, although they were not significant. These results are consistent with literature that suggests that traditionally- supportive maternal responses to negative emotions predicts positive emotion regulation abilities during young adulthood (Eisenberg et al., 1999,

Denham et al., 2007). Maternal distress responses and punitive responses were significantly, positively correlated with emotion regulation difficulties and distress responses were additionally, significantly, positively correlated with internalizing symptoms. Punitive responses were also positively correlated with internalizing symptoms however, they were not significant. Minimization responses were positively correlated to emotion dysregulation and internalizing symptoms however they also were not significant. These finding were consistent with work by (Eisenberg et al., 1999; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002) that found that unsupportive emotion socialization responses resulted in greater socioemotional difficulties.

Cluster Analyses of Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

We performed cluster analysis to better understand how patterns of racial socialization practices and racial identity group together to influence emotion socialization goals. It was predicted that at least three distinct clusters would emerge from the data. Our findings were somewhat consistent with our hypotheses. We predicted that one profile would be characterized by high reports of racial socialization messages and behaviors and high scores related to ethnic identity centrality and affiliation. Consistent with our hypothesis, the cluster characterized as *high-race salience* had the highest reports of racial socialization messages and behaviors (e.g. egalitarian, racial barriers, racial pride, cultural socialization), racial identity centrality, and affiliation (e.g. private regard). Individuals in the *high race salience* cluster reported lower mean scores than other clusters on the Public Regard subscale only. Contrary to our hypotheses, individuals in the *high-race salience* cluster also had scores on the Public Regard domain of racial identity affiliation that fell in-between the *mid-race salience* group and *low-race salience* group. However, these findings should be interpreted with caution: although the MIBI is a widely used measure of black identity, limitations of the subscales have been identified in the

literature (Simmons, Worrell & Berry, 2008). Even the authors of the measure dropped the Public Regard subscale in one such study due to poor internal consistency (Sellers et al., 2007). Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that within our data the *high-race salience* cluster represents individuals who received a significant number of messages about race and race relations as children and being African American is very central and significant to their identity.

We predicted a second profile would emerge, characterized by moderate reports of racial socialization messages and behaviors and moderate scores related to racial identity centrality and affiliation. Consistent with our hypothesis, the cluster characterized as *mid-race salience* reported moderate levels of racial socialization messages and behaviors (e.g. egalitarian, racial barriers, racial pride, cultural socialization) that fell in between those who fell into the *high-race salience* and *low-race salience* groups. Within the *mid-race salience* group our findings were somewhat inconsistent with our hypotheses given that scores on the racial identity salience subscale (i.e., centrality) and affiliation (i.e., private regard) were the lowest of the three clusters. Of the three clusters, individuals in the mid-race salience group reported the highest scores on the Public Regard subscale. Thus, it also seems reasonable to conclude that there was in-fact a group of individuals who received a moderate number of messages about race, and race relations as children and being African American is central and moderately significant to their identity.

Lastly, we predicted a final profile would emerge characterized by characterized by low reports of racial socialization messages and behaviors and low scores related to ethnic identity centrality and affiliation. Consistent with our hypothesis, the cluster characterized as *low-race salience* reported the lowest levels of racial socialization messages and behaviors (i.e., egalitarian, racial barriers, racial pride, cultural socialization subscales) and affiliation (i.e., public regard). Somewhat inconsistent with our hypotheses, within the *low-race salience* group

mean scores on the Centrality and Private Regard subscales were not the lowest of the three clusters. Thus, once again it seems reasonable to conclude that there was a group of individuals who received limited messages about race, and race relations as children and that being African American is not central or significant to their identity.

These findings can be interpreted in the context of other studies that have utilized cluster analysis to characterize patterns of racial socialization messages. In a study investigating parental racial socialization profiles and their association to demographic factors and racial identity, White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers (2010) found a cluster within their data that was characterized by scores above the sample mean on the racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, self-worth and behavioral socialization subscales. They also identified a second cluster characterized by scores above the sample mean on the egalitarian and self worth scales and below the sample mean on racial pride, racial barriers and behavioral socialization subscales. They found a third cluster with scores that fell below the mean on the racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, self-worth and behavioral socialization subscales. Although our study did not include a the Self Worth subscale, our findings were somewhat consistent in that, our *high-race salience* cluster was characterized by the greatest reports of racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, and behavioral socialization and our *low-race salience* group was characterized by the lowest reports of racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, and behavioral socialization.

We found some support for differences across cluster membership related to MIBI Ideology dimensions. Although, we did not develop a priori hypotheses for these subscales given inconsistent findings in the literature related to some questions mapping on to multiple ideology subscales (Simmons, Worrell & Berry, 2008), we found that the *low-race salience* cluster reported lower scores on the Assimilationist subscale than the *high-race salience* cluster

and the *low-race salience* group reported lower scores than the *mid- race salience* group. The *low-race salience* group also reported lower scores on the Oppressed Minority subscale than the *high-race salience* group. Scores on other MIBI Ideology subscales (Humanist, Nationalist) were comparable across clusters. These findings are likely representative of findings by Helm (2002) which found that only the Public Regard, Private Regard, Oppressed Minority, and Assimilation subscales held-up during exploratory factor analysis. They reported that the other factors consisted of items from several different subscales. Thus, despite support for the multidimensional model of racial identity it continues to seem that the original, 7-factor model of the MIBI scale does not seem to adequately represent distinct ideologies of racial identity.

Comparisons by cluster

The third aim of the study was to investigate group differences by cluster, in regards to emotion and racial socialization practices and psychological outcomes. Our intention was to better understand how the behaviors and messages parents deliver about race and the centrality and meaning of race for individual's influence maternal socialization practices around negative emotions. Consistent with (Nelson et al., 2013), we found significant differences in the way groups reported maternal use of expressive encouragement responses. The low-race salience group reported significantly lower maternal expressive encouragement responses in comparison to the high-race salience and mid-race salience groups. Expressive encouragement responses refer to how accepting parents are of their children's display of negative emotions. Particularly, whether parents make specific efforts to actively encourage children's expression of negative emotions. According to Nelson et al., (2012), experiences of discrimination and social stigma may be driving differences in emotion socialization goals of minority parents. The *low-race salience* group reported significantly less maternal use of other traditionally identified supportive

emotion socialization strategies (e.g., problem-focused and emotion-focused responses) than the *high-race salience* group. Such that, for individuals who reported that race and racial identify was not significantly emphasized in their experience, maternal responses focused on helping them solve the problem related to their distress, or responses that focused on making them feel better in response to their distress were also not emphasized. In regards to minimization responses, or responses that attempted to downplay the problem causing them distress or attempts to downplay the distress associated with their problem, the high race salience group reported significantly greater rates of minimization responses than the low race salience group. This finding was consistent with work by Smith and Walden (2001) that found that punitive and minimizing maternal reactions to children's negative emotions were positively related to girls' adaptive coping in African American families. African American socialization practices likely reflect goals that are consistent to cultural values and norms as well as a desire to modulate emotional experiences due to racial discrimination (Morelen and Thomassin, 2013; Nelson et al., 2012). As such, helping to minimize the distress caused by these experiences may in fact be a helpful strategy.

We next investigated whether cluster membership moderated the associations between maternal emotion socialization responses and psychological distress. In other words, did families' racial socialization context interact with the way they socialized their children's general emotional experiences to foster differences in reported psychological distress in young adulthood? Our significant findings related to expressive encouragement and emotion-focused responses suggest that families' racial socialization and racial identity contexts do influence the frequency with which parents utilize certain emotion socialization strategies and resulting psychological outcomes. Further probing of moderation effects suggested that for those families

where racial socialization and racial identity was low, expressive encouragement predicted significantly fewer emotion regulation difficulties, similar to what has been traditionally reported in the literature with regard to socialization practices in primarily European American families (Eisenberg et al., 1999; Fabes at al., 2002; Denham et al., 2007). However, for those families who endorsed moderate levels of racial socialization and racial identity, and also endorsed utilizing the most expressive encouragement responses, greater expressive encouragement predicted significantly more emotion regulation difficulties. Thus, these findings support more recent work (Nelson et al., 2012) suggesting that expressive encouragement responses may negatively impact socio-emotional outcomes in African American children, but also suggests that the family context of racial socialization may play a role in these relations.

We also found that racial socialization and racial identity context also impacted the associations between maternal emotion-focused responses and emotion regulation difficulties. For those families who endorsed low levels of racial socialization and racial identity, emotion-focused responses predicted significantly fewer emotion regulation difficulties. These findings were also consistent with existing literature that identifies emotion-focused responses as traditionally supportive of socioemotional outcomes in children (Eisenberg et al., 1999; Fabes at al., 2002; Denham et al., 2007). Although not significant, our findings that greater emotion-focused responses for those that report moderate levels of racial socialization and racial identity predict greater emotion regulation difficulties also suggests that family racial socialization and racial identity context plays an important role in driving the ways in which parents socialize their children's negative emotions and how this impacts their functioning. It would appear that the *mid-race salience* group is mostly aware of the ways that being African American intersects with the broader society, however this understanding is not fully integrated with messages about more

general emotional functioning. For instance, the mid-race salience group reported engaging in the most expressive encouragement responses of all the clusters and this significantly predicted greater emotion dysregulation. While those in the *high-race salience* group reported utilizing less expressive encouragement responses to negative emotions, which in turn predicted fewer emotion regulation difficulties. Similarly, in the *mid-race salience* group, greater emotion-focused responses predicted greater emotion regulation difficulties. One possible explanation for this is that when parents place a high emphasis on preparing children to deal with discrimination experiences and promoting positive racial identity and combine this with emotion socialization responses that emphasize their emotional experience this relates to greater difficulties. This is consistent with earlier work by Eisenberg and colleagues (1998) that found that for some children maternal emotion- focused responses to sadness predicted greater overall feelings of sadness in these children.

Our findings are most interesting in that they suggest that promoting adaptive emotional outcomes in African American families is highly dependent on cultural context. Although, for the most part the *mid race salience* group reported comparable levels of racial socialization and racial identity significance, it differed from the *high-race salience* group on emotion socialization responses that recent literature has suggested operates differently in African American families. This suggests that parents in the *high-race salience* group were able to more effectively combine racial socialization practices that prepare children to adequately deal with discrimination experiences and promote positive racial identity with emotion socialization practices that promote emotional understanding and regulation of these emotions. Thus, adaptive functioning is the result of African American parents combining both traditionally identified

supportive and unsupportive strategies in unique ways to respond to societal demands related to African American emotional experiences

Our findings related to the interaction of family racial socialization and racial identity context on problem-focused, minimization, distress and punitive responses and difficulties in emotion regulation were not significant for moderation by cluster membership which suggests that a family's unique racial socialization and racial identity context does not significantly impact these associations. It seems likely that that there are certain emotion socialization responses that are more universally promotive or detrimental to emotion regulation abilities regardless of more contextualized race factors.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current work is not without limitations. Our data is composed of reports from a single reporter on all study variables. Thus, future work should consider including parents' reports on racial and emotion socialization variables. This is important for several reasons. For one, it would allow us to better understand what parent's actual socialization goals are and the motives behind them. Additionally, as with many parenting practices, parent's goals don't always match up with their behaviors. Thus, by having parents report on these behaviors we may develop a better understanding of what factors may get in the way of parents meeting or not meeting their socialization goals. Young adults retrospectively reported on their parents' socialization behaviors during their childhood, and the current centrality and affiliation of their racial identity. In future studies, parental report on these variables may serve as more proximal predictors of parent's racial socialization goals and racial identity context. It is also important to note that this work was completed on a non-clinical sample and as a result, actual levels of psychological distress were relatively low in this sample. Objective reports of psychological

distress completed by parents, significant others, friends, or teachers may also provide different perspectives on individual's psychological functioning.

We explored some demographic variables related to cluster membership (i.e. age, gender, year in school, maternal education level) however; future work should consider investigating how clusters differed on other demographic variables such as, family income, overall socioeconomic status, and ethnic identity. Relatedly, work by White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) examining associations between racial socialization, racial identity, and experiences of discrimination may point to other differences to investigate. It is also worth noting that our sample was collected from a predominantly white university in the southeast. As such, it is possible that our findings may be different if our participants were recruited primarily from a historically black college or university, or from young adults who do not attend college. It is also important to note that we asked participants to provide retrospective reports on racial and emotion socialization variables thus, we cannot be sure that these findings accurately reflect their childhood experiences. Additionally, the cross-sectional design of our study limits our ability to draw causal conclusions from our findings. Lastly, more recent work has suggested that as children age parents may need to utilize different socialization responses to promote optimal functioning. For example, a study found that supportive emotion socialization responses predicted better socioemotional adjustment in younger children and worse adjustment in older children. In light of these findings, future work should also consider the developmental context of parental emotion socialization goals and children's needs.

Implications

Taken together, our findings challenge the notion that emotion socialization strategies work the same in all families. Work by (Morris et al., 2007) has long highlighted the impact of

family context on children's development of emotion regulation abilities and the current work not only supports this assertion but also suggests areas for further investigation into the ways that family racial socialization and racial identity contexts may suggest optimal strategies for supporting social and emotional development in African American children.

The present work has several implications for future research and clinical applications. Our findings suggest that observed differences in emotion socialization practices in African American families represent the unique ways that parents have adapted to a broader cultural context that promotes adaptive functioning for this particular group. It also cautions researchers from assuming that parents' beliefs and goals for emotion socialization should be the same, as there is no one-size fits all approach. Given that recent interventions have been directed at increasing parents' use of supportive strategies as universally promotive of emotion regulation abilities in children, our findings present key points for modification so that these interventions may be more inclusive to meet the needs of African American families. Additionally, while work has identified the influence of cultural context on emotion socialization goals and practices in minority families, the current work also highlights the heterogeneity in African American families and how the significance of one's racial identity and racial socialization context is likely to influence parenting practices. Thus, future research should continue to elucidate the ways in which additional contextual factors influence parenting practices in different ways to better guide interventions.

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Table 1 *Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for study variables (N= 136)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
1. Maternal Expressive Encouragement (CCNES_EE)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2. Maternal Problem- Focused (CCNES_PF)	.71**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
3. Maternal Emotion Focused (CCNES_EF)	.78**	.90**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
4. Maternal Minimizing (CCNES_M)	-.26**	-.23**	-.30**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
5. Maternal Distress (CCNES_D)	-.37**	-.39**	-.44**	.57**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
6. Maternal Punitive (CCNES_P)	-.35**	-.39**	-.44**	.74**	.57**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
7. Egalitarian (RSQ_E)	.20*	.28**	.28**	0.06	-0.04	0.03	.47**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
8. Cultural Socialization (RSQ_CS)	.33**	.41**	.41**	-0.01	-0.1	-0.07	.23**	.47**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
9. Racial Barriers (RSQ_RB)	.17*	.25**	.20*	0.14	0.09	-0.05	.42**	.69**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
10. Racial Pride (RSQ_RP)	.28**	.43**	.39**	0.06	-0.05	-0.09	-0.03	.29**	.65**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
11. Centrality (MIBI_CEN)	0.09	0.14	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	-0.03	.19*	0.13	.23*	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

12. Private Regard (MIBI_PVR)	-0.07	0.07	0.06	0.12	0.02	0.07	0.15	-0.01	0.12	.20*	.56**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
13. Public Regard (MIBI_PBR)	0.09	0.02	0.09	-0.07	-0.03	-0.01	.21*	0.11	-0.15	0.05	-.27**	-0.14	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
14. Assimilationist (MIBI_Ass)	0.11	.22*	.19*	0.11	0.02	0.08	.22*	0.02	.25**	.22*	-0.1	-0.06	0.12	---	---	---	---	---	---
15. Humanist (MIBI_HU)	0.08	.20*	0.17	-0.12	-0.08	-0.16	0.1	.19*	0.08	0.16	-.32**	0.03	.19*	.49**	---	---	---	---	---
16. Oppressed Minority (MIBI_OM)	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.15	0.02	0.01	-.19*	0.01	.20*	.21*	0.14	0.16	-0.03	.45**	.38**	---	---	---	---
17. Nationalist (MIBI_NA)	-0.12	-0.15	-.19*	.25**	.26**	.26**	-.20*	-0.16	0.06	-0.09	.53**	.25**	-.35**	-0.16	-.41**	0.06	---	---	---
18. Emotion Dysregulation (DERS)	-.17*	-.22*	-.19*	0.12	.24**	.29**	-0.02	-0.05	-0.06	-.23**	-0.02	-.20*	-0.1	-0.02	-0.06	-0.09	0.17	---	---
19. Internalizing Symptoms (SCL_Int)	-0.07	-0.16	-0.12	0.12	.24**	0.11	.47**	.47**	0.14	-0.01	-0.05	-0.11	0.01	-0.01	-0.03	0.07	0.02	.48**	---
M	2.95	4.47	4.16	3.24	3.23	2.98	3.59	3.24	9.48	4.18	5.35	6.40	3.06	5.05	5.07	5.04	3.77	70.08	58.40
SD	1.34	1.28	1.33	1.11	0.84	1.06	1.12	1.20	2.50	1.02	1.09	0.79	0.97	0.79	0.85	0.93	0.88	18.90	17.11

Table 2
Model Fit of LCA Solutions

	AIC	BIC	AIC DIF	BIC DIF
1-cluster solution	4437.248	4501.487		
2-cluster solution	4221.641	4320.921	215.607	180.566
3-cluster solution	4108.08	4242.399	113.561	78.522
4-cluster solution	4071.882	4241.241	36.198	1.158

Table 3

Cluster racial socialization and racial identity means

Variable	Cluster 1 (n=13)	Cluster 2 (n=91)	Cluster 3 (n=32)
RSQ_E	3.84	3.855	2.686
RSQ_RB	8.96	10.442	6.785
RSQ_RP	3.592	4.767	2.731
RSQ_CS	2.63	3.744	2.004
MIBI_CEN	3.712	5.581	5.313
MIBI_PVR	4.338	6.641	6.517
MIBI_PBR	3.2	3.044	3.019
MIBI_ASS	5.109	5.156	4.555
MIBI_HU	5.226	5.149	4.726
MIBI_OM	4.769	5.188	4.703
MIBI_NA	3.268	3.771	3.912

Note. Cluster 1= *mid-race salience*; Cluster 2= *high-race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience*; RSQ_E= Racial Socialization Questionnaire (Egalitarian); RSQ_RB= (Racial Barriers); RSQ_RP= (Racial Pride); RSQ_CS= (Cultural Socialization); MIBI_CEN= Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Centrality); MIBI_PVR= (Private Regard); MIBI_PBR= (Public Regard); MIBI_ASS= (Assimilationist); MIBI_HU= (Humanist); MIBI_OM= (Oppressed Minority); MIBI_NA= (Nationalist).

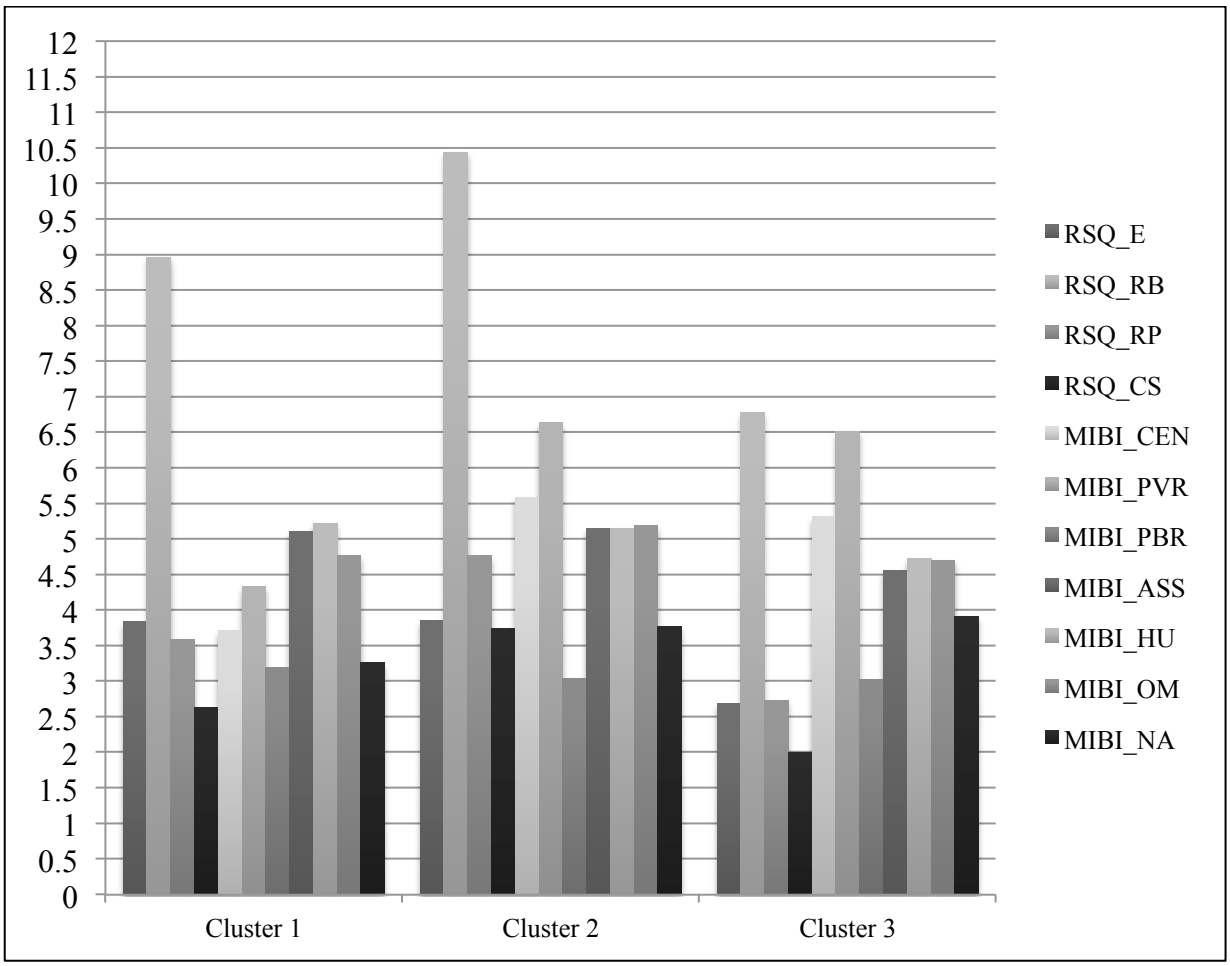

Figure 1 Racial Socialization and Racial Identity Differences. *Note.* Cluster 1= *mid-race salience*; Cluster 2= *high-race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience*; RSQ_E= Racial Socialization Questionnaire (Egalitarian); RSQ_RB= (Racial Barriers); RSQ_RP= (Racial Pride); RSQ_CS= (Cultural Socialization); MIBI_CEN= Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Centrality); MIBI_PVR= (Private Regard); MIBI_PBR= (Public Regard); MIBI_ASS= (Assimilationist); MIBI_HU= (Humanist); MIBI_OM= (Oppressed Minority); MIBI_NA= (Nationalist).

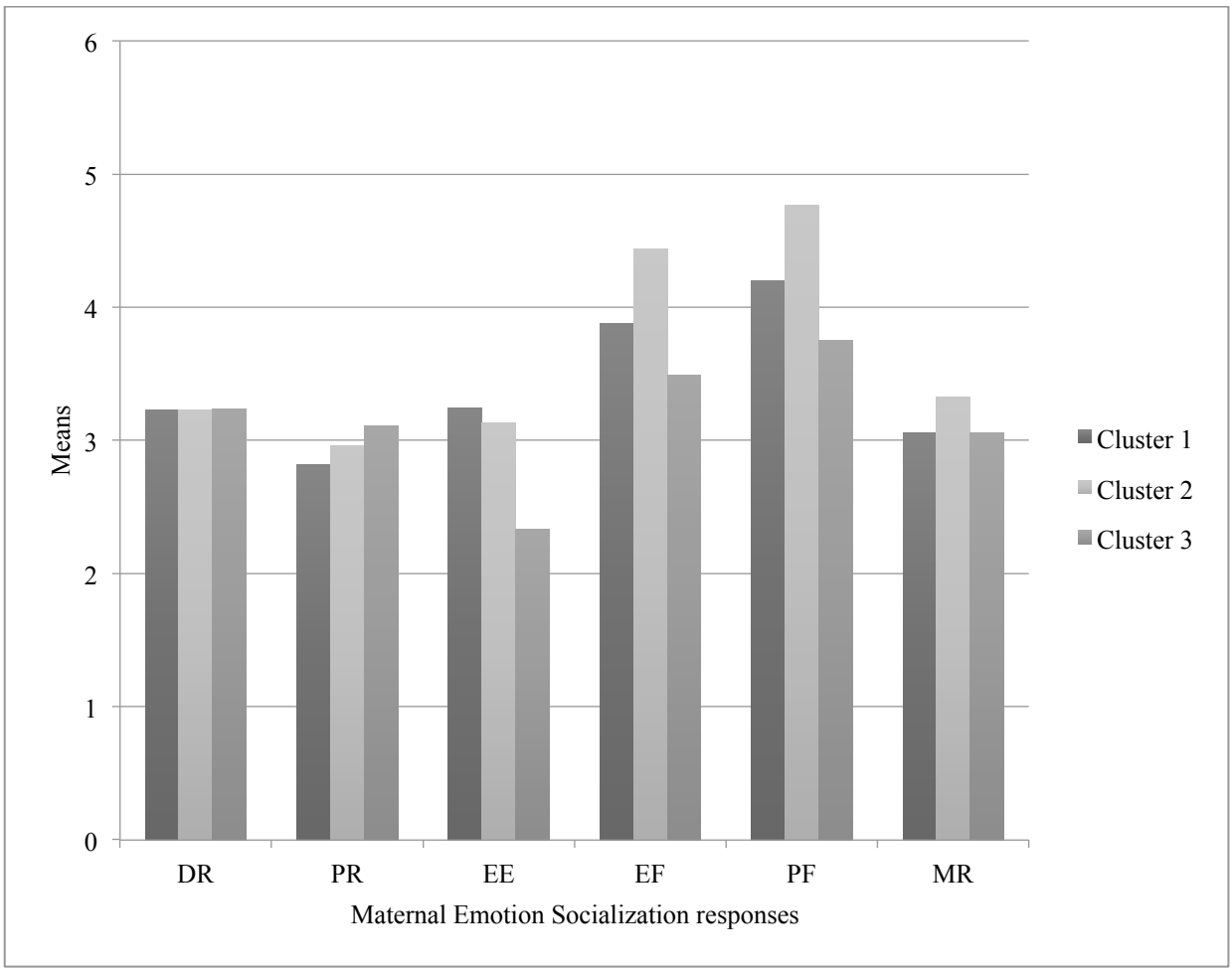

Figure 2 Maternal emotion socialization differences by cluster. *Note.* Cluster 1= *mid-race salience*; Cluster 2= *high-race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience*; DR= distress responses; PR=punitive responses; EE= expressive encouragement responses; EF= emotion-focused responses; PF= problem-focused responses; MR= minimization responses.

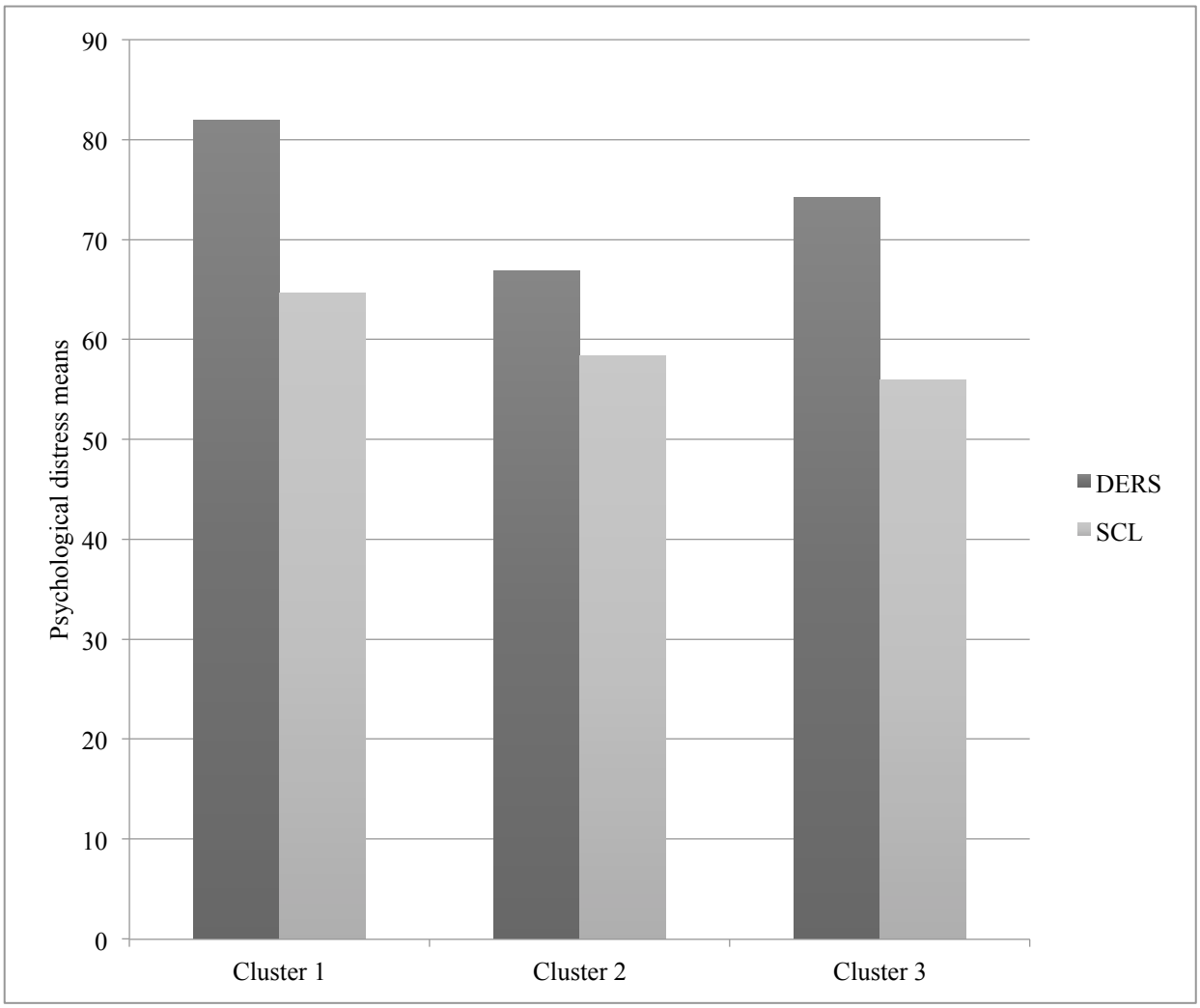

Figure 3 Psychological distress means by cluster. *Note.* Cluster 1= *mid-race salience*; Cluster 2= *high-race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience*; DERS= emotion dysregulation; SCL=internalizing symptoms.

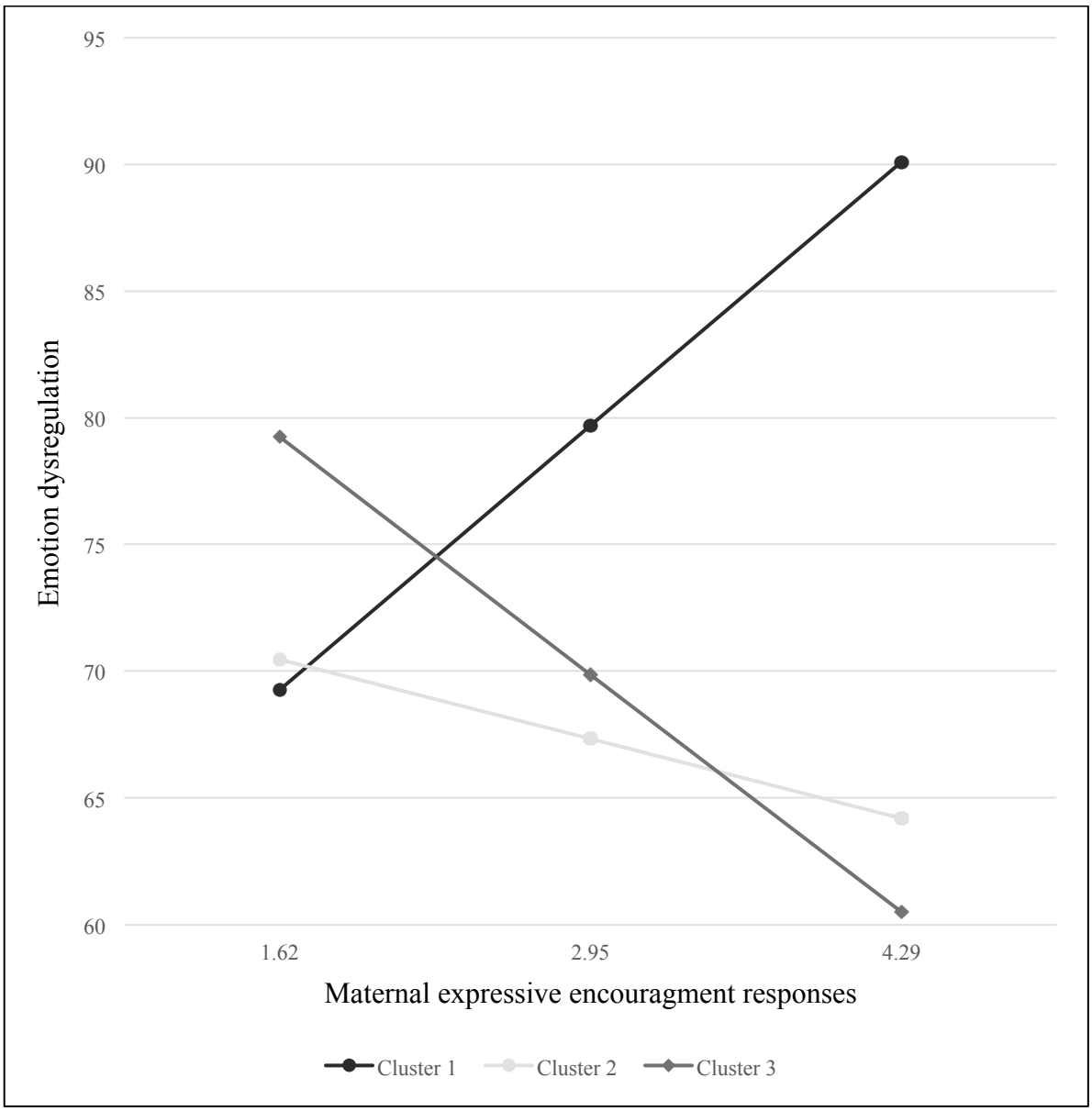

Figure 4 Maternal expressive encouragement simple slopes. *Note*. Cluster 1= *mid-race salience;* Cluster 2= *high race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience.*

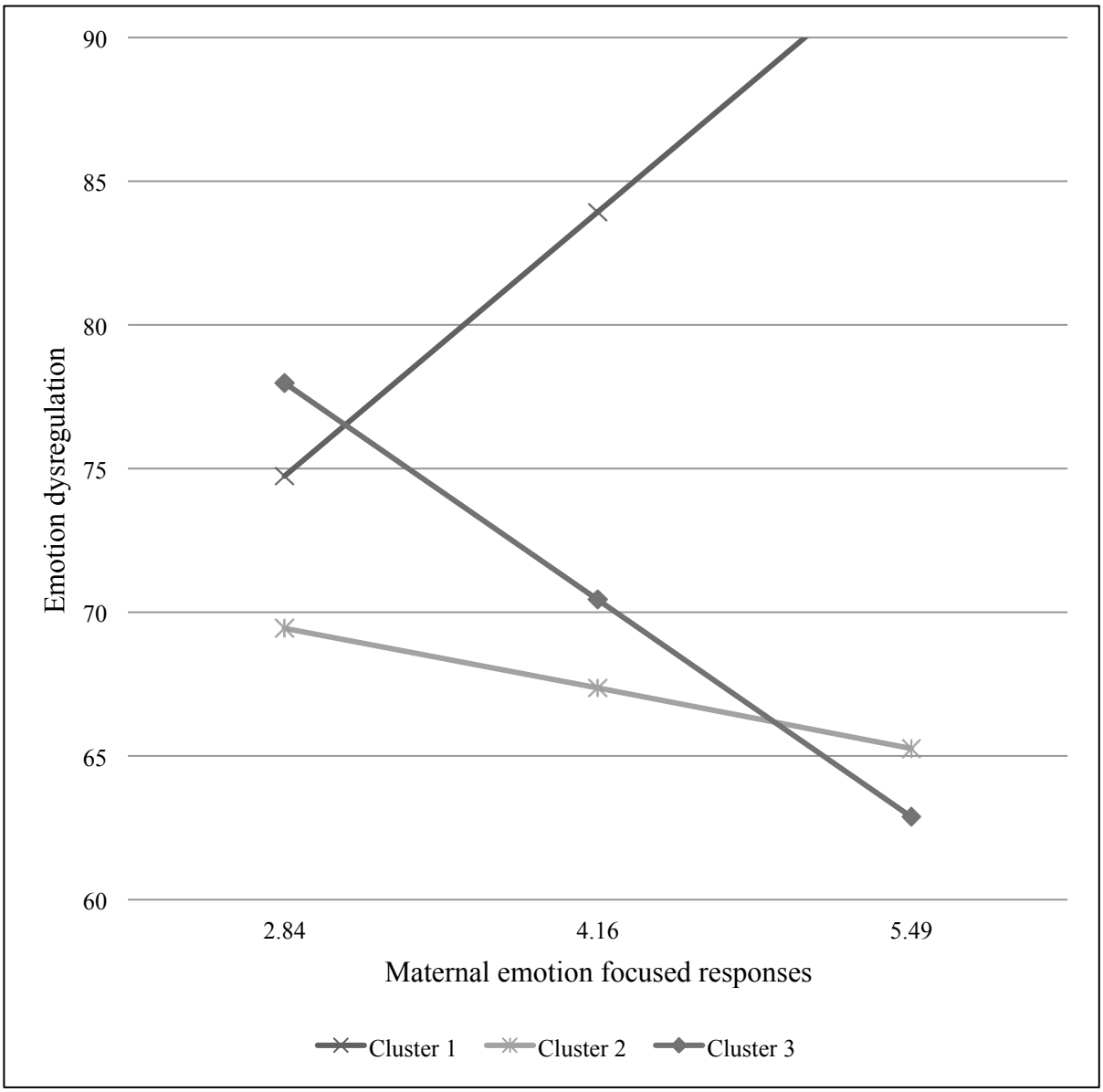

Figure 5 Maternal emotion-focused responses simple slopes. *Note*. Cluster 1= *mid-race salience;* Cluster 2= *high race salience*; Cluster 3= *low-race salience.*