THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN BLACK AMERICAN

FAMILIES WITH SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN AND METHODOLOGICAL

CONSIDERATIONS FOR SECONDARY QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

by

LESLIE A. ANDERSON

(Under the Direction of Margaret O. Caughy, Sc.D.)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the process of ethnic-racial socialization in Black

American families with school-aged children. Using thematic analysis, I qualitatively analyzed

video recorded interactions between Black parents/caregivers ($N = 45$) and their young children

($M_{age} = 10.9$) while they engaged in discussions via the *Racial Socialization Observational Task*

(*RSOT;* Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). During this task, dyads engaged in conversations about a

fictitious vignette scenario that described a young Black child encountering a police officer for

the first time. Within Black American culture, parents often initiate a conversation with their

children known as "the Talk" in which they educate them on how to manage interactions with

individuals in positions of power and authority, namely police. The analyses focused primarily

on the reactions of parents during these dyadic interactions and sought to illuminate the

experiences of Black parents as they navigated these difficult conversations. Because the RSOT

was initially developed to be quantitatively analyzed using a numerical rating system and this

study employed a qualitative analytic approach, the first manuscript of this dissertation is a

methodological paper that elucidates the process of qualitative secondary data analyses when re-

using data that were collected for quantitative analyses. The findings of this study extend the

ethnic-racial socialization literature by highlighting an often overlooked aspect of this familial

process – the parental experience. Additionally, the methodological manuscript fills a critical gap

in the qualitative secondary data analysis literature and provides practical guidelines for

researchers interested in this research approach.

INDEX WORDS: Black American families; Ethnic-racial socialization; Qualitative

Secondary Data Analysis; Race and parenting; School-aged Black

children; "The Talk"

THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN BLACK AMERICAN

FAMILIES WITH SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN AND METHODOLOGICAL

CONSIDERATIONS FOR SECONDARY QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

by

LESLIE A. ANDERSON

B.A., Tougaloo College, 2009

M.S., University of Southern Mississippi, 2012

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2020

THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN BLACK AMERICAN

FAMILIES WITH SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN AND METHODOLOGICAL

CONSIDERATIONS FOR SECONDARY QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

by

LESLIE A. ANDERSON

Major Professor:	Margaret O. Caughy
Committee:	Trena Paulus
	Chalandra M. Bryant
	Desiree Seponski

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2020

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my late great-grandmother, Panola "Mama No" Johnson, who took advantage of every opportunity she had to let me know how special I was to her. She made her transition from labor to reward at 106 years of age just seven months shy of the completion of this dissertation. You are forever in my heart. Thank you, Mama No, for everything.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Last, but far from least, I must acknowledge the families involved in the Dallas Project on Education Pathways study who willingly share their experiences with us and make this research possible. Thank you for your stories, your sacrifices, and your strength. This dissertation is for all of the Black mothers, fathers, grandmothers, grandfathers, aunties, uncles, big sisters, and big brothers who earnestly pour into the lives of young Black children each and every day working to build them up and be the safe haven they need in a world in need of love and healing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The earliest conceptualizations of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in Black American families were characterized by scholars as a process in which parents, primarily, educate their children about their racial and ethnic identity, encouraging them to view themselves positively in a society heavily marked by racism and discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994). Racism against Black people in the United States (U.S.) is deeply ingrained in the very fabric of the nation and has shown to have deleterious effects on the psychological wellbeing of those targeted, frequently leading to race-related stress and emotional injury for many (Carter, 2007; Glenn, 2015; Harrell, 2000).

In an attempt to prepare their children for possible bias and to help them thrive, and in some instances literally survive, Black American parents often engage in conversations with their children about race dynamics in the U.S. through unique and culturally-specific strategies such as ERS (Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009). Parents frequently illustrate ERS in a variety of ways with their children, including engaging in explicit verbal conversations, modeling specific behaviors, introducing certain cultural objects, or even exposing them to various contexts intended to convey particular messages related to their race and ethnicity (Lesane-Brown, 2006). The extant ERS literature suggests that these race-related messages transmitted between parents and children typically fall under four distinct categories: 1) *preparation for bias,* 2) *cultural socialization,* 3) *promotion of mistrust,* and 4) *egalitarianism* or *silence about race (*Hughes et al.*, 2006).

Within the field of developmental science, ERS practices have been deemed an essential aspect of familial processes in ethnic minority populations that can significantly and positively impact developmental outcomes for children of color (García-Coll et al., 1996). Over the past couple of decades, a substantial body of scholarship has been dedicated to examining the effects of ERS on child outcomes such as psychological well-being, self-esteem, academic achievement, and ethnic identity development (e.g., Chavous et al., 2008; Hughes et al., 2009; Mandara et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2009). The vast majority of ERS research, however, has relied upon retrospective accounts of parents/caregivers, adolescents, and college-aged young adults and their abilities to recall their experiences related to delivering or receiving racial socialization messages.

A dearth of studies have included observational explorations of ERS processes occurring within families. Examining ERS as it occurs between parents and children has the potential to provide a more nuanced representation of how some Black American families navigate such critical topics as they encounter racist and discriminatory acts in real time (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). Employing an observational approach to explore ERS can provide researchers and practitioners with opportunities to obtain a more precise understanding of racial socialization within the context of parent-child relationships. Capturing this complex process observationally can extend the racial socialization literature from a position of merely obtaining ERS frequencies and studying associations to developmental outcomes. Observational examinations can provide researchers with opportunities to assess the skills and specific ERS strategies that parents employ with their children. We can then begin to consider more intently the ways in which to build upon this unique characteristic of parenting for families of color. Working to help increase the *racial socialization competency* of parents can also better prepare youth to protect themselves and take

future action to fight against racist harm (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). In other words, by examining the transactional nature of ERS through dialogue within families, researchers gain exposure to just how well equipped, or not, parents and caregivers are to engage in these conversations with their children. Better understanding parental skills and competencies with ERS practices can be key to developing culturally-responsive interventions to help mitigate the negative effects of racism, discrimination, and oppression enacted toward Black youth.

Electing to use Black Americans instead of African Americans during this discussion is done intentionally to highlight the unique experiences of Black people who have historical roots in the U.S. and who have little to no direct ties to cultures beyond that of the U.S. despite being members of the African diaspora. This is also done in an effort to not conflate the vast differences that often exist between Black people socialized in the U.S. context and native African people who have willingly migrated to the U.S. who may also identify as African American. This is not to imply that native African people do not racially socialize their children or even that many are not knowledgeable of the history of racism and oppression in the U.S. However, it is important to acknowledge these differences in experiences and the heterogeneity that exists across these groups.

This dissertation will qualitatively explore the intricacies of ERS processes in Black American families with young, school-aged children via video-taped interactions. In this introduction chapter, I will first describe my qualitative paradigm and subjectivity as a researcher which is essential to understanding my methodological approaches. Secondly, I will provide a broad overview of the existing ERS research to help contextualize the need for qualitative approaches and observational examinations. Lastly, I will introduce the two manuscripts that comprise my dissertation and describe how the research findings can provide implications for

practitioners working with Black American families in a clinical and/or parenting education context.

Section 1: My Qualitative Paradigm and Theoretical Framework

Glesne (2011) defined a paradigm as "a framework or philosophy of science that makes assumptions about the nature of reality and truth, the kinds of questions to explore and how to go about doing so" (p. 5). The beliefs and assumptions about reality and truth that I hold are influenced by a multitude of factors that affect the ways in which I see the world, make sense of my lived experiences, and engage in research. I view research as a tool to facilitate change in the lives of people that are most often being studied. Most importantly, I believe it is vital that those being studied are the ones who ultimately make the decisions about the changes that they desire to see in their lives. As a researcher, I view people's lived experiences as being inextricably linked to the social, political, historical, and cultural contexts in which they exist. The overarching paradigm with which I align is known as *critical theory.* From this framework, I first seek to illuminate structures and systems of oppression and then to transform them alongside marginalized and disenfranchised families and communities.

Usher (1996) described the *critical* in critical theory as "the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice, and democracy" (p. 21) with the ultimate goal being to facilitate social change. Research guided by a critical theory paradigm explicitly focuses on the transformation of oppressive systems, engaging in activism, and advocating on behalf of the oppressed (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Prasad (2005) asserted:

> To begin with, critical theorists do not treat knowledge as *neutral information.*
> Nor do they believe that it is possible to separate knowledge from individual and
> wider societal interests. In short, critical theorists accept the idea that all

knowledge creation is mediated by power relations that are socially and historically constituted. (p. 141)

Situating the lived experiences and circumstances that people encounter in social and historical contexts is key to understanding how certain conditions in society advantage certain groups of people and disadvantage others. Amplifying the voices and perspectives of the disenfranchised is essential to critical theory (Glesne, 2011).

Within a critical theory paradigm, the specific theoretical framework undergirding my scholarship is *critical race theory* (CRT; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). According to Glesne (2011), critical race theory "focuses on ways in which racism is so embedded in society that it appears 'normal' for many, and portrays race as a socially constructed means to identify and classify people" (p. 10). Although many scholars of ERS have incorporated *elements* of critical race theories in their research, the majority have not fully integrated relevant issues of power, racialized systems of inequality, colorism, and intersectionality into their examinations of ERS and Black American families (Burton et al., 2010).

CRT originated in U.S. legal studies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000), but several family and social scientists have adapted the original work of legal scholars and applied the principles of CRT in their scholarship (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Few-Demo, 2014). CRT's primary tenets aim to: 1) highlight race as a key social organizing construct of societal systems, including families, 2) elucidate the fact that racism is unavoidable and weaved into the fabric of society constituting a normal experience for people of color, 3) acknowledge that all members of racialized social systems automatically help to perpetuate them through learned social behaviors and practices and 4) recognize that racial and ethnic identities are not static, but are social constructions that carry real and tangible implications for people's lives (Burton et al., 2010; Delgado & Stefancic,

2000). Using the principles of CRT to undergird examinations of ERS processes adds a level of complexity to understanding how and why these processes are enacted, at times not enacted, and to varying degrees of intentionality within Black American families.

Intersectionality, an extension of critical race feminist theories, has been deemed "the future of mainstream family science" (Few-Demo, 2014, p. 169). Crenshaw (1991) is credited with coining the term intersectionality and identifying it as a theoretical and analytic framework that was originally used to examine the intersecting identities of race and gender for women of color. Applying this framework to family studies and ERS in Black families, in particular, encourages researchers to consider the social locales of families, the various social identities that family members hold and how they interact with one another over time, how parents and children navigate systems of privilege and oppression, and how change occurs across the life course and various geographic locations (Few-Demo, 2014). Social identities within Black American families are multifaceted and can have various constellations of interracial partnerships (e.g., Black mother and White father; White mother and Black father; Black mother and Hispanic father; etc.), same-sex partnerships, biracial children, and other complex dynamics. The social position of parents/caregivers often influences how they choose to approach discussions about race with their children. These are all factors that must be considered as scholars attempt to study ERS processes in Black American families.

Subjectivity Statement

Instead of attempting to deny or suppress certain beliefs, assumptions, or values, qualitative researchers readily acknowledge these truths and the ways they may influence their research (Ortlipp, 2008). Research is never value-free, and there are commonly three factors essential to consider when exploring the subjectivity of a researcher - one's affective state,

history, and biography (Peshkin, 2004). Actively seeking out these dimensions of the self *during* the process of research can illuminate ways in which the *self* is influencing inquiry and the outcomes of the study (Peshkin, 1988). In the subsequent paragraphs, I aim to acknowledge the aspects of myself and my lived experiences that drew me to this area of research and hopefully demonstrate the reflexive practices that are a key aspect of my approach to research.

My Personal Response to ERS Research

The American Family Therapy Academy (AFTA) is a professional organization and home to leading systemic therapists and scholars in the field of couple/marriage and family therapy in the U.S. It was at AFTA's annual conference in the summer of 2017 where I had the opportunity to hear a presentation from Dr. Howard Stevenson and was introduced to the concept known as ethnic-racial socialization in the context of Black American families. Dr. Stevenson, a clinical psychologist and professor of Africana Studies at the University of Pennsylvania delivered a compelling presentation describing the process of ERS in Black families, even playing an audio clip of a spontaneous conversation he had with his then pre-adolescent son about the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin. In this clip, Dr. Stevenson engaged in an emotional, yet explicit, discussion about the complex race dynamics involved in the Trayvon Martin case and how a young Black boy simply walking home from a convenience store carrying a can of fruit juice and a package of Skittles could senselessly have his life taken away from him.

As I listened to Dr. Stevenson, seemingly like most other attendees in the plenary, I experienced a strong emotional reaction to his presentation as he tried to explain to his young son why there are some people in this world who will judge him simply because of his pigmentation and what he can do to safeguard himself. As a child being socialized in the heart of "The South",

7

in the state of Mississippi, I do not ever remember a time when I was not aware of race, racism, and discrimination. Black families educating their children about how to navigate a racist and oppressive society is so commonplace that before hearing Dr. Stevenson speak, I just assumed that having these conversations was simply something most, if not all, Black families did as a means for safety and survival. The idea that an entire body of scholarship had been dedicated to studying ERS was utterly shocking to me because for so long it was simply a part of what I witnessed parents and families do with their children in my culture and community, including my own family.

Exploring this line of research represents much more to me than acquiring a certain level of understanding about Black familial processes. It is about arming myself with the knowledge that is needed to influence change in the lives of those who are marginalized. The unfortunate reality is that racism continues to thrive in the U.S. and while structural and systemic change is needed to address those ills, Black people continue to be profiled, discriminated against, and dehumanized every day. Change on societal and institutional levels takes time, significant time, and I am committed to supporting Black families do what they have always done to thrive in this country, which is to draw upon their unique cultural strengths and resources that often lie within. This is not to say that scholars should not also fight for social justice on a broader scale, but it suggests that marginalized communities require both societal and institutional change and the necessary support to enhance the cultural strengths that they already possess.

Section 2: Historical Conceptualizations of Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Black American

Families

Racial socialization is a highly nuanced construct that has been explained in various ways by researchers throughout the years. Although there is usually a common conceptual thread in

8

the descriptions of this familial process, significant variability has abounded. In an effort to consolidate the multiple definitions and establish a more comprehensive understanding of racial socialization, Lesane-Brown (2006) proposed the following definition:

> …specific verbal and non-verbal (e.g., modeling of behavior and exposure to different contexts and objects) messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity. (p. 403)

This definition sought to eliminate confusion among scholars and to incorporate the various aspects of definitions that had been previously recommended by researchers (e.g., Stevenson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). Similar to the various definitions of racial socialization, scholars on the topic have also identified distinct themes in the messages typically transmitted between Black parents and their children (Coard & Sellers, 2005). For example, Boykin and Toms (1985) identified mainstream societal values, minority status, and Black cultural context as themes of racial socialization in their research. Similarly, Stevenson (1994), in his discussion of racial socialization in Black families, identified spiritual and religious coping, extended family caring, cultural pride reinforcement, and racism awareness teaching as dominant themes of racial socialization content. The early scholarship published on the topic reflected various ideas surrounding which themes were most likely to characterize racial socialization messages within the family context suggesting that a consensus had not been reached on a standard set of racial socialization messages (Coard & Sellers, 2005).

In a comprehensive review of the literature on the topic of racial socialization and ethnic socialization, Hughes et al. (2006) sought to synthesize the different meanings and

9

understandings that had been presented in the literature thus far. Up to that point, the term racial socialization had been used by researchers when studying these processes in Black American families specifically. Conversely, ethnic socialization had primarily been used when studying similar processes in other ethnic minority families like Asian and Latinx families and less often with Black Americans (Hughes et al., 2006). However, Hughes et al. (2006) asserted racial and ethnic socialization processes are inextricably related and are applicable across all groups of people, thereby proposing the term *ethnic-racial socialization*. Relatedly, due to the various themes of ERS messages presented by researchers to describe what was believed to be promoted or encouraged by parents, Hughes et al. (2006) recommended that cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism/silence about race be the terms used by scholars to describe the ERS content shared between parents and children about their race and/or ethnicity.

Dominant Dimensions of ERS Content

Cultural socialization refers to messages that Black American youth receive about their heritage and traditions (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents aim to cultivate a sense of ethnic pride in their children that is rooted in who they are and the ethnic group that they belong to. Several researchers have suggested the aspects of socialization that focus on nurturing pride and self-esteem have generally been considered to be most important and effective with youth (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). Parents also prepare their children for bias by encouraging an awareness of racial discrimination and discussing ways to effectively manage these experiences and this is referred to as preparation for bias (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Promotion of mistrust refers to messages that youths receive that highlight the importance of caution and suspicion when interacting with members of the majority group (Hughes & Chen,

1997). Lastly, silence about race or egalitarianism are messages that motivate Black youth to recognize their own individual characteristics and to dismiss the notion of racial differences. This dimension of ERS encourages children to adopt an attitude of colorblindness (Hughes et al., 2006). Prevalence of these dimensions and how they vary depending on the socializing agent and child gender is discussed in greater detail below.

Variations in ERS by Child Gender

Although factors like income and parent education level have been shown to affect ERS practices, research has also shown that parents some time tailor the messages transmitted depending on their child's demographic characteristics. For example, numerous scholars have found that parents share different ERS messages with their sons than they share with their daughters (Bowman & Howard, 1985; McHale et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Thomas & King, 2007; Thomas & Speight, 1999). More specifically, findings from McHale et al. (2006) revealed that ERS practices of fathers, but not mothers, varied depending on the child's gender. Even when parenting both sons and daughters, fathers reported racially socializing their sons more than their daughters. Messages also varied by parent and by developmental stage of the child with mothers, and not fathers, reporting they had conversations involving preparation for bias and cultural socialization more with older children than their younger siblings.

Bowman and Howard (1985) also uncovered themes of gender differences in their examination of socialization practices in Black families with adolescent children. Results from their study indicated that boys received more messages about racial barriers, equality, and peaceful existence with members of the majority group than girls did. Girls received more messages about racial and ethnic pride and commitment than their male counterparts. Overall, girls were less likely to report their parents had taught them nothing about race (Bowman &

Howard, 1985). Similarly, findings from Thomas and Speight (1999) suggested that when comparing boys to girls, boys received more ERS messages about negative stereotypes, societal perceptions, and ways to deal with racism. Girls, however, received more messages about racial pride and striving towards achievement than boys.

In an examination of African American mother-daughter dyads, Thomas and King (2007) aimed to better understand how these mothers approached conversations about race and ethnicity specifically with their daughters. Mothers' ages ranged from 33 to 58, with a mean age of 45. Daughters ranged in age from 13 to 21 and the mean and median age was 16. The researchers hypothesized that ERS messages would address the intersections of both racism and sexism. The most prevalent themes of the conversations between mothers and daughters were self-determination and assertiveness, developing self-pride, and the importance of spirituality and religious beliefs. The researchers were also interested to know whether or not the daughters were actually receptive to the ERS messages that their mothers transmitted. Results indicated that daughters were especially receptive to those messages related to self-pride and self-determination (Thomas & King, 2007).

The majority of studies in the ERS literature examining gender differences have focused on Black adolescents (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; McHale, 2006). However, Caughy and colleagues (2011) studied how these processes differed by gender with a sample of Black parents with children in the first grade. The findings of the study revealed clear differences in patterns of ERS messages for parents of boys versus those of girls. Parents of boys in the sample reported being more likely to share messages related to a blend of cultural socialization, coping skills for discrimination, and promotion of mistrust. Parents of girls, however, reported being more likely to convey messages primarily emphasizing cultural socialization. Moreover, silence about race

was the least promoted ERS messages across both groups but was still mostly used with boys (Caughy et al., 2011).

One of the few studies to examine the specific ERS practices of parents of toddler boys revealed that even with young children, Black parents considered ways to prepare and protect their young children. In a qualitative pilot study, Blanchard and colleagues (2019) interviewed six mother-father dyads whose ages ranged from 25 to 43 about their beliefs, practices, and goals for racially socializing their children. The toddler boys' ages ranged from 12 to 33 months. In comparing the four most frequently utilized dimensions of ERS, each of the mother-father dyads in the study discussed cultural socialization and preparation for bias when describing issues most relevant to them in educating their young sons. Furthermore, Blanchard et al. (2019) found that promotion of mistrust did not seem relevant for the parents, and they attributed this finding to the young age of the children. Additionally, four out of the six couples discussed the importance of transmitting messages of egalitarianism with their young sons to aid them in navigating society.

In general, prior research suggests there are key differences between ERS messages for Black boys versus those for Black girls. Common patterns have demonstrated that parents of boys typically emphasize preparing them for racial barriers and ways to cope with discrimination. For girls, parents seem to focus on fostering a sense of cultural pride and encouraging them to strive for achievement. Even though there are some inconsistencies in the literature regarding these gendered variations, a substantive number of studies have demonstrated that certain ERS messages are associated with specific positive developmental outcomes, including academic achievement, cognitive competence, high self-esteem, psychological adjustment, and overall positive behavioral outcomes for Black youth (Caughy et al., 2002;

Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2013; Smith-Bynum et al., 2007).

Limitations and Future Directions in ERS Research

Despite the notable research conducted on the topic of ERS in Black American families, only a minute fraction of studies have examined this intricate process via observational methods. Smith-Bynum and colleagues (2016) have conducted one of the few research studies observing ERS as a transactional process between Black parents and children with explicit attention to the multiple processes that occur during these exchanges. The vast majority of ERS research has depended on retrospective accounts of parents, adolescents, and college-aged young adults about their experiences. Examining ERS as it unfolds between parents and children can provide a more multifaceted representation of how Black families navigate such critical topics as they encounter racist and discriminatory acts in real time. Furthermore, employing qualitative research methods in ERS research can aid in the exploratory pursuit of this complex process and add some much needed richness to ERS examinations. Gaining these essential insights can have a significant impact not only on the future of ERS research but also on the development of interventions to help prepare parents and children for these conversations.

<div align="center">

Section 3: Overview of Dissertation

</div>

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to explore the process of ethnic-racial socialization in Black American families with school-aged children (10 and 11-years-old) using video recorded dyadic data. Additionally, this dissertation will attend closely to methodological considerations for secondary qualitative data analysis that were key to the research process. The specific aims of each separate component and research questions of the dissertation are outlined below.

Aim 1.1: To introduce a conceptual framework outlining the methodological considerations for qualitative researchers conducting secondary data analysis with data that were originally collected for quantitative research analyses.

Aim 2.1: To qualitatively examine the discourse that occurs between Black parents/caregivers when engaging in "the Talk", a specific type of ethnic-racial socialization message aimed to safeguard children from actual threat or risk from individuals in positions of power.

> **Research Question 1:** How do Black parents/caregivers navigate "the Talk" with their school-aged children?

> **Research Question 2:** How do these conversations vary by child gender?

This dissertation was completed in two individual manuscripts that will be submitted for publication. The aim of the first manuscript was to introduce a conceptual framework that outlines the methodological considerations for qualitative researchers conducting secondary data analysis with data that were collected for purposes other than qualitative inquiry. Secondary data analysis, although not a completely novel concept in qualitative research, is still not widely used in the U.S. The first book discussing secondary analysis of qualitative data was not published until 2004 (Heaton, 2004), and the next book expounding on these concepts was not published for another 15 years (Beck, 2019). This approach to qualitative inquiry is considered to be rather inventive but not without a fair share of both concerns and curiosities from scholars in the field of qualitative research. Very little scholarship has been dedicated to discussing the necessary factors to consider when using a pre-existing quantitative dataset for qualitative research purposes. The conceptual framework presented will outline factors qualitative researchers should consider before, during, and after identifying a primary dataset for secondary analyses. This manuscript has the potential to make a significant contribution to the existing body of literature

on this topic, specifically within the field of human development and family science as there are a multitude of opportunities for this type of secondary data analysis to be conducted on various topics.

While the first manuscript of this dissertation study focused solely on methodology and the practicalities of conducting this unique form of secondary data analysis, the second manuscript sought to employ a thematic analysis with secondary video data. The analyses were conducted on a subset of data from Wave 6 of the *Dallas Project on Education Pathways (DPREP)* study, when study children were in 5th grade. This subset included video recorded data of parent-child dyads participating in what is known as the *Racial Socialization Observational Task* (*RSOT,* Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). During this task, the dyads engaged in a conversation about a child's first encounter with police. Originally, the RSOT was developed for and used to study racial socialization practices of Black parents with their adolescent children but was adapted by DPREP study team members for use with school-aged children. The findings discussed in this manuscript will provide a more nuanced understanding of the actual discourse that unfolds within the parent-child context and provide implications for clinical interventions and parent training programs.

Clinical Implications

In recent years, scholar-practitioners have begun to study how ERS can be integrated into the clinical practice of therapists and counselors when working with Black families to address racial stress and trauma. Practitioners explicitly acknowledging that their clients are impacted by racism helps demonstrate their ability to be culturally responsive thereby enhancing the therapeutic outcomes with Black families (Brown et al., 2013). Not only can ERS augment therapy with families, but there are also implications for parent training programs and

interventionists (Coard et al., 2004). Only by gaining an adequate understanding of how parents

approach and navigate these difficult conversations can researchers and practitioners develop

best practices to help support parents in their efforts to protect their children.

References

Beck, C. T. (2019). *Secondary qualitative data analysis in the health and social sciences.* Routledge. http://doi.org/10.4324/9781315098753

Blanchard, S. B., Coard, S. I., Hardin, B. J., & Mereoiu, M. (2019). Use of parental racial socialization with Black American toddler boys. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 28*, 387-400. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1274-2

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (2nd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bowman, P. J. & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24*, 134-141. http://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-7138(09)60438-6

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 33-51). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bryant-Davis, T., & Ocampo, C. (2005). Racist incident–based trauma. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *33*, 479-500. http://doi.org/10.1177/0011000005276465

Burton, L. M., Bonilla-Silva, E., Ray, V., Buckelew, R., & Hordge Freeman, E. (2010). Critical race theories, colorism, and the decade's research on families of color. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*, 440-459. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00712.x

Carter, R. T. (2007). Racism and psychological and emotional injury: Recognizing and assessing race-based traumatic stress. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*, 13-105. http://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006292033

Caughy, M. O., Nettles, S. M., & Lima, J. (2011). Profiles of racial socialization among Black American parents: Correlates, context, and outcome. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *20*, 491-502. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-010-9416-1

Chavous, T. M., Rivas-Drake, D., Smalls, C., Griffin, T., & Cogburn, C. (2008). Gender matters, too: The influences of school racial discrimination and racial identity on academic engagement outcomes among Black American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*, 637. http://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.637

Coard, S. I., & Sellers, R. M. (2005). Black American families as a context for racial socialization. In V. C. McLoyd, N. E. Hill, & K. A. Dodge (Eds.), *Black American family life: Ecological and cultural diversity* (pp. 264-273). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Coard, S. I., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson, H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent training with Black American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*, 277-293. http://doi.org/10.1023/B:JCFS.0000022035.07171

Crenshaw K. W. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*, 1241–1299.

Delgado, R., & Stefanicic, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Few-Demo, A. L. (2014). Intersectionality as the "new" critical approach in feminist family studies: Evolving racial/ethnic feminisms and critical race theories. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *6*, 169-183. http://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12039

García Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., McAdoo, H. P., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Garcia, H. V. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority

children. *Child Development*, *67*, 1891-1914. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Glenn, E. N. (2015). Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of US race and gender formation. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *1*, 52-72. http://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214560440

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research, 2*, 163-194.

Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*, 42–57. http://doi.org/10.1037/h0087722

Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking qualitative data.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hinds, P. S., Vogel, R. J., & Clarke-Steffen, L. (1997). The possibilities and pitfalls of doing a secondary analysis of a qualitative data set. *Qualitative health research, 7*, 408-424. http://doi.org/10.1177/104973239700700306

Hughes D., & Chen L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among Black American families. *Applied Developmental Science,1*, 200– 214. http://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*, 747-770. http://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, *26*, 400-426. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001

Mandara, J., Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Richards, M. H., & Ragsdale, B. L. (2009). The effects of changes in racial identity and self-esteem on changes in Black American adolescents' mental health. *Child Development*, *80*, 1660-1675. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01360.x

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J. Y., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., & Swanson, D. P. (2006). Mothers' and fathers' racial socialization in Black American families: Implications for youth. *Child Development, 77*, 1387-1402. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00942.x

Neblett, E. W., White, R. L., Ford, K. R., Philip, C. L., Nguyen, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2008). Patterns of racial socialization and psychological adjustment: Can parental communications about race reduce the impact of racial discrimination? *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *18*, 477-515. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2008.00568.x

Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The qualitative report, 13*, 695-705.

Peshkin, A. (1988). In search of subjectivity—one's own. *Educational researcher, 17*(7), 17-21. http://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x017007017

Peshkin, A. (1994). The presence of self: Subjectivity in the conduct of qualitative research. *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education,122*, 45-56.

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*, (pp. 159-173). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of Black American

racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2,* 18-39.

https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Stevenson, H. C. (1994). Racial socialization in Black American families: The art of balancing

intolerance and survival. *The Family Journal*, *2*, 190-198.

http://doi.org/10.1177/1066480794023002

Thomas, A. J., & King, C. T. (2007). Gendered racial socialization of Black American mothers

and daughters. *The Family Journal, 15*, 137-142.

http://doi.org/10.1177/1066480706297853

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and

environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development*, *61*,

401-409.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR SECONDARY QUALITATIVE

ANALYSIS OF VIDEO DATA WITH SCHOOL AGED CHILDREN[1]

[1] Anderson, L. A. To be submitted to *Qualitative Inquiry.*

ABSTRACT

Secondary qualitative data analysis refers to the reuse of pre-existing qualitative data collected from previous studies. Numerous qualitative researchers have identified the advantages of sharing and reusing data to answer new research questions and to approach data from different analytical perspectives. The extant literature dedicated to elucidating this topic has focused almost exclusively on the secondary analysis of *qualitative* data specifically, such as interviews, focus groups, photographs, and other data sources. Within the field of social sciences and particularly family science, observational and video data capturing family interactions is a common practice among researchers studying various processes. Typically, these data are gathered to be assessed using rating or coding systems that have been developed by researchers to illuminate different aspects of the observed interactions. Despite the quantitative methodological approach often applied to these data in family science, observational and video data can also lend itself well to qualitative analysis. Thus, another form of secondary qualitative data analysis involves the process of analyzing pre-existing data that were collected for quantitative research purposes, which I refer to as *methodological expansion*. This paper will identify the necessary considerations researchers should take when employing this unconventional methodological approach specifically in family science research involving school-aged children. These considerations include the advantages and disadvantages associated with the approach, effective strategies, and potential ethical issues. The conceptual framework presented in this paper provides social and family scientists with practical strategies that can help support them in their efforts to qualitatively analyze data that were collected for quantitative analyses.

Keywords: Family science, School-aged children, Secondary qualitative data analysis, Video data

Introduction

Within the field of family science, the analysis of secondary data is a common and widely accepted practice among researchers. Scholars sometimes use their own pre-existing data and apply new research questions, access data collected from other scientists, or acquire access from large national databases to address specific research questions. The amount of resources, time, and effort that are required to carry out successful research studies makes the concept of secondary data analysis appealing to many. Historically, secondary analysis, also known as data reuse (Yoon & Kim, 2017) has been limited primarily to quantitative data (Glaser, 1963). Although secondary qualitative analysis is not a novel concept (Poth, 2019), it is still considered unconventional by many qualitative researchers and scholars. Because of this, there is a relatively small body of literature dedicated to this topic. Specific practices involved with the process of carrying out this unique methodology are in need of further examination.

Even though secondary qualitative data analysis has gained notable recognition over the past several decades, early scholars who attempted to write about this strategy struggled with developing a precise definition and to clearly describe what the approach entails (Heaton, 2008). Currently, however, an agreed upon definition of this methodological approach describes it as the analysis of data that were collected for other purposes to address specific research questions of a secondary analyst (Beck, 2019; Heaton, 2008). The secondary data can come from various sources such as interviews, responses to open-ended questions, notes from the field and the research diaries of investigators (Beck, 2019; Heaton, 2008). Glaser (1963) expressed strong support for this research strategy and argued it could be applicable to qualitative data regardless of the size or amount and despite what types of analyses had been conducted prior. When executed well and with rigor and ethical procedures, (Poth, 2019) secondary qualitative data

25

analysis can produce meaningful results and make important contributions to various fields of knowledge.

Within the field of family science, the collection of observational and video data to examine various types of family interactions is a popular and valuable research tool (Lindahl, 2000). Researchers studying child development, parent-child interactions, couple interactions, and other family dynamics often employ observational methods in their research to capture the essence of these processes and address different research inquiries. Primarily, researchers rely on or even develop coding and rating systems in order to draw conclusions about what they see occurring within family systems. Although the use of coding and rating systems to examine these interactions can help to illuminate obscure familial processes, undoubtedly, there are elements of the interactions that are not captured by this quantitative analytic approach and instances in which qualitative methods might be advantageous. When describing qualitative research, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) posited that it "generally examines people's words and actions in narrative or descriptive ways more closely representing the situation as experienced by the participants" (p. 2). Depending on the context of the familial interaction and the dynamics being examined, applying a qualitative lens to the observational or video data has the potential to elucidate complex elements of the interaction that would otherwise be neglected when simply adhering to a rating or coding system with limited variability. Gaining broad perspectives and rich descriptions can be particularly salient when studying certain familial interactions, particularly studies that involve vulnerable populations and observations that include sensitive content (Bishop & Kuula-Luumi, 2017; Long-Sutehall et al., 2011).

The primary aim of this paper is to identify secondary qualitative data analysis as a viable and effective research strategy that can be appropriately used in the field of family science even

when reusing data that were collected for quantitative analytic purposes. In this paper, I use my own experience as a secondary data analyst in close proximity to an original research study to expound upon the ways that a qualitative lens can be applied to unique video data to answer a new set of research questions. Explaining the unique aspects of this secondary analysis is in accordance with processes of *research transparency* as outlined by Moravcsik (2014) that encourages qualitative researchers, specifically, to make their work "visible" to peers in their respective disciplines (p. 48). Moravcsik (2014) asserted that transparency in research is essential to scholarship that can be appropriately scrutinized, debated, or possibly extended by fellow scholars.

Using video data from a sample of 45 Black American parent/primary caregiver-child dyads engaged in the *Racial Socialization Observational Task* (RSOT, Smith-Bynum et al., 2016), I employed a thematic analysis methodology to explore these dyadic interactions with a subset of the data. During this observational task, dyads were asked to engage in conversations about ambiguously discriminatory incidents involving young Black children and older individuals in positions of power and authority (e.g., a child's first interaction with a police officer in their neighborhood). The RSOT was developed with an accompanying codebook so that researchers could assess different elements of the interaction that focused on both parent/caregiver and child verbal and affective responses. However, by using a qualitative methodology for my analyses as opposed to relying solely on the existing codebook, I was able to examine the data at both the semantic and latent levels and explore the underlying meanings and experiences of the parent/caregiver and child (Boyatzis, 1998).

This paper is organized into four sections. I begin by describing the history of secondary qualitative data analysis in the social sciences and the various modes that currently exist. In this

section, I also identify the critiques this research strategy has garnered over the years. Second, I highlight the various secondary data analysis typologies that are useful for qualitative research. Third, I introduce a new secondary data analysis typology that I have coined, *methodological expansion,* and explain its use. Finally, I conclude by introducing a conceptual framework that identifies key strategies involved in the process of qualitatively analyzing video data that were collected for quantitative analysis.

Although the literature dedicated to the topic of secondary qualitative analysis has presented essential steps important to take when reusing qualitative data that were collected for the purposes of qualitative analysis, it appears that no current scholarly literature exists that extensively outlines necessary strategies to employ when shifting from a quantitatively driven original research study to analyzing the data qualitatively. Issues such as epistemological influences on data collection, contextual factors that have the potential to influence data interpretation, and the impact of the primary researcher(s) should be explicitly addressed. While the relationship between quantitative and qualitative research methods reflect that of a continuum more so than a rigid dichotomy (Glesne, 2011), there are foundational assumptions and philosophical differences that exist that should be acknowledged when attempting this type of secondary analysis. The overarching purpose of this paper is to reveal the intricacies of this type of methodology and provide researchers with clear guidance on how to conduct a secondary qualitative analysis of video data that has rigor, adheres to ethical practices, and makes meaningful contributions to their respective bodies of literature.

History of Secondary Qualitative Analysis

Poth (2019) posited that secondary analysis of qualitative data is not as unique as many researchers would like to believe. One of the first notable writings about secondary data analysis

in qualitative research was published by Barney Glaser in 1962 (Beck, 2019). Glaser (1962) was a sociologist who expressed strong support for this research strategy noting the potential benefits and advantages of engaging with pre-existing data in this way. Since that time, numerous scholars have published articles and books detailing their experiences with data reuse and emphasizing that this is far from a research strategy reserved specifically for large quantitative datasets (e.g., Bishop, 2007; Fielding, 2004; Heaton, 2004, 2008; Hinds et al., 1997; West & Oldfather, 1995). The early 2000s showed a significant increase in the literature highlighting practical guidelines associated with secondary qualitative data analysis (Beck, 2019).

As one of the earliest scholars to contribute to the topic, Glaser (1963) provided critical insights into the role of secondary analysts that are still relevant to researchers today. Glaser (1963) described this approach as "the study of specific problems through analysis of existing data which were originally collected for other purposes" (p. 11) and asserted that its origins can be traced back to before the Second World War. According to Glaser (1963), vast amounts of survey data made available to social scientists during that time encouraged individuals to consider ways to make use of or reuse pre-existing data for their own purposes and lines of inquiry. Independent researchers, those who were not necessarily associated with a large collaborative research team or under the auspices of larger entities overseeing their work, were often the primary beneficiaries of secondary analysis at that time (Glaser, 1963). Those researchers working independently were often able to approach the data in new and exciting ways with fresh perspectives because of their lack of connection to the original study, and this was considered to be a significant strength of the approach at that time (Glaser, 1963).

Modes of Qualitative Secondary Analysis

Heaton (2004) identified three main modes of qualitative secondary analysis. The first mode involved *formal data sharing* in which datasets that have been made available publicly are accessed by researchers to fulfill their own research purposes. In most instances, these data are well documented, were collected for archival purposes, and likely meet all necessary ethical and legal requirements for data reuse. Secondary analysts may be able to contact the primary researchers for consultation, but their involvement is typically minimal. An example of formal data sharing is the publicly accessible Qualitative Data Repository (QDR) which is supported by the United States National Science Foundation (NSF) with oversight from the Center for Qualitative and Multi-Method Inquiry at Syracuse University. Planning stages for the QDR began in 2007, and it is dedicated solely to "qualitative data and data underlying multi-method inquiry" (Karcher et al., 2020, p. 226). It was developed to provide qualitative and mixed-method researchers with opportunities for data sharing and a necessary infrastructure. The QDR is now an interdisciplinary social science repository with international representation. Researchers come from a range of different disciplines such as political science, public health, anthropology, and sociolinguistics (Karcher et al., 2020).

The second mode of secondary analysis in qualitative research is *informal data sharing* (Heaton, 2004). Informal data sharing can take several different forms. First, a primary researcher may share their data with other analysts and play no role in the secondary analysis. Second, the primary researcher could share their data with secondary analysts who were not involved in the original study and lead the secondary analysis or be a part of the team. Third, two or more researchers may work collaboratively, gather the data that they each collected separately, and partner with other researchers to carry out a secondary analysis. In an informal

data sharing modality, it is not uncommon for secondary analysts to have been involved in the primary research, which is fundamentally different from formal data sharing (Heaton, 2004).

Lastly, Heaton (2004) identified *self-collected data* as the third mode of secondary data analysis. In these circumstances, researchers will apply new research questions to the data that they have already collected. They may also seek to verify the findings that they previously reported. When working with self-collected data, researchers either collaborate with others and combine their datasets or a single researcher or team of researchers from an original study will reuse their data and conduct secondary analyses.

Common Critiques of Secondary Qualitative Data Analysis

Proximity to the Original Study

Although earlier opinions of secondary analysis of qualitative data cited *distance* from the original study as potentially beneficial (Glaser, 1963), other scholars have suggested that this can also lead to some important disadvantages. For example, Thorne (1994) argued that contextual information pertaining to the data collection process would be important for the secondary analyst to have in their efforts to interpret the data, but essentially, this information would be lost. There may have been characteristics of a particular setting or traits unique to a specific interviewee that would be critical for an analyst to be made aware of for their interpretation. However, without access to the original researcher(s), there would be virtually no opportunity for someone conducting a secondary analysis of the data to acquire this pertinent information (Thorne, 1994). Thorne (1994) presented the example of a primary research team who conducted a study about race relations during the 1990s shortly after the Rodney King beating, the acquittal of the officers responsible for the incident, and subsequent riots in Los Angeles, California. A secondary analyst accessing these data from this time period without

knowledge of that sociopolitical climate would lose essential contextual information that would conversely be firsthand knowledge to the original researchers (Thorne, 1994). The proximity of the secondary analyst to the original research study was one of the first concerns that qualitative researchers expressed about the reuse of data. Specifically, from a qualitative research perspective, "the researcher is the instrument" (Patton, 2002, p.14) and is critical to the processes of data collection and the interpretation of data. Limited proximity to the data and inadequate contextual information about the data can hinder secondary analysts from making appropriate interpretations (Cliggett, 2013).

Assessing the Fit of the Data

Qualitative research methodologies often employ very selective sampling and data collection procedures as researchers seek to explore specific phenomena. Scholars develop particular research questions and will focus their analyses on addressing those points of inquiry. Due to such a selective process, some primary research studies may be less amenable to secondary data analysis than others (Beck, 2019; Hinds et al., 1997). Hinds et al. (1997) suggested that the fit of the data may be most adequately determined by the degree of missing data. In qualitative research, missing data can be the result of primary researchers being inconsistent in their interview methods and not obtaining the same information from every study participant (Hinds et al., 1997). Under these same circumstances, a secondary analyst may not be able to deeply explore a certain issue because the phenomenon was not sufficiently investigated.

Also related to the fit of the data is the degree to which the research question(s) being posed by the secondary analyst is similar or different to the research question(s) applied by the primary researchers (Hinds et al., 1997). While some secondary study questions could have the potential to uncover new phenomena about a particular topic, questions that are significantly

different may not be appropriate for a specific dataset and may require new data collection altogether. Secondary analysts who seek to address research inquiries that at least resemble that of the original study tend to produce quality research findings with sufficient detail (Hinds et al., 1997).

Ethical Concerns

Secondary analysis of qualitative data can generate serious ethical concerns for researchers related to issues of confidentiality, informed consent, fidelity, and maleficence (Thorne, 1998). The personal connection, sense of trust, and care for participants' stories that many qualitative researchers cultivate through their inquiry adds a greater level of complexity to concerns regarding secondary data analysis (Irwin, 2013). Bishop (2009) posited that consent from study participants can never be completely informed because qualitative researchers are often uncertain about the direction their research will take as it is typically exploratory and emergent. Seeking consent from participants that provides general information about the use of their data is most suitable (Bishop, 2009). Alderson (1998, as cited in Beck, 2019) recommended that qualitative researchers include three layers of informed consent with study participants. The first layer provides consent for the primary researcher to reuse the data. The second layer provides consent to secondary analysts, and the third layer asks participants to consent to their data being archived. This is one strategy that can be useful in guiding participants to make informed decisions about their data.

Maintaining participant confidentiality and non-maleficence, or causing no harm to participants, was identified by Thorne (1998) as an issue that becomes more critical with secondary data analysis. Whenever possible, anonymizing data by de-identifying participant

information from the dataset should be done (Beck, 2019). The disadvantage, however, is that valuable contextual information about participants can be lost through anonymization. Issues related to informed consent, confidentiality, and maleficence can at times create challenges for researchers conducting secondary analyses and hinder their ability to argue for the validity and credibility of their work (Thorne, 1998). Despite these concerns, however, secondary qualitative data analysis continues to be a growing methodological approach (Bishop & Kuula-Lummi, 2017) with scholars attending closely to each of these concerns to help mitigate challenges in their research endeavors.

Secondary Qualitative Analysis Typologies

Beginning in the 1990s, qualitative researchers began to introduce various typologies describing different approaches that could be used to conduct secondary analyses of data. According to Beck (2019), Thorne (1994, 2013) was the first person to develop these typologies and identified five types: 1) analytic expansion; 2) retrospective interpretation; 3) armchair induction; 4) cross-validation; and 5) amplified sampling. During *analytic expansion*, the secondary analyst applies a new research question to the already existing dataset that was not addressed by the primary researchers. This approach is believed to be the most common in secondary analyses of qualitative research (Heaton, 2004). *Retrospective interpretation* is actually a type of analytic expansion in which the secondary analyst approaches the data after initial findings have already been published. In this instance, the secondary analyst re-works the data to "expand upon or develop further aspects that were only superficially addressed in the original dataset" (Beck, 2019). There are also times when a secondary analyst will engage in this process to correct initial findings that may have been the result of a study ending prematurely. In an *armchair induction* analysis, theoretical scholars who have had no experience in the field will

analyze the data and generate findings that differ from the original researchers. These secondary analysts approach the data with a "perspectival distance" (Thorne, 2013, p. 398) from those who conducted the original study. *Cross validation* refers to a type of secondary analysis in which the researcher compares the findings from an original study across several datasets to confirm the veracity or lack thereof of the primary researcher(s). This approach helps the researchers argue that the findings of the original study are not only specific to that sample and context but could potentially be applicable more broadly. Lastly, Thorne (1994, 2013) introduced *amplified sampling* as a typology. Beck (2019) posited that, "this approach not only permits confirmability across distinct study contexts and populations but also for expansion of meaning by means of a wider lens" (p. 35). Although distinct, these typologies are not mutually exclusive, and variations exist within each of them. They can be used individually or as part of a larger research study that will eventually lead to new primary data collection altogether (Thorne, 2013).

Hinds and colleagues (1997) provided more general approaches to secondary analysis with qualitative data and introduced four typologies. The first type is similar to the analytic expansion typology developed by Thorne (1994, 2013). It involves the secondary analyst using a unit of analysis that differs from what the primary researchers employed in the original study. Hinds et al. (1997) provided an example of a study from Deatrick and colleagues (1993, as cited in Hinds et al., 1997) in which the unit of analysis in the primary study included individual reports from family members about a specific topic. In the secondary analysis, the researchers focused on a subset of the families in the study and focused on specific behaviors exhibited by those family members. The second typology identified by Hinds et al. (1997) involved selecting a subset of cases from the original dataset to engage in a more focused analysis. Third, Hinds et al. (1997) described an approach in which secondary analysts reanalyze all or a portion of the

original dataset by attending closely to a concept that was apparent but not fully or specifically addressed by the primary analysts. The final typology introduced by Hinds el al. (1997) involves the secondary analysts using data from a primary research study as one data source while also further refining their project and research questions and commencing their own data collection.

As a result of a comprehensive review of approximately 65 secondary qualitative analyses that had been published in the fields of health and social care, Heaton (2004) described five typologies that she felt characterized the processes secondary analysts were engaging in at that time. These five typologies included the following: 1) supra analysis; 2) supplementary analysis; 3) reanalysis; 4) amplified analysis; and 5) assorted analysis. Heaton (2004) asserted that *supra analysis* shared some characteristics with previous typologies that had been presented, such as the armchair induction introduced by Thorne (1994, 2013). Secondary analysts approaching data from this perspective seek to transcend the focus of the original study and apply "new theoretical, empirical or methodological questions" (Heaton, 2004, p. 39). This typology does differ from the armchair induction, however, in that it may be conducted by the same researchers who completed the original study and does not have to be carried out by theoreticians in particular. *Supplementary analysis* refers to a more in-depth examination of an aspect of the primary study that was not fully explored or addressed. In a *reanalysis,* secondary researchers reanalyze data to determine whether or not their findings support that of the original analysts. *Amplified analyses* involve combining multiple datasets from primary studies in order to make comparisons and gather a larger sample. This typology also shares some similarities with Thorne's (1994, 2013) amplified sampling approach. Lastly, the *assorted analysis* typology introduced by Heaton (2004) involves the analysis of pre-existing data combined with the secondary analyst's primary data and/or the analysis of naturalistic qualitative data (e.g.,

36

photographs, diaries, letters, etc.). This typology can be used for cross validation (Thorne, 1994, 2013) purposes to support the analyses of other data (Heaton, 2004).

There appears to be three overarching categories in which each of the aforementioned typologies from Thorne (1994, 2013), Hinds et al. (1997), and Heaton (2004) can fit (Table 2.1) which I have synthesized. Typologies in the first category, *analytic extension,* involves researchers applying their analytical skills to an already existing dataset to further explore specific phenomena. In these instances, the secondary analyst conducts additional in-depth analyses to uncover aspects of the data that the primary research team did not address fully. In the second category, *expanded inquiry,* secondary analysts reuse primary datasets to answer new empirical and theoretical questions that differed from the primary research team. The secondary analysts might even apply new methodological approaches in their exploration. Lastly, secondary analysts conducting research using typologies in the third category, *multi-study validation,* combine research data from multiple studies in their analyses. Their inquiry can take several forms and can include a combination of a pre-existing dataset and their own primary data, a combination of multiple pre-existing datasets and naturalistic qualitative data, etc. Similar to each of the typologies, however, these categories are also not mutually exclusive. Some secondary analysts may find that their studies fit into more than one of the categories. For example, the novel typology that I am introducing in this article, *methodological expansion,* falls under both the *analytic extension* and *expanded inquiry* categories. A complete description of this typology and the secondary study I conducted are included in the subsequent sections.

Introducing a Novel Secondary Qualitative Analysis Typology: *Methodological Expansion*

Within the field of family science, observational and video data have the potential to provide researchers with invaluable amounts of rich information detailing complex interactions

and family dynamics. Many family scientists employ observational measures and collect video data in their studies to capture intricate processes that often occur within family systems. Researchers will often use rating and coding systems to help them assess various family interactions and relational dynamics. The resulting information from these rating and coding systems is used to draw conclusions about how families function, why they present in certain ways under specific circumstances, or even to explain how certain family dynamics are linked to different outcomes. The significance of these findings and what they illuminate about families and child development is invaluable to the advancement of family science literature.

Furthermore, innumerable amounts of observational and video data are being collected by scientists in the field. Broadening the scope of our analyses and applying a qualitative lens to these data has staggering potential for increasing the depth of research efforts in family science and human development. Typically, secondary qualitative data analysis involves secondary analysts reusing traditional qualitative datasets to further explore certain phenomena or to address a new research question. However, observational and video data that have been collected to be assessed quantitatively by a team of raters or coders, still possesses qualitative richness and has the potential to be analyzed qualitatively. I have coined the term *methodological expansion* to describe a secondary analysis typology that involves applying a qualitative analytical lens to data that were collected for quantitative analysis. Using this typology affords secondary analysts the opportunity to engage in additional in-depth analyses using a pre-existing dataset and/or to develop new research questions to apply to the data.

Engaging in this form of secondary analysis, however, requires that family scientists and developmentalists embrace two crucial points. First, we must rid ourselves of the notion that secondary data analysis is limited to the re-working of data from large quantitative datasets.

Second, we must continue to weaken the rigid dichotomy that often exists within the field of family science between quantitative and qualitative research approaches and embrace more opportunities for diverse methodological collaborations between researchers with various areas of expertise. Moreover, increased data sharing among family science researchers can be critical when exploring sensitive issues with vulnerable populations (Long-Sutehall et al., 2011), such as the illustration discussed in this article.

Methodological Considerations for Secondary Qualitative Data Analysis

As researchers enter the planning stages of preparing to conduct a secondary qualitative data analysis, there are a number of essential considerations they should contemplate throughout the process (Table 2.2). To aid them in identifying an appropriate dataset, secondary analysts must first develop a clear qualitative research question and ponder over the types of qualitative data that will address their question most sufficiently (Beck, 2019; Johnston, 2017). It is also imperative that the researcher reflect on the potential advantages and disadvantages of using secondary data and whether or not it would be more beneficial to collect their own data. If after pondering over these points, the researcher decides to proceed with a secondary analysis, they should explore which datasets are available for reuse to address their topic of interest (Beck, 2019; Johnston, 2017). Although there may not be other scholars in their close network of colleagues who are explicitly engaging in qualitative research, there is a chance that they have collected qualitative data, such as open-ended questions, video data, or even employed observational measures. The primary research team may focus specifically on quantitative analyses, but the potential for a *methodological expansion* could be emerging. Depending on the nature of the topic, the secondary analyst may also need to take note of unique ethical concerns, like research involving minors or other vulnerable populations. Under these circumstances,

participants may be required to give informed consent a second time before additional analyses can occur.

After a dataset has been identified, the researcher should consider whether or not she or he will have access to the principal investigator (PI) and primary research team for consultation. Opportunities to engage with the primary research team can provide the secondary analyst with critically important contextual information pertaining to the study (Beck, 2019). The relationship the secondary analyst has with the PI or their proximity to the research project will have significant bearing on whether or not this consultation can happen (Beck, 2019). The credibility of the primary research team's work and the types of qualitative data that will be accessible to them are also pertinent points of consideration (Hinds et al., 1997; Johnston, 2017). The secondary analyst should also question whether or not they are interested in the entire dataset or simply a subset of the data or if additional data collection will be needed to supplement the primary dataset. The fit of the data to appropriately address the secondary research question should be considered at the onset and continuously assessed through an immersion of the data (Hinds et al., 1997; Johnston, 2017). It is also important that both the appropriate typology and data analysis technique be utilized in order to produce meaningful findings.

During the actual analysis of the data, keen attention must be given to understanding the multiple factors that influenced data collection procedures (e.g., epistemological philosophy of the PI) and other contextual factors. For example, the skillsets of the data collectors (Johnston, 2017), their ethnicity, gender, age, and even the quality of the relationship between the data collectors and participants can have profound effects on the data and ultimately the secondary analyst's interpretation of the data. Each of these methodological considerations play a pivotal role in a successful analysis of secondary qualitative data.

Criteria for the Use of Video Data for a Qualitative Secondary Analysis

Similar to the steps outlined for conducting a secondary analysis of qualitative data in general, there are some critical factors that researchers need to consider as they prepare to conduct a secondary analysis of video data that were collected for quantitative analyses (Table 2.3). While this is not a requirement, secondary analysts should inquire about the primary research team's experiences with qualitative research methods and the preparation they underwent before initiating the study (Johnston, 2017). Conducting interviews with members of the primary research team is likely to provide a wealth of information about their data collection procedures and their overall experiences during data collection. Team member interviews help to illuminate seemingly unimportant details that could have salient implications for data interpretation (Hinds et al., 1997). This can also be a useful time to determine whether or not study participants provided consent for secondary analyses of their data and how they might go about obtaining it, if needed.

Assessing the availability of contextual information is also key to this process. Contextual information includes access to raw and unedited data, understanding how interviewers on the primary research team were selected, and specific characteristics of each interviewer (i.e., ethnicity, gender, etc.). It will also be useful to access field notes if they are available to better understand the experience of researchers in the field. Background information about the sample, their exposure to qualitative research methods in the past, and whether or not the secondary analyst will have access to participants to clarify data interpretation are all essential pieces of information. Context related to participants' geographic location, the sociopolitical climate during data collection (depending on the study topic), and other pertinent metadata will help to inform the secondary analysis.

Lastly, the completeness and quality of the primary data should be assessed before data analysis commences. Researchers should inquire about whether or not there are complete data for every participant or if there are elements of missing data (Hinds et al., 1997; Johnston, 2017). The secondary analyst should also consider viewing a small percentage of the total available video data to assess video quality and richness and to help ensure the available data will appropriately address their research question(s).

Example of a *Methodological Expansion* Typology

In this section, I will describe my use of the *methodological expansion* typology while conducting a qualitative secondary data analysis with video data with a vulnerable population. The primary data for this secondary analysis came from a longitudinal research study involving Black American and Latinx families in a large metropolitan city in the southwest. A subset of the larger sample was randomly selected to participate in the *Racial Socialization Observational Task* (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016) which required parent-child dyads to engage in a conversation about what the young child would do in a racist and/or discriminatory encounter involving an older adult in three different fictitious vignettes. I focused specifically on the Black American families for my secondary analysis, and the dyadic conversation centered around a young child's first interaction with a police officer. There were 45 dyads total, and the average age of a child during data collection was 10.9 years of age.

Smith-Bynum et al. (2016) also developed the *Racial Socialization Task and Observational Coding System (RSTOCS)* so that the parent-child dyads could be examined on a range of different areas using Likert-scale ratings. Originally, the RSOT was designed to be used with adolescent children and their parents. As a member of the primary research team, a number of adaptations and additions to the pre-existing codebook were incorporated to meet the

developmental needs of our younger, school-aged sample. These amendments included adding

additional ratings for behavioral and affective responses for both parent and child. However,

after reviewing some of the early video data that were collected, it was apparent there were

elements of the dyadic interactions that appeared to not be fully captured by the rating system.

Applying a qualitative lens to the data seemed to be a viable option that could help to explain

underlying meanings of the parent-child interactions. In order to approach these data that had

been collected for quantitative analyses from a qualitative perspective, I initiated a series of steps

before beginning my analyses.

Before Initiating Analysis

In this illustration of a *methodological expansion,* because of my proximity to the

primary research study and familiarity with the research team, the dataset for analyses had

already been identified. Furthermore, it was my knowledge of the data that were being collected

that prompted me to consider the potential for a secondary qualitative analysis of the data. Prior

to initiating the secondary analysis, however, I formulated the research questions that I wanted to

answer with the data that were being collected. I contemplated whether or not the video data

would adequately answer my questions and whether or not additional data would be needed. A

critical consideration was evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of using secondary data

to address this topic. Although my research questions eventually became more refined through

the crafting of my secondary study, I knew the overall topic would broadly focus on Black

American families, processes of ethnic-racial socialization, and the strategies parents employ that

aid them in navigating difficult conversations with their young children about racism and

discrimination. Because of the sensitive nature of the research topic and the vulnerability of the

study population, an obvious advantage of using a pre-existing dataset to answer my research

questions was that I would not have to overwhelm additional families with discussing such personal and troubling experiences. Asking families to engage in these delicate conversations for the purposes of research is not something I hold in low regard. If sufficient data existed to examine these familial processes between parents and children, taking advantage of the opportunity for a secondary analysis of those data seemed to be both a viable and responsible option.

Despite the blatant advantages of this approach, I also had to come to terms with the clear disadvantages of not being a primary analyst conducting the research. What I considered to be the most apparent drawback to conducting a secondary analysis to address my research questions was the fact that I would not have access to the contextual data that only the research assistants who administered the task were privy to. The RSOT was structured such that each parent-child dyad listened to three separate audio clips describing a discriminatory situation involving an interaction between a young child and a person in a position of power and authority. After each brief clip, the dyads were asked to engage in conversation for five minutes about how the child would respond if they were to ever face a similar situation. After each five-minute conversation, the research assistants stopped the recording and restarted it for the next conversation. From a qualitative research perspective, I had an array of curiosities related to the experiences of the families participating in the task. What, if anything, were the parents and children saying to one another in between the video recordings? What questions related to the task did they have for the research assistants? How did the emotional experiences of the dyads manifest in ways during the home visit that were not captured on video? How did the thoughts and emotions of the research assistants manifest during the facilitation of the task and how did this influence the dyads and

their interactions? These questions, along with several others, were of great importance as I considered the necessary next steps in my role as a secondary analyst.

Even though I was in close proximity to the primary research study and involved as a research assistant, I was aware that a review and approval from my Institutional Review Board (IRB) would be needed for the secondary analysis. The consent obtained by parents and guardians prior to their participation in the study stated that all members associated with the research team, including research assistants could have access to their data. Therefore, additional consents for the secondary analysis was not needed. However, other researchers without prior consent from participants must obtain it before initiating a secondary analysis. An essential aspect of this secondary analysis was contacting the research assistants who facilitated the RSOT with the families and seeking consultation. I developed a semi-structured interview protocol and conducted interviews with three of the research assistants who administered the RSOT with the Black families. Through my consultations, I gained some necessary insight about their experiences administering the RSOT and the reactions of the families as they completed the task. Conversations with the primary research team ultimately provided invaluable insight that aided me in my interpretation of the data.

During the Analysis

Because the video data of the dyadic conversations were collected with the intent of applying a rating system, I received the data in raw form without any transcriptions. Therefore, my first step in the secondary analysis process was to complete all transcriptions of the video recorded interactions. Initially, I made attempts to use an artificial intelligence software program to have the data transcribed, but ultimately resorted to transcribing all of the data myself. However, data analysis began the moment I began viewing the videos as the data were being

collected. My position as a research assistant with available access to the data clearly put me at an advantage that most other secondary analysts are not likely to have if they are not in close proximity. As I viewed the videos, I began to make note of behaviors and/or responses that were particularly salient to me in my analysis.

After becoming more familiar with the quality of the data, I contemplated which analysis technique would be most appropriate for the type of data that I was re-working and the research questions I sought to answer. Settling on the most suitable analysis technique is an essential aspect of secondary qualitative data analysis. The type of analyses the secondary analyst seeks to conduct must also "fit" the data that she or he will be analyzing. Data sources can take various forms (e.g., videos, photographs, diaries, responses to open-ended questions, etc.), and depending on the data that are available to the secondary analyst, it will likely have some bearing on the analytical techniques they employ (e.g., discourse analysis, narrative analysis, situational analysis, etc.).

Specific to a *methodological expansion* typology of secondary data analysis in which an analyst is seeking to qualitatively analyze data that were collected for quantitative analyses is a consideration of the epistemological stance of the primary research team and how this impacted methodological decisions and data collection. Carter and Little (2007) defined epistemology as the "justification of knowledge" (p. 1317) and asserted that the *process* of research, or methodology, is directly shaped by it. Furthermore, the methodological process adopted by researchers guides and justifies the *method*, or the actual procedures for collecting data. As a tradition, quantitative researchers typically embrace a positivist approach to studying social phenomena with processes characterized by objectivity, causal relationships, operational definitions and similar concepts (Bryman, 1984). Conversely, qualitative research traditions

46

embrace a more exploratory approach and seek to understand phenomena as they unfold in context as opposed to testing predetermined hypotheses (Carter & Little, 2007). These differences in epistemological underpinnings impacted my analysis of the data and my interpretations. In order to *understand* the data that were being re-worked for my analyses, it was imperative that I considered the thinking and justification behind the methods that were employed and ultimately the data that were collected. This aspect of the secondary data analysis process may not be as significant when re-using data that were collected for qualitative purposes, but it is a crucial factor that all secondary analysts should consider.

Throughout the process of analysis, I kept the contextual aspects of the data collection procedures at the forefront of my thinking. This was of particular importance in my study due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the vulnerability of the population – issues of race and discrimination involving young children and their parents. The skillsets of the research assistants facilitating the tasks, their ethnicities, quality of their relationships with families, their genders, and the like are all likely to have impacted data collection in some way. Although I can make speculations about the effects of these factors on the data, not having access to study participants to gain that insight is a limitation of the approach that I explicitly acknowledged. However, being cognizant of these issues that affect the secondary analysis, working to gain as much contextual information as possible, and identifying the ways in which future research studies can work to address the limitations of the current study demonstrates the characteristics of a secondary analyst who has conducted responsible and sound research.

Conclusion

According to Moravcsik (2014), *research transparency* is the "methodological revolution in qualitative research" (p. 48). Providing researchers with clear information detailing the

methodological process is essential to the continuation of qualitative research that is rigorous, ethical, and reliably interprets complex and important phenomena. Making my work visible is what I have sought to do through this paper. Although secondary qualitative data analysis in general is no longer considered a novel approach, it has not been until very recent years that qualitative researchers on a broader scale have begun to express enthusiasm about this approach with multiple recent and notable contributions to the literature elucidating this topic. Moreover, the *expansion methodological* typology I have introduced has the potential to provide secondary analysts with clear and practical guidelines about how to complete a secondary qualitative analysis with data that were collected for quantitative analyses. Researchers within the discipline of human development and family science regularly employ methods that capture data with qualitative elements, such as observational examinations, open-ended questions, video recorded interactions, and other similar methods. The opportunities for secondary analyses of these data by qualitative researchers in the field abound. The families that help to support our research efforts and to advance bodies of knowledge entrust us with the responsibility to engage in work that is principled and that will ultimately benefit others apart from themselves. Ultimately, engaging in secondary analyses aids us in our efforts to honor the stories and lives of the people who willingly give of themselves which in turn supports the ongoing pursuit of scientific inquiry and study.

References

Beck, C. T. (2019). *Secondary qualitative data analysis in the health and social sciences.*
Routledge. http://doi.org/10.4324/9781315098753

Bishop, L. (2007). A reflexive account of reusing qualitative data: Beyond primary/secondary
dualism. *Sociological Research Online, 12*, 43-56. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.1553

Bishop, L. (2009). Ethical sharing and reuse of qualitative data. *Australian Journal of Social
Issues, 44*(3), 255-272. http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2009.tb00145.x

Bishop, L., & Kuula-Luumi, A. (2017). Revisiting qualitative data reuse: A decade on. *Sage
Open, 7*(1), 1-15. http://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016685136

Bryman, A. (1984). The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: A question of method
or epistemology? *British Journal of Sociology*, *35*(1), 75-92.

Carter, S. M., & Little, M. (2007). Justifying knowledge, justifying method, taking action:
Epistemologies, methodologies, and methods in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health
Research*, *17*(10), 1316-1328. http://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307306927

Cliggett, L. (2013). Qualitative data archiving in the digital age: Strategies for data preservation
and sharing. *The Qualitative Report, 18*(24), 1-11.

Fielding, N. (2004). Getting the most from archived qualitative data: Epistemological, practical
and professional obstacles. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 7*, 97-
104. http://doi.org/10.1080/13645570310001640699

Glaser, B. G. (1962). Secondary analysis: A strategy for the use of knowledge from research
elsewhere. *Social Problems, 10*, 70-74. http://doi.org/10.2307/799409

Glaser, B. G. (1963). Retreading research materials: The use of secondary analysis by the

    independent researcher. *American Behavioral Scientist, 6*, 11-14.

    http://doi.org/10.1177/000276426300601003

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (4th Edition). Pearson.

Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking qualitative data*. Sage.

Heaton, J. (2008). Secondary analysis of qualitative data: An overview. *Historical Social*

    Research/Historische Sozialforschung, 33(3), 33-45.

Hinds, P. S., Vogel, R. J., & Clarke-Steffen, L. (1997). The possibilities and pitfalls of doing a

    secondary analysis of a qualitative data set. *Qualitative Health Research, 7*, 408-424.

    http://doi.org/10.1177/104973239700700306

Irwin, S. (2013). Qualitative secondary data analysis: Ethics, epistemology and context. *Progress*

    in Development Studies, 13(4), 295-306. http://doi.org/10.1177/1464993413490479

Johnston, M. (2017). Secondary data analysis: A method of which the time has come. *Qualitative*

    and Quantitative Methods in Libraries, 3(3), 619-626.

Karcher, S., Kirilova, D., & Page, C. (2020). Sharing and managing qualitative data. In M.

    Salmona, D. Kaczynski, & E. Lieber (Eds.), *Qualitative and mixed methods data analysis*

    using Dedoose: A practical approach for research across the social sciences (pp. 226-

    234). Sage.

Lindahl, K. M. (2000). Methodological issues in family observational research. In P. K. Kerig &

    K. M. Lindahl (Eds.), *Family observational coding systems: Resources for systemic*

    research (pp. 39-48). Psychology Press.

Long-Sutehall, T., Sque, M., & Addington-Hall, J. (2011). Secondary analysis of qualitative

    data: A valuable method for exploring sensitive issues with an elusive

population?. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *16*(4), 335-344.

http://doi.org/10.1177/1744987110381553

Maykut, P. & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide*. Routledge Falmer.

Moravcsik, A. (2014). Transparency: The revolution in qualitative research. *PS: Political Science & Politics, 47*(1), 48-53. http://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2014.970846

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.

Poth, C. N. (2019). Rigorous and ethical qualitative data reuse: Potential perils and promising practices. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18,* 1-4. http://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919868870

Smith-Bynum, M. A., Anderson, R. E., Davis, B. L., Franco, M. G., & English, D. (2016). Observed racial socialization and maternal positive emotions in Black American mother–adolescent discussions about racial discrimination. *Child Development, 87*, 1926-1939. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12562

Thorne, S. (1994). Secondary analysis in qualitative research: Issues and implications. In J. M. Morse (Ed.). *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 263-279). Sage.

Thorne, S. (1998). Ethical and representational issues in qualitative secondary analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 8*(4), 547-555. http://doi.org/10.1177/104973239800800408

Thorne, S. (2013). Secondary qualitative data analysis. In C. T. Beck (Ed.), *Routledge international handbook of qualitative nursing research* (pp. 393-416). Routledge.

West, J., & Oldfather, P. (1995). Pooled case comparison: An innovation for cross-case study. *Qualitative Inquiry, 1*, 452-464. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780049500100405

Yoon, A., & Kim, Y. (2017). Social scientists' data reuse behaviors: Exploring the roles of attitudinal beliefs, attitudes, norms, and data repositories. *Library & Information Science Research, 39*, 224-233. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lisr.2017.07.008

Table 2.1

Categorical Representations of Secondary Data Analysis Typologies

Category	Description	Typologies
Analytic Extension	• Applying analytical skills to an already existing dataset to further explore specific phenomena • The secondary analyst conducts additional in-depth analyses to uncover aspects of the data that the primary research team did not address fully	• Analytic expansion • Retrospective interpretation • Reanalysis • Supplementary analysis • Analysis of different unit of analysis • Methodological expansion
Expanded Inquiry	• Secondary analysts reuse primary datasets to answer new empirical and theoretical questions that differed from the primary research team • Secondary analysts might even apply new methodological approaches in their exploration	• Armchair induction • Supra analysis • Analysis of different subset of data • Methodological expansion
Multi-study Validation	• Combining research data from multiple studies for analyses • Inquiry can take several forms and can include a combination of a pre-existing dataset and secondary analysts' own primary data, a combination of multiple pre-existing datasets and naturalistic qualitative data, etc.	• Cross-validation • Amplified sampling • Amplified analysis • Assorted analysis

Table 2.2

Key Methodological Considerations for Secondary Qualitative Data Analysis of Data That Were Collected for Quantitative Analysis

Before selecting a dataset
- What is your research question(s)?
- What types of qualitative data will address your research question(s) most sufficiently?
- What are the advantages of using secondary data instead of collecting your own?
- What are the disadvantages or concerns of conducting a secondary analysis on this topic?
- Which datasets are available to you for reuse?
- Are there ethical considerations (e.g., data involving minors or other vulnerable populations)?

After identifying a dataset
- Do you have access to the principal investigator and primary research team for consultation?
  - What is your relationship or proximity to the primary study?
- How credible is the primary research team's work (e.g., ethical practices, transparency in methodology, research integrity, etc.)?
- What types of data are accessible (e.g., only the transcripts, only the raw data, etc.)?
- Do you require the entire dataset or a subset of the data?
- Will another dataset from a different research team be necessary?
- Will you need to acquire consent from participants for secondary analysis?
- Will additional data collection be necessary? If so, what types of data and from whom?
- How amenable will the data be for addressing your research question?
  - Continue to assess through data immersion
- Which typology for secondary analysis for qualitative research will best meet your needs?
- Which data analysis technique will you use?

During analysis of the data
- How does the epistemological stance of the primary research team impact the original methodological decisions and ultimately the data that were collected?
  - How does this impact your analyses and interpretation?
- What other contextual aspects of the data collection procedures might have impacted the data (e.g., skill of the data collector, ethnicity, gender, quality of their relationship with the participants, etc.)?
  - How does this impact your analyses?

Table 2.3

Criteria for Deciding Whether or Not to Use Video Data from a Primary Quantitative Dataset for the Feasibility of a Qualitative Secondary Analysis

---

Primary research team
- Credentials of the principal investigator and entire research team
- Team's experience with qualitative research methods
- Team's preparation and training to conduct the study
- Availability for consultation
- Willingness of primary researchers to participate in semi-structured interviews with secondary analysts
    - Opportunity to obtain detailed information about data collection procedures
- Informed consent for secondary analysis acquired from study participants

Available contextual information
- Unedited audio and video data
- How interviewers were selected
- Interviewer characteristics that might impact data collection and interpretation
    - Ethnicity
    - Gender
    - Age
    - Relationship to participants
- Field notes
- Participants' experience with qualitative research methods
- How participants were selected
- Background information about participants
- Geographic information
- Sociopolitical climate
- Date, time, location of data collection and other pertinent "metadata"
- Access to participants

Completeness and quality of the primary dataset
- Complete data for every participant
- Richness and depth of the data
- Quality of the audio and video data
- Missing data
- Available data will adequately address the secondary research questions

---

Adapted from Beck (2019).

CHAPTER 3

PARENTING WHILE BLACK IN AMERICA: CENTERING RACE, RESISTANCE, AND REFUGE[2]

ABSTRACT

"The Talk" refers to a specific type of ethnic-racial socialization message that many Black

parents have with their children about how to safely manage themselves when interacting with

police officers and other individuals in positions of power. Black parents often face this

conversation with great discomfort, fear, and anxiety with the realization that not having this

conversation with their children could potentially lead to dire circumstances. With the recent

increased exposure of racialized violence against Black youth at the hands of police and

vigilantes in the United States, many parents of young Black children feel compelled to initiate

these conversations in an attempt to equip their children with the knowledge to protect

themselves and safely walk away from a police encounter. Black parents bear the unjust burden

of striking a balance between alerting their children of possible harm while also not villainizing

every member of law enforcement their child may encounter. This qualitative study examines

"the Talk" occurring between 45 Black American parents and their young school-aged children

via video recorded interactions. Findings of this study shed light on this highly sensitive aspect

of parenting in Black families in hopes of better supporting parents in their efforts to protect their

children from racialized violence.

"...in order to survive, black people have paradoxically had to witness their own murder and defilement and then pass along the epic tale of violation." - Elizabeth Alexander," "Can you be BLACK and look at this?": Reading the Rodney King video(s)

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a wave of increased exposure to racial violence against Black people in the United States (U.S.) at the hands of police officers and vigilantes (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015; Cooper & Fullilove, 2016). Specifically, the murders of young Black children like Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Laquan McDonald, and several others justifiably motivate Black parents to educate their children about how to protect themselves when facing racialized encounters with police and others in positions of power (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). These conversations about race, societal perceptions, and measures that youth are encouraged to employ to safeguard themselves from harm are referred to as ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in family science and developmental psychology literature (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994).

Although racism and structural oppression have an undeniable historical context in this country (Harrell, 2009), recent tragedies detailing racialized violence has heightened societal discourses and reignited conversations about racialized tensions in the U.S. (Whitaker & Snell, 2016). One such example of this resurgence of attention dedicated to race relations is the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. BLM is a social movement that began to take form in the summer of 2013 following the acquittal of neighborhood watchman George Zimmerman in Sanford, Florida after he pursued and killed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin (Ince et al., 2017). Founders of the BLM movement describe it as a "member-led organization whose mission is to build local power and to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes" (BLM, 2020).

Social discourses that are perpetuated via organizations like BLM in conjunction with specific incidents of racial violence receiving national attention have sparked fears for Black parents raising children in a society marked by multiple levels of racism and discrimination (Harrell, 2009; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). Whitaker and Snell (2016) posited that Black parents in the U.S. engage their children in critical conversations about these issues through what is informally known as "the Talk" in Black American culture. "The Talk" involves discussions about "racial profiling and diffusing negative perceptions and stereotypes to avoid being hurt or killed by police during routine activities, such as driving or walking down the street" (Whitaker & Snell, 2016). For many Black parents, approaching this conversation with their young children is a difficult, uncomfortable, and painful experience. However, parents understand all too well the gravity of this conversation and attempt to equip their children with the necessary skills for survival (Stevenson, 1994; Whitaker & Snell, 2016).

In this paper, I posit that "the Talk" is a form of ERS discourse that many Black parents unfortunately feel compelled to participate in despite the discomfort that often accompanies it. ERS researchers have identified four distinct dimensions of racial socialization messages typically transmitted from parents to children. These dimensions include *cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust,* and *egalitarianism/silence about race* (Hughes et al., 2006). Although "the Talk" includes elements of *preparation for bias* and *promotion of mistrust*, it does not fit neatly into either of these ERS dimensions and encompasses much more than what they entail. Effectively engaging Black children in "the Talk" can make the literal difference between life and death, which in most scenarios transcends the messages parents are trying to convey when preparing their children for racial bias and discrimination or providing them with knowledge about instances when they should be skeptical of members of the majority group.

59

Using a thematic analysis qualitative approach (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006), I examined "the Talk" occurring between 45 Black American parents/caregivers with their young, school-aged children. These dyadic interactions were video recorded and analyzed at both semantic and latent levels undergirded by a Critical Race Theory framework (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000) and García Coll and colleagues (1996) Integrative Model. The study is guided by the following research questions:

1) How do Black parents/caregivers navigate "the Talk" with their school-aged children?

2) How do these conversations vary by child gender?

The findings of this study build upon prior ERS research but also seek to advance this body of literature by examining the unfolding of "the Talk" in real time. To date, ERS studies have primarily used parent and child-reports that involve retrospective accounts of conversations and behaviors. The current study, however, elucidates this complex process via the *Racial Socialization Observational Task* (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016) and focuses on a relatively younger sample of participants than what is typically studied with this topic.

This paper is organized into three sections. In the first section I introduce the theoretical frameworks that have undergirded the study and guided the analyses. Second, I review the existing literature expounding upon the lived experiences of Black Americans as they endure racialized policing. Lastly, I present the emergent themes present in the data that characterized the parent/child conversations via "the Talk".

Theoretical Frameworks

Although many scholars of ERS have incorporated elements of critical race theories in their research, the majority have not fully integrated relevant issues of power, racialized systems of inequality, colorism, and intersectionality into their examinations of ERS and Black American families (Burton et al., 2010). Critical Race Theory (CRT) originated in U.S. legal studies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000), but several family and social scientists have adapted the original work of legal scholars and applied the principles of CRT in their scholarship (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Few-Demo, 2014). CRT includes the following tenets: 1) highlights race as a key social organizing construct of societal systems, including families, 2) elucidates the fact that racism is unavoidable and weaved into the fabric of society constituting a normal experience for people of color, 3) acknowledges that all members of racialized social systems automatically help to perpetuate them through learned social behaviors and practices, and 4) recognizes that racial and ethnic identities are not static but are social constructions that carry real and tangible implications for people's lives (Burton et al., 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). Using the principles of CRT to undergird examinations of ERS processes adds a level of complexity to understanding how and why these processes are enacted, at times not enacted, and to varying degrees of intentionality within Black American families. In essence, CRT explicitly identifies U.S. law and legal systems as fundamentally critical to upholding the socially constructed hierarchies of race that are embedded in our culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000).

Intersectionality, an extension of critical race feminist theories, has been deemed "the future of mainstream family science" (Few-Demo, 2014, p. 169). Crenshaw (1991) is credited with coining the term intersectionality and identifying it as an analytic theoretical framework that was originally used to examine the intersecting identities of race and gender for women of color.

Applying this analytic framework to family studies and ERS in Black families, in particular, encourages researchers to consider the social locations of families, the multiple social identities of family members and how they clash or overlap in various contexts, how parents and children navigate systems of both privilege and oppression, and how change occurs across the life course and different geographic locations (Few-Demo, 2014). The social position of parents/caregivers can influence how they approach conversations about race and navigate systems of power and oppression as it relates to their children. These are all factors that are imperative to consider when attempting to understand ERS processes in these families.

Also relevant to our understanding of ERS in Black American families is the Integrative Model introduced by García Coll and colleagues (1996) that situated the lived experiences of ethnic minority youth and their families in a sociocultural context. In part, the Integrative Model sought to extend the ecological systems perspective presented by Bronfenbrenner (1977; 1979) by highlighting the effects of oppression, racism, discrimination, and prejudice on the lives of developing ethnic minority youth and their families. According to this model, Black families and youth, as well as other ethnic minorities, live within promoting and inhibiting environments where they are directly impacted by racism and discrimination through various social interactions. In response to families' experiences with these promoting and inhibiting environments that influence child development, adaptive cultures are cultivated to meet the contextual demands placed on them (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Ogbu, 1981). In addition to identifying the development of adaptive cultures Black families cultivate to help mitigate the negative effects of social ills in their environments, the Integrative Model also emphasized racial socialization as a key aspect of familial processes in these families. Due to the pervasive racism and oppression that continues to persist in American culture, many Black families socialize their

children using unique strategies aimed at protecting them from these forms of harm (Peters, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). Racial socialization is a critical factor to consider in our pursuit to understand the complex interactions that occur within Black familial contexts to support the healthy development of developing Black youth in a society marked by racism and discrimination (García Coll et al., 1996).

Black Americans and Racialized Policing

In comparison with other ethnic and racial groups in the U.S., Black Americans are more distrusting of members of law enforcement, perceive higher levels of racial bias, and are more prone to report negative encounters characterized by discrimination and injustice (Brunson, 2007, 2009; Stewart et al., 2009). Violence at the hands of law enforcement against Black Americans has received increased national attention in recent years with the killings of unarmed individuals such as, Oscar Grant, Charleena Lyles, Atatiana Jefferson, 12-year-old Tamir Rice, and several others occurring at alarming rates. According to Edwards et al. (2019), use of force by police is a leading cause of death specifically for young men of color in the U.S. Specifically, Black men are about 2.5 times more likely to be killed by police over the course of their life than White men and Black women are about 1.4 times more likely to be killed by police than their White counterparts. Across all demographics, Black men and boys are the most likely to be killed by a member of law enforcement with predictions suggesting that one in 1,000 Black men will die at the hands of police over the course of life (Edwards et al., 2019). Public health experts and social scientists now recognize contact with police as a key consideration when examining health disparities and acknowledge that it is a cause of early mortality in communities of color (Bui, 2018; Geller, 2014; Sewell, 2017).

Unique to the experiences of Black Americans is the sharing of experiences that individuals often initiate when they encounter biased and discriminatory officers. This is especially common in disadvantaged Black neighborhoods where disparaging and aggressive policing practices are rampant (Weitzer, 2000). These vicarious experiences of police bias many Black Americans are exposed to add to the accumulated instances of discriminatory events that affect them as a collective and fuel negative perceptions about members of law enforcement (Brunson, 2007). The unjust violence perpetrated by police officers on the basis of racism, implicit bias, and prejudice should be recognized as a form of interpersonal trauma. These officers use aggressive tactics to maintain power and control in their interactions with people and often demonstrate actions that are dehumanizing, objectifying, and that stereotype women, men, girls, and boys of color (Bryant-Davis et al., 2017).

Black Youth and Police Encounters

Black youth are no exception when it comes to experiencing racialized encounters with police. A street participatory action research (Street PAR) study conducted by Payne and colleagues (2017) involved researchers partnering with 15 residents living in a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood to document Black youth and young adults' negative experiences with police officers. Participants in the study ranged from 18-35 years of age, and data that were collected included 520 surveys, 24 individual interviews, four dual interviews, three group interviews, and five field observations. Within the study sample, younger Black men between the ages of 18-21 reported having the most negative contact with police. Contact with police, however, decreased significantly for both males and females for older cohorts. Additionally, males were slightly more likely to have repeated interactions with police in their neighborhoods. The qualitative analyses of the data identified two pertinent themes: 1)

disrespect and disdain for residents and 2) low motivation for working with police. Youth and

young adults reported feeling utter anger and resentment toward their local law enforcement

which had been driven by acts of police-perpetuated violence and the recent murder of a local

resident by a member of law enforcement. Tense relationships between police and community

members have the potential to further widen the gap that exists between the groups and serves to

maintain division and brew negativity in local contexts.

Following the death of unarmed Black teenager, Michael Brown on August 9, 2014 in

Ferguson, Missouri, Threlfall (2018) interviewed 18 Black parents and their adolescent children

who lived in nearby communities in the St. Louis area. Threlfall (2018) sought to explore what

racial socialization messages parents and adolescents would report being transmitted in their

families following Brown's murder and subsequent events in Ferguson. Four subthemes were

identified in the data, including: *teaching the context, fear for sons, we are not the same,* and *rise*

above. The study revealed that for these families who were in close proximity to civil unrest as a

result of racialized violence, racial socialization served as a protective factor for youth in these

communities. Parents reported engaging in conversations with their children about what it meant

to be a member of their ethnic or racial group within the contexts of their local communities.

Young Black boys in particular received messages reminding them of their value in a society that

often promotes disparaging narratives about Black men (Threlfall, 2018).

Method

Data for this study were collected via the *Racial Socialization Observational Task*

(RSOT, Smith-Bynum et al., 2016) from the Dallas Project on Education Pathways (DPREP)

study, formerly known as the Dallas Preschool Readiness Project. The DPREP study originally

focused primarily on self-regulation in a sample of Black American and Latinx families from

65

low-income communities in the Dallas, Texas metropolitan area. The RSOT was originally developed to be analyzed quantitatively with a rating system to characterize conversations about racial discrimination between Black American parents and their adolescent children (Smith-Bynum, et al., 2016). However, the RSOT was adapted by the DPREP research team to be used with Black and Latinx families with school-aged children. The RSOT involves dyads listening to an audio recording describing three distinct fictitious vignettes about discriminatory events (i.e., interactions with Police, a Counselor, and inside of a Store) and asking the dyad to have a conversation about what the child would do if faced with that situation. This secondary analysis only focuses on data from the subgroup of Black families from the DPREP study who participated in the RSOT and discussions of the Police vignette.

Study Design

DPREP is a longitudinal research study that remains ongoing following a sample of Black American and Latinx children and their primary caregivers. The study is funded by the *Eunice Kennedy Shriver* National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). The project began in 2010 with 407 families (179 were Black Americans) when the children were 2½ years old and continued for the next four years as the children entered first grade. Assessments took place in the homes of families and focused on one target child and their caregiver. Researchers sought to understand the development of self-regulation skills in the children and how these skills, or lack thereof, affected school readiness. The study has also examined the effects of broader systemic issues on the families, such as racism, poverty, and the sociopolitical climate in the U.S. Beginning in 2016, the funding for DPREP was renewed guaranteeing another five years of data collection with the families. This continuation has

allowed researchers to study the critical transition of the children from elementary to middle school.

Data collection for Waves 5 through 8 utilizes a combination of wave-missing and a two-method missing design. Families have been divided into one of two groups: a home visit cohort, for whom data are gathered by research assistants in the home, and a phone visit cohort. All surveys are completed in the family's preferred language. Additionally, parents who complete their surveys in the home are incentivized with $50 gift cards, and children receive a $10 gift card. Parents who complete their survey over the phone are incentivized with $35 gift cards, and children also receive a $10 gift card. Additionally, families who completed the RSOT were incentivized with an additional $25 gift card.

The Racial Socialization Observational Task (RSOT)

The RSOT data that were analyzed for this dissertation study were collected during Wave 6 of DPREP data collection with a subgroup of Black families randomly selected for the observational task. A total of 46 dyads participated in the parent-child interaction. One family was not included in the analyses due to the parent being ill during the assessment and the dyad not being able to fully complete the task. The average age of the children was 10.9 years, and they were all enrolled in the fifth grade. Dyads were read the following instructions by the research assistant in preparation for the task:

> *The activity we are going to do next is a short conversation that will be video recorded. Video recording is one way we can get an idea of how different families communicate about different issues. Remember, everything we're doing today is confidential. Only trained research staff will see the recording unless you have provided written permission*

for it to be seen by others. We'll explain what we would like for you to do during the

conversation. This activity will take approximately 15 minutes.

I am going to play a recording of a short story about a youth dealing with a situation.

Listen to the story and imagine that you are the youth in the story. You should talk with

each other about ways to deal with the problem in the story as if it happened to you and

your family. There are no right or wrong answers for dealing with the problem. I will

signal you when to start your discussion. I am going to wait in the next room while you

have your conversation and I will return when 5 minutes are up.

After reading the instructions and determining the family had no questions, the research

assistant proceeded with playing a brief audio recording (approximately 30 – 45 seconds)

describing an ambiguously racist event. The families were asked to face the camera and speak

clearly for the audio and video recording. An example of the text of the audio recording the

families listened to is as follows:

Marcus is an African American boy who loves playing outside with his two friends. After

school, they plan to go to their homes for a snack and then meet near Marcus' house. As

Marcus waits for his friends, he notices a police car parked down the street. The officer

drives up to him, gets out of his car, and walks toward Marcus. The officer says, "What

are you doing standing out here? I've heard from people around here that all you kids do

is hang out in the street." Marcus has never talked with the police before. How would

you handle the situation if you were Marcus?

The child's gender in each of the scenarios was matched to the gender of the child participating

in the task. After listening to the audio recording, the dyad was told they had five minutes to

discuss. Families who alerted research assistants before the five minutes were up were informed

they still had time remaining and were asked to continue discussing as best as they could. However, if a family refused to continue after being asked once, they were not asked again. The dyads listened to a total of three audio recordings describing an ambiguously racist event and were asked to discuss for five minutes after listening to each scenario. The order of scenarios was counterbalanced across families. After the third scenario, the RSOT was complete.

Sample and Recruitment

The families involved in the DPREP study were recruited through purposive sampling, and study team members solicited families via flyers at community agencies who commonly serve families of color from low-income communities (e.g., Head Start programs, social service offices, community centers, etc.). Staff who worked with the DPREP study also recruited families from communities that they had established relationships with and distributed flyers for the study at various locations in those communities. As families enrolled in the study, they also invited families in their social circles to participate. All recruitment materials for the study were available in both English and Spanish.

Eligibility requirements for the study in 2010 included the following: 1) the child was between the ages of 29 and 31 months during the enrollment period; 2) at least one parent had to identify as Black American or Latinx; 3) the child was not in foster care; 4) family income was below 200% of the federal poverty level; 5) the child was hospitalized for no more than one week following birth; and 6) the family planned to remain in the Dallas-Fort Worth for at least the next 12 months. No additional recruitment for the study has taken place since the first wave of data collection. The same families are contacted to participate in the study each year.

Analytic Strategy

Boyatzis (1998) described thematic analysis as a process of encoding raw forms of qualitative information. It is considered to be a foundational analytic strategy in qualitative research that can be applied with most, if not all, qualitative methods (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The process of encoding requires that researchers recognize related patterns or themes in their data which can be observed at the manifest level (i.e., directly identifiable in the data) and the latent level (i.e., underlying a certain phenomenon). Thematic analysis allows researchers to examine both levels of their data concurrently (Boyatzis, 1998). In other words, researchers can seek to identify the explicit patterns or themes that are apparent in the data, but she or he can also look beyond what has been explicitly stated by a study participant to understand underlying meanings and assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Analyzing the data in this current study at both the manifest (also referred to as the semantic level) and latent levels has allowed me to analyze from an interpretive lens and theorize about what is *being seen* in the data through these dyadic interactions.

Typically, code development in thematic analysis is informed by one of three methods: 1) theory driven; 2) prior data or prior research driven; or 3) inductive or data driven (Boyatzis, 1998). These different forms of code development rest on a continuum that reflect various degrees of reliance on existing theories to guide data analysis to researchers choosing to stick closely to their raw data and fully embracing an exploratory approach. Because of the novelty of the type of research that I have conducted in this study, I have chosen to employ a hybrid of all three methods in this study (Boyatzis, 1998). The analyses were guided by theory, prior research, and the raw data that were collected.

After transcribing verbatim each of the conversations that occurred between members of the dyads, I provided each study participant with a pseudonym, and imported transcriptions into ATLAS.ti version 8.4.4, a qualitative data analysis software program. Following the six-phase approach for completing a thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), I began with reading and re-reading the transcripts along with viewing and re-viewing the video data while developing memos to document questions and thoughts that began to surface as I read and viewed the data. After becoming more familiar with the raw material, I commenced with phase two, the generation of initial codes from the data. I developed a total of 83 codes that I felt were salient to my understanding of how parents were working to navigate "the Talk" with their young children. An essential aspect of initial coding is coding for as many potential patterns as possible and retaining as much richness for the quotes as possible to avoid losing necessary context and meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Although some patterns in the data had already started to become apparent, during phase three I became even more focused on combining codes that were similar and identifying potential themes at a broader level. The use of memos was also useful during this process as I identified commonalities and differences across the 83 initial codes. During this phase, I also divided the initial 83 codes into two separate overarching categories: parent/caregiver responses and child responses. To help focus my attention on addressing my first research question related to how parents navigate "the Talk" with their young children, I made the decision to exclude the *child codes* at that time and returned to them later. Twenty-six child codes detailing their reactions to "the Talk" were excluded leaving 57 codes for the parents/caregivers to be collated. From those 57 initial codes, I developed six primary candidate themes, four subthemes, and 12 of the initial parent codes were labeled as miscellaneous because they failed to fit into any of the

larger themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The complete list of the six primary themes and their corresponding initial codes for the parent responses are listed in Table 3.2.

To further refine the candidate themes that were developed, during phase four I re-read the collated extracts from the raw data that had been matched with a broader theme to determine their validity. Additionally, I re-read the data extracts I had categorized as miscellaneous to verify that they indeed did not fit with the current themes. After further review of the raw data and the broader themes, I concluded the fourth phase of analysis with confirming that the six overarching themes and four subthemes adequately addressed the research question of how Black American parents navigate "the Talk" with their school-aged children. During phase five, I named and defined each of the primary themes and sought to capture the core of what they each represented in the data (Braun & Clark, 2006). Phase six of the analysis process involved the development of a final report of the study findings. The findings of this current study are presented in the following section.

In order to address my second research question: "How does "the Talk" vary by child gender?", I returned to my raw data and separated the entire dataset into two categories. I specifically examined the data of female parent/female child interactions ($N = 22$) and female parent/male child ($N = 20$) interactions and excluded the three dyads that involved fathers. A more substantial and comparable number of dyads involving fathers would have been necessary in the sample to appropriately examine gender differences among parents. Next, I coded both dyad constellations separately (female children vs. male children). I examined how parents responded differently based on the child's gender (see Table 3.4). These findings will be discussed in great detail in the subsequent findings section as well.

Findings

Using the hybrid approach to thematic analysis and focusing on both the manifest and latent levels of the data, I identified six primary themes and four sub-themes in the data that described how Black parents and caregivers navigate "the Talk" with their school-aged children. The six themes included the following: 1) directives that address safety, 2) desire to be involved, 3) attending to the child's thoughts and emotions, 4) acknowledging a climate of racial violence, 5) resistance, and 6) "Not all cops are bad". Consistent with other qualitative research studies (e.g., Kerrison et al., 2018), I provide readers with some guidance on the frequency of participant responses where *few* refers to less than 10 participants, *many* indicates approximately between 11 and 20 participants, and *most* is indicative of the majority of the sample or greater than 51% of participants.

Directives That Address Safety

When engaging in "the Talk", most parents in the study emphasized the importance of their child employing key strategies to help ensure their physical safety when interacting with police. Specific messages transmitted included encouraging children to keep their hands visible at all times, to remain calm and not be rude, to answer all of the officer's questions, be willing to share personal information if necessary and several other strategies. For these parents, it was apparent that ensuring their child's safety took precedence over any other messaging that they could have attempted to convey. For example, when Skyy began to engage with her young daughter Tierra about how to best handle this situation, Tierra described how she would question the officer's remarks and inform him that she was not like the "other kids" that had been accused of playing in the street. Even before Tierra could fully complete her statement, Skyy interjected by saying, "See, but in real life the police won't believe that, especially when it's coming from

you. A little African American little girl, he wouldn't believe that." In response to her mother's comments, Tierra looked utterly shocked and confused. Skyy proceeded to state:

> And don't put your hands in your pockets, don't run, you stand there, and you tell them my mom and dad is in the house if you would like to talk to them… I don't appreciate how the police come at us, you know, based off the color of our skin, but that's the world we live in today, you know, that's the world we live in. So you would have to try and be as respectful as you can, don't run away, don't put your hand in your pocket… Being who you are, you don't run because that would make you look guilty and that will give them cause, feel like it would give them reason to shoot you.

Although direct, the sentiments shared by Skyy were common across most parents in the study. There seemed to be a moment in this exchange in which Skyy could have embraced the opportunity to hone in on her daughter's comments that seemed to evince agency and self-empowerment. However, Skyy made the decision to redirect her child's attention to issues of safety and protection against potential harm at the hands of police.

Relatedly, in an exchange between Claudia and her daughter, Kaylee, the issue of physical harm was directly highlighted with the child when discussing how she should maneuver in this police encounter. The conversation unfolded as follows:

> Claudia: Yeah, remain calm and be like, "okay". Because I rather for you to be with me and upset than with him and [pause]...
>
> Kaylee: Get hurt…
>
> Claudia: And they gotta justify, yeah, why you sitting up in here laying in the hospital and stuff.
>
> Kaylee: That ever happened to you before?

Claudia: Nah… No incidents with me.

In an instant, the conversation shifted from the dyad discussing different strategies to employ when speaking with an officer to Claudia introducing the possibility of her child being placed in a hospital to treat bodily injuries as a result of an escalated police interaction. Furthermore, Claudia did not have to provide any additional context for Kaylee to understand the message she was trying to make clear. Despite this sort of messaging that requires parents to address painfully sensitive topics, most parents appeared to approach the topic of harm in a very matter of fact manner with an unfortunate understanding of what was at stake if they failed to do so.

Desire to Be Involved

Another very common reaction displayed by most parents during "the Talk" was an extremely adamant urging for children to involve their parents when being approached and/or questioned by police. Parents also encouraged children to seek out the assistance of other trusting adults if they were not available. Even when some parents instructed their children to first provide an explanation about their behaviors to the officer, the conversation ultimately ended with the child being told to *always* seek them out and to be wary of speaking to police by themselves. During the conversation between Jessica and her son Ron, the child reflected on previous discussions about police interactions he and his mom had engaged in. Ron stated his mom had always taught him that when police walk up to him, he should allow an adult to talk to them. Jessica responded with the following statement:

> That is correct and the police officer should want to talk to an adult anyway versus talking to a child. So that should be their thing, their thing should be, "Where is your mother? Can you take us to your mother?", that's what I feel. I don't feel like the police

officer should sit there and question a child without an adult present, ever. I think that's

against the law.

Parents recognized the vulnerable nature of their young children and the seriousness of

demonstrating appropriate behaviors when interacting with police. Their eagerness to insert

themselves in these interactions indicated both a willingness and an assumed responsibility to

advocate on behalf of their children. Furthermore, urging children to involve them when

confronted by officers provided parents with the opportunity to expound upon how they would

take further actions to address the concerning behaviors perpetrated by police toward their child.

When Shirley approached this conversation with her son Jay, she expressed shock when

her child did not immediately state he would seek her out for assistance despite his admission

that he would be fearful if such an encounter were to occur. Their conversation took place as

follows:

Shirley: Because he's the law you're supposed to be scared of him?

Jay: No.

Shirley: Well what you supposed to be since he's the law? You supposed to respect him

but not be scared of him. So, the police made you feel some type of way. What would

you do? Would you come get me?

Jay: Yes, so he can tell you what I haven't been doing.

Shirley: Don't you know technically a minor is not supposed to speak to the police? You

supposed to get your mom because the police cannot question a minor or make any

suggestions, unless you was doing something wrong. Now if you were doing something

wrong, then yeah, but if you felt like you wasn't doing anything wrong, then no, I would

tell him, "Can I call my mom?". Because it makes me feel like you're African American,

76

you'll always be a target. So, if they see an African American outside playing, they gone

automatically assume you're a bad kid. Understand?

Child: Yes, ma'am.

For most parents in our sample, "the Talk" encompassed equipping children with appropriate

strategies to manage their behaviors and protect themselves during police interactions while also

guaranteeing that children understood that this is an encounter they should not, and for most

would not, face alone. However, for some parents, there was such strong emphasis placed on

seeking them out that they failed to actually provide detailed directives about what the child

should do practically in order to get to a place in the police interaction that would allow them to

safely walk away and alert their parents. A sub-theme identified in the data for *desire to be*

involved was *unintentional endangerment.* An example of this occurrence between Tara and her

daughter Brittany is listed below:

Tara: You wouldn't talk to him or would you talk to him, even though you don't know

the officer?

Brittany: I wouldn't talk to him because I don't know him.

Tara: You don't know him. So, whenever an officer ride up on you like that, what should

you really do, first action, first thought?

Brittany: Run.

Tara: Run.

Brittany: And tell your parent.

Tara: Run and tell your parents.

A few moments later in the brief conversation, Tara reiterates her instruction to run a third time.

Brittany: He would've tried to follow me and tried to stop me and say, "Little girl, come here right now."

Tara: If he would've said little girl come here right now, you would have to run, run really, really fast and really hard, right?

Child: Mmm humph.

Tara: I don't like police officers like that either.

While these specific types of messages were not as prevalent as the major themes presented in the data, there were still a number of parents who provided their children with instruction that could likely escalate the situation with police and elicit a response from an officer that would result in the exact opposite of what parents seemed to desire.

Attending to the Child's Thoughts and Emotions

Aside from providing practical strategies to help protect youth from harm and to safely remove themselves from police encounters, many parents in the study also made attempts to attend to their child's thoughts and feelings about interactions with members of law enforcement. They asked probing questions in an effort to encourage their children to share the emotions they were experiencing as they wrestled with challenging conversations centered around racism, prejudice, and police bias. A conversation between Mary and her granddaughter Liz provides an example of this theme.

Mary: So, after the officer said that ummm, when you ask him why he said people [inaudible], why do you think he came to you? Out of all the kids?

Liz: Cuz I'm Black.

Mary: Because you're Black. How would that make you feel because you Black? He said that all y'all do is hang in the street?

Liz: Maybe because my friends are White.

Mary: It could be because your friends are White. That's true too.

Liz: Because I'm Black and most of my friends are White.

Mary: You think that's why he asked why you were hanging out in the streets, because you're Black and they White?

Liz: Yes.

In this instance, Liz seemed to be hypothesizing about why the officer would have approached her to begin with and believed it was in some way related to her race and the race of her friends. Several parents in the sample noticed their children struggling to understand why an incident like the one detailed in the vignette scenario would occur. Many of these parents embraced this confusion and treated it as an opportunity to help their child think critically about the situation and to generate their own thoughts, even if some children felt challenged in doing so. The conversation between Terese and her son James helps to illustrate this theme.

Terese: So, if you were just imagining that you're in that situation, how do you think you would feel?

James: [makes an utterance indicating he does not know]

Terese: So, Ima tell you this, once again, as I teach you, well, let me ask you this. Do you feel like he did something wrong?

James: [pauses] Yes?

Terese: And what do you think he said wrong in that, in that conversation? What was wrong? What was wrong about it?

This approach employed by many parents in the sample illustrated their concern for how their child was conceptualizing the content and experience of "the Talk". Parents displayed an

understanding that their child's meaning making process could have future implications for how they would interact with police as well as their overall perspectives about these individuals that most people rely on for safety and protection. Attending to what children were thinking and feeling during this process also exemplified that many parents remained cognizant of where their children were developmentally and the potential difficulties they may have been facing while trying to process such a complex experience.

Acknowledging a Climate of Racial Violence

Despite attending to their child's thoughts and feelings while engaging in "the Talk", many parents did not mince words in their conversations and readily acknowledged the recent waves of racial violence perpetrated by police against Black adults and children in the U.S. National discourses of concentrated biased policing in disadvantaged Black communities and the stereotyping of Black youth as criminals proved to be relevant factors that influenced "the Talk" in meaningful ways. While engaging in conversation with her daughter Nicole, Priscilla provided an example of how broader contextual factors can influence the nature of these conversations.

Priscilla: So, this is what I'm gone say to the police when I go up there to the…

Nicole: Police department.

Priscilla: Police department and look for the police that addressed you. First of all, if there was no crime, there was no reason to pull my baby to the side and talk to her the way that you talked to her. That's the reason we still have the animosity between the police and the community, because of happenings like this.

Conversely, however, there were also a few parents in the sample who openly acknowledged larger discourses about race and racial violence in society but who actively made a decision to provide their children with a counter narrative. For example, one of the few fathers in the study

acknowledged his awareness of increased stories of people's negative interactions with police but elected to share a different perspective. A portion of Dylan's conversation with Paul is included below:

> Paul: I've never talked to the police before.
>
> Dylan: So, this is a good one. How would you handle the situation?
>
> Paul: Uhhh, I would tell him what I'm doing. I'm waiting on my friends, ummm… I would tell him I'm waiting on my friends and if I need to move, I'll move.
>
> Dylan: Yeah, I mean, I would want you to first to always comply with law enforcement. I don't really care about the bad stories people have said and heard about, you know… My experiences with police officers in my life is if you're open and you're upfront and you don't give them any reason to feel that you're being dishonest, then nine times out of ten, there is no situation… It's when people are kind of displaying attitude for no reason, "Well why you questioning me? I'm not doing anything wrong." That kind of raises suspicion.

Dylan expressed strong conviction in his response and appeared adamant about encouraging Paul to not allow the current climate of racial violence to taint his view of all members of law enforcement. While many parents in the sample illustrated in some fashion that broader contextual factors do in fact influence how they facilitate "the Talk", it was apparent that parents interpreted the current climate of racialized violence in distinct and critical ways.

Resistance

Another prominent theme present in the data was parents' eagerness to educate their children on how to resist and take action against police officers who abuse their authority and misuse the power inherent to their positions. In these instances, many parents very

enthusiastically described to their young children ways to disrupt the status quo and take a stand

for what they believed to be just. There were two sub-themes for *resistance* in the data, which

included *officer accountability* and *critical consciousness-raising.* A portion of "the Talk"

between Shinna and her daughter Lauren helped to demonstrate the richness of this theme.

Shinna: So, I think if that happened to you and the police officer followed you home…

Lauren: What would you do?

Shinna: What would I do? I would tell you to come inside. I would talk to the police

officer and I would say that you have no right to speak to a child that way and that if you

felt that way that you should come speak to their parents. You have no right to judge any

child because you did not see her doing anything wrong. She was waiting on her friends.

How are they supposed to feel protected by you if you're already accusing them? So that

just means that as soon as you see them you see trouble. When really you should see the

innocence of children and give them the benefit of the doubt and know that they're not up

to trouble, that they're trying to be kids and play outside together… So, that's how I think

I would handle that. So, once I was done telling him that, then how do you think me and

you would have discussed that?

Lauren: I would be like, I would've said like, [laughter], "Why'd you do that?"

[laughter]. "Why'd you go so far?"

Shinna: Me? Why did I go so far? Because we have to understand this, we all have rights

and just because he's a police officer, it doesn't make his rights greater than ours. He

knows the law and he knows that that's basically harassment and he knows that he's not

speaking to a child in the right way. He knows right from wrong, so you have to stand up

for yourself. That's not being disorderly, standing up for yourself. I'm not cursing him

out, I'm not disrespecting him, I'm not breaking the law, right?

Lauren: Right.

Initially, Lauren was clearly taken aback by how strong-willed and determined Shinna presented

in an effort to resist unjust behaviors from the police and to take measures to hold him

accountable. However, with more elaboration from her mom, Lauren appeared to begin to gain

some level of understanding about why her mom responded so forcefully. Later in their

exchange, Lauren even offered her own suggestion of what could be done to hold the officer

accountable and stated that they could report him to someone who had higher authority. Through

Shinna's actions, she also engaged in some aspects of critical consciousness-raising with Lauren.

Shinna aided in enhancing Lauren's level of consciousness by helping her to first recognize the

oppressive nature of the officer's actions and then to realize the power that they held in their

ability to make their concerns known. For many parents in the sample, incorporating messages of

resistance was an essential component of "the Talk".

"Not All Cops Are Bad"

Managing conversations about racism, implicit bias, societal perceptions, prejudice, and

other marginalizing experiences with young impressionable children was not an undemanding

feat for many parents and caregivers. Many of the parents in the study made serious attempts at

striking a balance between equipping their child with the necessary knowledge to be able to

protect themselves while also being careful as to not villainize every member of law enforcement

their child might encounter. The last prevalent major theme present in the data highlighted this

point. Many parents sought to make sure their child was aware that they should not anticipate

every police interaction to be marked by racist and discriminatory behaviors. A related, but not

as prominent subtheme in the data was *attempts to lessen child fears.* The conversation between

Arleen and Anthony provided a useful example of this occurring in a dyadic exchange.

> Arleen: Do you like the policemen though?
>
> Anthony: Mmm humph. They protect our city.
>
> Arleen: That's good. Always keep that mind frame. Even though there are songs talking about F the police.
>
> Anthony: [begins singing]
>
> Arleen: Yeah, just keep the mind frame that they're here to serve and protect. There's bad policemen but there's good policemen. But there's bad people and there's good people. It's the world that we just live in.

In a similar conversation, Laura and James shared the following:

> Laura: You shouldn't be afraid to go to them, you know? Who you gone go to, you know, in a situation if you need help from them? I think that going to the police officer if you need something, every situation is different. Don't ever be afraid to go to them for anything cuz that's what they here for, to help you when you need it, to keep the world safe. But yeah, how you feel about police officers?
>
> James: I think some of them are good, some of them are bad because like, the good ones, they'll help you from being hurt or attacked from somebody.
>
> Laura: Yeah and then they umm, they just doing they job. But yeah, if you're not doing anything wrong you don't have anything to worry about, right?
>
> James: Yes.

In both dyadic conversations, parents attempted to punctuate the notion that all members of law enforcement are not a part of a homogeneous group, but that there are those who genuinely care

about the wellbeing of people regardless of race. While there are undoubtedly officers who misuse their power and authority, there are exceptions, and those officers should be acknowledged as well. Furthermore, there were instances in the data when parents appeared to highlight the diversity of officers out of concern for their child's fears and worries. Parents were faced with the conundrum of equipping their child with the necessary skills to protect themselves during police encounters while simultaneously providing them with some sense of realistic hope about the positive intentions of some members of law enforcement.

Child Gender and Different Manifestations of "the Talk"

As mentioned above, in order to answer the first research question related to how parents navigated "the Talk" with their school-aged children, I excluded responses from children during the first round of analyses. After completing the analyses of the parent responses, I proceeded to analyze the responses of the children. To address the second research question, exploring how "the Talk" varies by child gender, this aspect of the analyses involved drawing comparisons based on the genders of the children in the study. I identified three key themes that characterized differences between female and male child responses to "the Talk" with their parents. Female and male children in the study differed primarily on the following themes: 1) intensity of reaction, 2) readiness to respond, and 3) racism awareness (Table 3.3). While I did not compare gender differences among parents due to a substantially small number of fathers in the study, I was able to examine how female parent and caregiver approaches to "the Talk" varied by child gender. Out of the six primary themes described above, female parents and caregivers differed primarily on the following: 1) directives addressing safety, 2) acknowledging a climate of racial violence, and 3) desire to be involved (Table 3.4).

Intensity of Reaction

Intensity of reaction refers to the initial responses of the children both after listening to the audio clip describing the vignette scenario and their responses to their parents as they facilitated "the Talk". Female children in the study demonstrated reactions that were more pronounced, provided responses that had greater detail, and for those who characterized the officer's actions as problematic, they were more likely to do so with certainty and contempt. When simply asked by her mother how she would respond to the situation with the officer, Nicole had the following to say:

> Like if he don't know me, why would you come up to say that I'm like those other kids if I'm not like the other kids? Because all kids are different from each other so there's no point of walking up to a child and saying that they are like these other kids and you don't know their, like you don't know what they're going through, you don't know what they do. You don't know what features they have so you don't have no right. I felt in my mind that you have no right to just come up to me and say that I'm like the other kids which I'm not because I probably be different because each child is different in this world.

Nicole expressed distinctly strong opinions about the officer's behaviors and did not waver on her position. Furthermore, Nicole made these insightful statements without any additional information or guidance from her mother. An exchange between Yolanda and her daughter Mya illustrated a similar level of reactivity.

> Yolanda: Okay, if you was me, what would you want me to do?
>
> Mya: Yeah, I'll probably go up there and talk to them to see, like I would ask them like, why? Why do you think that skin tone matters? Like skin doesn't matter, you're still a human, we're all humans it's just that we're different color and color don't matter. We're

86

the same, it's just the only difference is if you're a boy and you're a girl, that's it. Other than that, you are the same as anybody else. So, I feel like everything you do when it comes to races is uncalled for, you're the same, you're just different colors. Everybody's not born in the same place, everybody's not gone look the same cuz if they did, God probably would've made everybody look the same but he didn't cuz He want everybody to be unique in their own way. So, skin shouldn't matter at all.

Yolanda: Okay, preach sister.

The female children in these examples both provided confident responses that demonstrated extensive verbal responses that were powerful and perceptive. Mya's response in particular appeared to reflect more of what she thought about the situation as opposed to what she would actually say to an officer during an encounter. Engaging in "the Talk" elicited strong reactions from several of the female children in ways that were not as evident with male children in the sample.

Readiness to Respond

The second theme in which the female and male children differed was in their readiness to respond to the vignette scenario when engaging in "the Talk" with their parents. Readiness to respond describes children's willingness as well as their demonstrated level of confidence in their own abilities to effectively manage a police encounter. As a subgroup, female children also illustrated a readiness to respond to a greater degree than male children in the study. For example, when speaking to her mother, Kaylee expressed the following when describing her response to the situation:

Kaylee: Okay, so the police officer got a little attitude. But I would've said, "Hi, how are you?," to start it off first. Then he would respond back. I would respond to him saying,

87

"Officer, I'm out here waiting for my friends to meet up and I'm just going to wait here until they come." And then I would start saying, like, "First we play on the sidewalk or in the yard, not on like actual street where cars drive because that could be really dangerous in some occasions and someone could get really hurt."

Claudia: Well, what if he didn't allow you to say all that?

Kaylee: I would have been like, "Yes sir."

Claudia: And what you would've done?

Kaylee: Try and get it out, try and tell him.

Through her remarks, Kaylee illustrated an adamant disposition and desire to assert herself with the police. While there was no way to determine whether Kaylee would be as forthcoming in an actual police encounter, the way in which she presented herself is indicative of a high level of confidence and a sense of agency. In comparison, this theme was present but less prominent in the data for the subgroup of male children. An example of this distinction is exemplified below during the conversation between Tia and her son John.

Tia: Say some.

John: I'll be like, I would just sit there. He came over there for no reason, just bothering me for no reason.

Tia: But you gotta answer his questions though, right?

John: Yes ma'am. I'm just saying, like he came over there for nothing.

Tia: But you can't stop that, just cuz somebody walk up to you and don't have a reason to ask you a question but ask you one, you have to be polite to answer it. Whether it's right or wrong.

John's reaction in this instance is a relatively fair representation of how the majority of the male children presented in the data. Although mostly cooperative with their parents, in comparison to the females, male children were less likely to illustrate bold assertions during "the Talk" and male children rarely exemplified an enlivened readiness to respond.

Racism Awareness

Lastly, racism awareness was a theme that was present in the data across both subgroups of gender. The awareness of racism during conversations about interactions with police was slightly more pronounced in the responses from males than for females. Despite the male children not providing detailed elaboration on why they suspected the police encounter may be related to issues of racism or prejudice, they still explicitly named the potential for it to a greater degree. The brief conversation between Janet and her son Trey provide an example of this awareness.

> Janet: So just be nice. If he comes up just still be nice. If he comes up mean, still be nice and just be, if he comes up mean, just be like, "Hey, okay sir. I'm gonna walk on down the way and wait for my friends down this way."
>
> Trey: He probably racist.
>
> Janet: Well if he is that's okay.
>
> Trey: Cuz Ma, he said the little black boys or something.
>
> Janet: Okay, well we not worried about that.
>
> Trey: Black lives matter. [chants]
>
> Janet: No, we don't even do all that.
>
> Trey: It do matter.

In comparison to female children in the study, male children exemplified a higher awareness of racism as it related to engaging in "the Talk". This is not to say that the female children were less aware, but across the data, male children were more prone to explicitly acknowledge racism as an important factor in the police encounter.

As it relates to ways in which child gender influenced the responses of parents in the study, when engaging in "the Talk" with female children, female parents were slightly more motivated to express a desire to be involved in the police encounter. Parents adamantly encouraged their daughters to seek them out and to avoid interacting with police on their own. Conversely, when engaging in "the Talk" with male children, female parents were more likely to highlight issues of safety and to acknowledge the current climate of racial violence. Female parents of sons placed significant emphasis on compliance and demonstrations of respect to help maintain the safety and security of their wellbeing. In the next section, I discuss in greater depth the underlying meanings of these findings and the importance of understanding the intricate details connected to these conversations in Black American families.

Discussion

The overall focus of this study was to explicate the unique aspects of "the Talk" that occur in many Black American families and to examine the approaches that a sample of parents employed to help them navigate such a sensitive yet necessary topic with their school-aged children. This critical but understudied phenomenon is a prevalent aspect of parenting in Black American culture and is a form of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS). Within Black culture in the U.S., there are elusive, yet well established, practices that many adhere to in order to protect themselves and their loved ones from the ills and injuries of racial trauma. During "the Talk", Black parents, caregivers, and other trusting adults in the lives of Black youth educate them

about ways to safely traverse potentially risky encounters with individuals in positions of power and authority, namely members of law enforcement (Whitaker & Snell, 2016).

This study's findings unmasked an unfortunate truth about the lived realities of Black youth and their families in a nation where individuals are witnessing increasing rates of racialized violence against Black people of all ages at the hands of police (Edwards et al., 2019). At the core of this multifaceted phenomenon of "the Talk" are conflicting tensions that leave parents with an array of mixed emotions tied to their experiences of trying to rear healthy children in a society that often deems them insignificant and unmanageable. The findings suggest that most parents of the young children in this study found themselves facing confusing and troubling dilemmas when attempting to provide them with directions about how to conduct themselves when interacting with police. Two fundamental questions summarize the internal conflict that most parents seemed to experience through this task.

- How do I equip my child with necessary tools so that they maintain their safety when interacting with police who have undesirable intentions while also teaching them how to resist and stand up in opposition to oppression?

- How do I educate my child about the realities of a racially oppressive society while also trying to instill in them a sense of hope and optimism about their future?

For many parents, figuring out how to effectively promote two seemingly conflicting messages at the same time appeared to result in feelings of frustration, discomfort, anger, confusion, sadness, and the like and herein lies the crux of the problem.

Many parents feel compelled to educate their children about appropriate and safe ways to navigate society but also fear that providing them with too much information may have deleterious effects. Burt and colleagues (2012) in their examination of the effects of ERS,

specifically cultural socialization and preparation for bias, on the criminogenic effects of discrimination found that preparation for bias actually served as a protective factor against negative behavioral responses when it occurred within the context of supportive parenting and was coupled with cultural socialization. The research on the effects of preparation for bias on various outcomes for Black youth has been mixed with some researchers finding that it can be associated with various internalizing and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Brega & Coleman, 1999; Stevenson et al., 1997). However, the consensus among family and developmental science scholars is that ERS is a beneficial practice for youth and families and cultural socialization has been most consistently associated with positive developmental outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006; Reynolds & Gonzales-Backen, 2017).

Inherent to engaging in "the Talk" is ERS messaging related to *preparation for bias*. In these instances, parents are essentially informing their children to be cautious when interacting with law enforcement and to be cognizant of potential negative perceptions and bias. *Preparation for bias* was essentially a cornerstone of the messages that parents transmitted to their children when engaging in "the Talk". The solution is not to refrain from having honest conversations with developing youth about the potential for actual threat and violence but to deliver these messages in ways that are developmentally appropriate and such that youth simultaneously experience the warmth and support of their parents as they receive them. In other words, the conflicting tension that many parents experience as they attempt to engage in this practice can be mitigated with the realization that delivering seemingly conflicting messages can be effectively done with sound preparation and intentionality.

Developing Racial Socialization Competency

In their exposition of the healing potential of ERS practices in families of color who experience racial injury, Anderson and Stevenson (2019) defined racial socialization competency as the degree to which families are "skilled and confidently prepared to engage in racial socialization communication" (p. 68). Extant ERS literature has focused almost exclusively on frequencies of racialized messages and their associations with various developmental outcomes in youth of color and has failed to assess parents' skills and competence in delivering these messages. Essential to understanding racial socialization competency is recognizing the distinction between *legacy and literacy approaches* to racial socialization (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). When parents operate from a legacy approach when communicating about race and race relations, they primarily focus on beliefs and messages that are rooted in ideological and historical contexts (Stevenson, 2014). An example would be, "As a young Black girl attending this private school, you will need to study three times as hard as your White classmates just to be considered half as smart as them." Conversely, a literacy approach to racial socialization emphasizes an ability to appropriately interpret a racialized encounter, reappraise or rewrite the marginalizing narrative being transmitted, and responding with healthy decision making (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Stevenson, 2014). An example of this approach would be, "I know it can be hurtful to hear such negative comments about your abilities, but remember they made those statements in an effort to make themselves feel more powerful and they do not reveal any truths about you, our family, or our culture. Let's talk about some ways we can work to reject the negativity that they are putting out there."

The key differences between the legacy and literacy approaches to racial socialization are evident with the literacy approach focusing on the acquisition of necessary skills to actively

oppose the racist, oppressive, and prejudicial experiences that so many Black youth are subjected to. Anderson and Stevenson (2019) asserted that transitioning from a legacy approach to a literacy approach for parents of color is a necessary shift in order to foster optimal development in youth of color and to protect them from the detriments of racial stress. Focusing on enhancing the skills of parents of color as they work to demonstrate responsiveness to the unique needs of their children has to become a more essential component in ERS research and the development of intervention.

Implications

In line with the Integrative Model (García Coll et al., 1996), families in this study were deeply impacted by the sociocultural demands of this era. In order to accurately conceptualize the unique familial processes such as "the Talk", the experiences of families must be situated within a broader societal context. The views that individuals develop about law enforcement are not only influenced by their direct experiences and vicarious events, but these incidents of injustice are also framed and associated with broader experiences of racism and oppression (Rengifo & Fratello, 2015; Rengifo & Pater, 2017). The influence of broader contextual factors was evident in parents' navigation of "the Talk" as they referenced recent killings of Black youth in their communities or discussed racialized violence that they witnessed through the media. Family practitioners working with Black families in clinical settings should be mindful to consider the contexts in which they live as they seek to address various emotional or mental health needs.

Several scholars engaged in ERS research have begun to explore the clinical implications of these approaches with Black families (Anderson et al., 2018; Brown et al., 2012; Reynolds & Gonzales-Backen, 2017). Anderson and colleagues (2018) introduced a five-session intervention

known as EMBRace (Engaging, Managing, and Bonding though Race) that can be used by families to work through stress associated with racial trauma and/or injury. ERS can also be a useful strategy to be implemented into parent training programs for Black parents and caregivers when additional support and education are needed to address pertinent issues within the family system (Coard et al. 2004). Augmenting the racial socialization competency of Black parents via parent education programs and curriculum may prove to have a tremendously positive effect on their abilities to better support and educate their children.

Hardy (2013) posited that, "Racial oppression is a traumatic form of interpersonal violence which can lacerate the spirit, scar the soul, and puncture the psyche" (p. 25). Acknowledging the traumatic impacts of racism and oppression on Black people in the U.S. must be an integral part of the work that any practitioner working with Black families in a clinical context commits to. Like all ethnic or racial groups, Black Americans are an incredibly heterogeneous group so, this is not to say that every Black family will be impacted by racism in the same way, but at minimum, a level of historical and sociocultural awareness on the part of helping professionals should be the standard.

Limitations

Like all empirical research, this study is not without some limitations that should be explicitly acknowledged. Because I approached this study as a secondary analyst and was not physically present for the collection of data, there are undoubtedly contextual elements that I was not privy to in my analyses that likely affected my interpretation of the data. Although consultation with a portion of the research assistants who participated in data collection took place prior to the analyses in an effort to gain more information about the *experience* of interacting with families, gaps in my knowledge and understanding still remain.

Additionally, *social desirability bias* (Hart-Johnson, 2017) could have potentially influenced the data. The likelihood of desirability bias also increases when conducting research on socially stigmatized populations of people. Researchers should be cognizant that data collection may not reveal the most honest and explicit disclosures (Hart-Johnson, 2017). Another factor worth highlighting is that not all research assistants who participated in data collection in the primary study were ethnically matched with the families. This also could have affected families' willingness to disclose personal thoughts and feelings related to racism and oppression to research assistants who were White and of ethnicities other than Black. One key factor that could have ameliorated this, however, is that one research assistant who was seemingly present for every assessment was a Black woman who has an extensive history with each family and a strong sense of rapport with the parents.

Summary and Conclusion

The emphasis placed on providing children with specific directives to ensure their safety when encountering police is necessary but emotionally burdensome for Black parents. ERS researchers and the current literature have not sufficiently highlighted the emotional experiences of Black parents and caregivers who engage in these processes of teaching race to their children (Smith-Bynum et al. 2016), also known as *racial socialization stress* (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). Several parents exhibited intense emotional reactions while engaging in "the Talk" with their child. The next phase of ERS research should adopt a more applied focus and seek out ways to build on the already unique strengths that Black parents possess. It should also be noted that enhancing the skills that parents employ with their children is not synonymous with increasing the undue burden that parents already bear in an unjust and racist society. What I am not suggesting is a shallow promotion of resilience to combat the ills of racism while the true threat

96

of bigotry and hatred is left unconfronted (Anderson, 2019). What I am recommending is that scholars committed to this line of research begin to think more critically about the experiences of Black parents and their children and acknowledge the nuanced complexities that are tied to racial socialization and ways to better support families in their efforts to thrive. It requires that scholar-activists committed to ideals of social justice and resistance commit to leveraging our privilege to oppose systematic racism through our research and practice (Anderson, 2019). We can simultaneously continue to disrupt systems of oppression while also working to support those parents who are in need of additional skills and education who may be struggling with navigating difficult conversations. Doing so ultimately protects the youth who are most vulnerable to racial threat and injury and ultimately strengthens Black families and communities who continue to persevere in the face of persecution.

References

Alexander, E. (1994). "Can you be BLACK and look at this?": Reading the Rodney King video (s). *Public Culture, 7*(1), 77-94.

Anderson, L. A. (2019). Rethinking resilience theory in African American families: Fostering positive adaptations and transformative social justice. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 11*(3), 385-397. http://doi:10.1111/jftr.12343

Anderson, R. E., McKenny, M., Mitchell, A., Koku, L., & Stevenson, H. C. (2018). EMBRacing racial stress and trauma: Preliminary feasibility and coping responses of a racial socialization intervention. *Journal of Black Psychology, 44*(1), 25-46. http://doi:10.1177/0095798417732930

Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist, 74*(1), 63. http://doi:10.1037/amp0000392

Black Lives Matter. (2020, February 22). *About.* Black Lives Matter. https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/

Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). # Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist, 42*(1), 4-17. http://doi:10.1111/amet.12112

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (2nd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* Sage.

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. McAdoo & J. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 33-52). Sage.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. http://doi:10.1191/1478088706QP063OA

Brega, A. G., & Coleman, L. M. (1999). Effects of religiosity and racial socialization on subjective stigmatization in Black-American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 223–242.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, *32*(7), 513-531. http://doi:https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Harvard University Press.

Brown, D. L., Blackmon, S. K., Schumacher, K., & Urbanski, B. (2013). Exploring clinicians attitudes toward the incorporation of racial socialization in psychotherapy. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(6), 507-531. http://doi:10.1177/0095798412461806

Brunson, R. K. (2007). "Police don't like black people": Black-American young men's accumulated police experiences. *Criminology & Public Policy, 6*(1), 71–101. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00423.x

Brunson, R. K., & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police relations with black and white youths in different urban neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(6), 858-885. http://doi.org/10.1177/1078087408326973

Bryant-Davis, T., Adams, T., Alejandre, A., & Gray, A. A. (2017). The trauma lens of police violence against racial and ethnic minorities. *Journal of Social Issues, 73*(4), 852-871. http://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12251

Bui, A. L., Coates, M. M., & Matthay, E. C. (2018). Years of life lost due to encounters with law

   enforcement in the USA, 2015–2016. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health,

   72*(8), 715-718. http://doi:10.1136/jech-2017-210059

Burt, C. H., Simons, R. L., & Gibbons, F. X. (2012). Racial discrimination, ethnic-racial

   socialization, and crime: A micro-sociological model of risk and resilience. American

   Sociological Review, 77(4), 648-677. http://doi:10.1177/0003122412448648

Burton, L. M., Bonilla-Silva, E., Ray, V., Buckelew, R., & Hordge Freeman, E. (2010). Critical

   race theories, colorism, and the decade's research on families of color. *Journal of

   Marriage and Family, 72*(3), 440-459. http://doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00712.x

Coard, S. I., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson, H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally

   relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent

   training with Black American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*(3), 277-

   293.

Cooper, H. L., & Fullilove, M. (2016). Excessive police violence as a public health issue.

   Journal of Urban Health, 93(1), 1-7. http://doi:10.1007/s11524-016-0040-2

Crenshaw K. W. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence

   against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge* (2nd ed.).

   Temple University Press.

Edwards, F., Lee, H., & Esposito, M. (2019). Risk of being killed by police use of force in the

   United States by age, race–ethnicity, and sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of

   Sciences, 116*(34), 16793-16798. http://doi:10.1073/pnas.1821204116

Few-Demo, A. L. (2014). Intersectionality as the "new" critical approach in feminist family

    studies: Evolving racial/ethnic feminisms and critical race theories. *Journal of Family*

    Theory & Review, 6(2), 169-183. http://doi:10.1111/jftr.12039

García Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo,

    H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in

    minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891-1914. http://doi:10.1111/j.1467-

    8624.1996.tb01834.x

Geller, A., Fagan, J., Tyler, T., & Link, B. G. (2014). Aggressive policing and the mental health

    of young urban men. *American Journal of Public Health, 104*(12), 2321-2327.

    http://doi:10.2105/AJPH.2014.302046

Hardy, K. V. (2013). Healing the hidden wounds of racial trauma. *Reclaiming Children and*

    Youth, 22(1), 24-28.

Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications

    for the well-being of people of color. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*(1),

    42–57. http://doi:10.1037/h0087722

Hart-Johnson, A. M. (2017). Gaining access to socially stigmatized samples. *Qualitative Report,*

    22(6), 1550-1564.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006).

    Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for

    future study. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(5), 747-770. http://doi:10.1037/0012-

    1649.42.5.747

Ince, J., Rojas, F., & Davis, C. A. (2017). The social media response to Black Lives Matter: How Twitter users interact with Black lives matter through hashtag use. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40*(11), 1814-1830. http://doi:10.1080/01419870.2017.1334931

Kerrison, E. M., Cobbina, J., & Bender, K. (2018). "Your pants won't save you": Why black youth challenge race-based police surveillance and the demands of black respectability politics. *Race and Justice, 8*(1), 7-26. http://doi:10.1177/2153368717734291

Ogbu, J. U. (1981). Origins of human competence: A cultural-ecological perspective. *Child Development*, *52*(2), 413-429. http://doi:10.2307/1129158

Payne, Y. A., Hitchens, B. K., & Chambers, D. L. (2017). "Why I can't stand out in front of my house?": Street-identified black youth and young adult's negative encounters with police. *Sociological Forum, 32*(4), 874-895. http://doi:10.1111/socf.12380

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*, (pp. 159-173). Sage.

Rengifo, A. F., & Pater, M. (2017). Close call: Race and gender in encounters with the police by black and Latino/a youth in New York City. *Sociological Inquiry, 87*(2), 337-361. http://doi:10.1111/soin.12166

Rengifo, A. F., & Fratello, J. (2015). Perceptions of the police by immigrant youth: Looking at stop-and-frisk and beyond using a New York City sample. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 13*(4), 409-427. http://doi:10.1177/1541204014547591

Reynolds, J. E., & Gonzales-Backen, M. A. (2017). Ethnic-racial socialization and the mental health of Black Americans: A critical review. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 9*(2), 182-200. http://doi:10.1111/jftr.12192

Sewell, A. A. (2017). The illness associations of police violence: Differential relationships by ethnoracial composition. *Sociological Forum, 32*(1), 975-997. http://doi:10.1111/socf.12361

Stevenson, H. C. (2014). *Promoting racial literacy in schools: Differences that make a difference*. Teachers College Press.

Stevenson, H. C. (1994). Racial socialization in Black American families: The art of balancing intolerance and survival. *The Family Journal, 2*(3), 190-198. http://doi:10.1177/1066480794023002

Stevenson, H. C., Reed, J., Bodison, P., & Bishop, A. (1997). Racism stress management: Racial socialization beliefs and the experience of depression and anger in Black American youth. *Youth & Society*, *29*(2), 197-222. http://doi:10.1177/0044118X97029002003

Stewart, E. A., Baumer, E. P., Brunson, R. K., & Simons, R. L. (2009). Neighborhood racial context and perceptions of police-based racial discrimination among black youth. *Criminology*, *47*(3), 847-887. http://doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00159.x

Thomas, A. J., & Blackmon, S. K. M. (2015). The influence of the Trayvon Martin shooting on racial socialization practices of Black American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(1), 75-89. http://doi:10.1177/0095798414563610

Threlfall, J. M. (2018). Parenting in the shadow of Ferguson: Racial socialization practices in context. *Youth & Society, 50*(2), 255-273. http://doi:10.1177/0044118X16670280

Tynes, B. M., Giang, M. T., Williams, D. R., & Thompson, G. N. (2008). Online racial discrimination and psychological adjustment among adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 43*(6), 565-569. http://doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2008.08.021

Weitzer, R. (2000). Racialized policing: Residents' perceptions in three neighborhoods. *Law and Society Review, 34*(1), 129-155.

Whitaker, T. R., & Snell, C. L. (2016). Parenting while powerless: Consequences of "the talk". *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 26*(3-4), 303-309. http://doi:10.1080/10911359.2015.1127736

Table 3.1

Characteristics of Study Sample (N = 45)

	N (%)	M (SD)
Parent/Caregiver sex		
Female	42 (93.3)	
Male	3 (6.7)	
Parent/Caregiver age		37.5 (9.3)
Parent/Caregiver relation to child		
Mother	39 (86.7)	
Father	3 (6.7)	
Grandmother	3 (6.7)	
Parent/Caregiver education level		
9-12 years, no diploma	6 (13.3)	
High school/GED	14 (31.1)	
Some college	17 (37.8)	
College degree	6 (13.3)	
Post-graduate	1 (2.2)	
Child sex		
Female	22 (48.9)	
Male	23 (51.1)	
Child age		10.9 (.28)
Family income		
< 50% Federal poverty level	4 (8.9)	
50-99% Federal poverty level	26 (57.8)	
100-149% Federal poverty level	12 (26.6)	
150%+ Federal poverty level	3 (6.7)	

Table 3.2

Coding Map of Themes and Initial Codes for Parent Responses

Themes	Initial Codes	
1. Directives that address safety	● Always comply ● Always yes sir/yes ma'am/Be respectful ● Answer the questions ● Don't be rude ● Be careful with your words ● Don't run ● Fear of physical harm	● Just get back home ● Keep your hands visible ● Provide an explanation ● Remain calm ● Share your personal information ● Encouraging calm/non-threatening behaviors
2. Desire to be involved	● Call an adult ● "I will take the necessary steps" ● "Come and get me" ● Hypothetical PCG response	● Police should not engage minors ● Seeking understanding of officer actions ● Desire to be involved
3. Attending to the child's thoughts and emotions	● "How does that make you feel?" ● Defending child's actions ● Providing emotional support	● Questioning child perspectives on police
4. Acknowledging climate of racial violence	● Trayvon Martin ● Vicarious witnessing of racial violence ● Stereotypes about Black children ● Eliciting child's thoughts about racism	● Acknowledgement of racism ● Suspicion of racism ● Stereotypes about Black children ● Larger discourse
5. Resistance	● Criticism of officer actions ● Seeking out higher authority ● Encouraging child to develop ideas ● Protect and serve	● Encouraging child to take action ● Expressing anger over police behaviors ● Power and authority of police
6. "Not all cops are bad"	● If you're not doing anything wrong, you don't have anything to worry about	● Promoting trust in police

	● Dispelling racial inequality	● Rejecting possibility of racist behaviors
	● Justifiable actions	● Rationalizing officer actions

Table 3.3

Coding Map of Themes and Initial Codes for Child Responses

Themes	Initial Codes	
1. Intensity of reaction	● Identifies police actions as wrong ● Expresses desire for PCG involvement	● Admits to being angry ● Admits to being afraid ● Admits to feeling unsafe
2. Readiness to respond	● Demonstrates high level of agency ● Demonstrates low level of agency ●	● Prepared to take actions ● Disengaged/shy
3. Racism awareness	● Recognizes race as a factor ● Rejects that race is a factor	● Affirming awareness of larger discourse about racial violence

Table 3.4

Differences in Parent Responses Based on Child Gender

Parent Response	Initial Codes		
Female parents in response to female children	• Not all cops are bad • Awareness of larger discourse about racial violence • Attempts to rationalize officer's behavior • Concerned about child's feelings • Desire to be involved • Emphasizes officer's role is to serve/protect	• Emphasizes physical safety • Emphasizes importance of calmness and compliance • Encourages child to stand up for herself • Encourages respect • Explicit in identifying potential for physical harm • Fosters critical consciousness-raising	• Identifies gender as a factor • Identifies race as a factor • Identifies stereotypes some have about Black people • Lacks directness in providing guidance • Promoting unintentional harm • Seeking officer accountability
Female parents in response to male children	• Acknowledges child's gender as a factor • Addresses issues of safety • Asserts child should not be afraid of police • If you're not doing anything wrong, there's nothing to worry about • Encourages child to take a stand • Encourages compliance	• Rationalizes officer's actions • Awareness of larger discourse about racial violence • Concerned about child's feelings • Criticizes police actions • Emphasizes officer accountability • Encourages child to generate own ideas	• Expresses desire to be involved • Rejects race as a factor • Provides step-by-step guidance • Recognizes race as a factor • Struggles with providing guidance • Police encounters aren't always about race

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The overarching aim of this dissertation was to illuminate the unfortunate and burdensome plight experienced by many Black American families living in the U.S. because of the historical legacy of racism and oppression that continues to permeate every aspect of society. Because I used data from a pre-existing dataset to explore my topic of interest, I also used this opportunity in my dissertation to exercise complete *research transparency* through a methodological paper describing my approach as a secondary analyst in close proximity to a primary research study. In the first embedded manuscript, I focused solely on my methodological approach in carrying out my dissertation study. I introduced a novel secondary qualitative data analysis typology, *methodological expansion,* and presented to researchers interested in secondary analyses the practical guidelines needed to complete rigorous, ethical, and substantive secondary research.

In the second embedded manuscript, I employed a thematic analysis qualitative methodology to examine the video data of 45 Black American parent and child ($M_{age} = 10.9$) dyads completing the *Racial Socialization Observational Task* (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). Dyads engaged in "the Talk", an informal conversation most often initiated by parents and caregivers of young Black children about how they should respond when interacting with a person in a position of power or authority, such as a police officer (Whitaker & Snell, 2016). Findings from the study revealed six overarching themes, including: 1) directives that address safety, 2) desire to be involved, 3) attending to the child's thoughts and emotions, 4)

acknowledging a climate of racial violence, 5) resistance, and 6) "Not all cops are bad". These findings help to illuminate an intricate process in Black American families and provides useful information for clinicians, therapists, and other practitioners working with families in clinical contexts to address racial stress and injury.

Primary Contributions

First Manuscript: Methodological Considerations for Secondary Qualitative Data Analysis

Secondary data analysis in qualitative research can be traced back to the work of Glaser (1962, 1963) where he emphasized the benefits of rejecting the notion that secondary analysis had to be confined to massively large datasets and quantitative research methodologies. Otherwise, adopting such a limiting belief, places considerable limitations on research creativity and one's ability to employ various methodological lens when researching various topics of interest. The influential contributions to the literature on secondary qualitative data analysis from Thorne (1994, 2013), Hinds et al. (1997) and Heaton (2004) helped to facilitate a renewed interest in this analytic strategy through their practical instruction and guidance on how to successfully carry out this approach. My exposition of the *methodological expansion* typology that is outlined in the first manuscript has the same potential to spark curiosity and motivate qualitative researchers to expand their horizons and seek out diverse data sources for analysis. I sought to provide a step-by-step illustration of how a researcher interested in using video data that were collected for quantitative research purposes could apply their qualitative lens to the data, pose new research questions, and make a significant contribution to a body of literature.

Adhering to sound ethical practices and conducting research that has rigor does not have to be compromised during secondary qualitative analysis. Multiple qualitative researchers have summarized essential guidelines for analysts to follow to help ensure they are engaging in

responsible scholarship that upholds ethical standards (Bishop 2007, 2009; Hinds et al., 1997). My use of video data with a vulnerable population, like school-aged children, could still have been successfully carried out even if I had only elected to review the transcribed data as opposed to both the transcriptions and videos. The richness provided through the textual data and having access to the primary research team would have been sufficient information for the analysis process. It is my hope that more researchers, especially within the field of family and developmental sciences will actively seek out and embrace opportunities for data sharing and re-use, even across diverse research methodological perspectives and epistemological philosophies.

Second Manuscript: Parenting While Black in America

The body of literature dedicated to processes of racial socialization in the context of Black American families is extensive (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994). Scholars have reached a general consensus that this unique familial process is associated with numerous positive developmental outcomes for youth in Black families. However, what has received less attention from family scientists and researchers is the actual *process* and *experience* of parents and other adults who facilitate these conversations with youth. While not all conversations centered around race and race relations are bleak and troubling, conversations such as "the Talk" that focus on preparing youth for police interactions typically are.

Through my study, I sought to illuminate the Black parental experience of engaging in difficult conversations with children in hopes to generate more discussion and critical thinking about how scholars conceptualize racial socialization processes in their scholarship. Attending to the experiences of parents and caregivers and thinking more intently about ways to support parents in their efforts must be better incorporated in racial socialization research. More recent

111

scholars (e.g., Anderson et al., 2018; Anderson & Stevenson, 2019) have begun to develop racial literacy curricula that can be implemented in clinical contexts and parent training programs. These are the types of initiatives that will help to encourage Black parents and build on their cultural strengths and resources.

ERS and Clinical Implications

In a meta-analysis of 293 studies published between 1983 and 2013 primarily with U.S. samples, Paradies and colleagues (2015) found that racism was consistently associated with poorer mental health for study participants. Individuals reported symptoms of depression, anxiety, and other internalizing symptoms. Albeit weaker, results also suggested an association between experiences of racism and poorer physical health. Moreover, these associations were not moderated by age, sex, or socioeconomic status as some other studies have found. Findings from their meta-analysis revealed that perceived racism and discrimination can have tangible negative health implications for individuals, particularly for families and youth of color that are impacted by pervasive systems of oppression (Paradies et al., 2015).

Racial oppression can be traumatic and emotionally injurious to its victims causing hidden and internal wounds (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Harrell, 2000). Acknowledging the ways in which some Black American families are impacted by multiple levels of oppression and how racial socialization can serve as a protective factor for them can make a significant impact on the client-therapist relationship and the outcome of therapy in the mental and behavioral health context (Hardy, 2013; Reynolds & Gonzalez-Backen, 2017). It is widely known that historically, Black Americans have had a justifiable cultural mistrust towards mental health professionals due to the exploitive and dehumanizing actions made by some health professionals in prior decades (e.g., the Tuskegee syphilis experiment; Toldson & Toldson, 2001; Whaley,

2001). Many mental health professionals are aware of the negative perception that many Black Americans have and to compensate for it have attempted to operate from a *color-blind* ideology in their clinical work with them (Sue et al., 2007). This ideology is defined as a "denial or minimization of race and racism" (Brown et al., 2013, p. 509). However, research has shown that adopting this approach with Black American clients is not only ineffective but can potentially negatively impact the therapeutic relationship and ultimately hinder the progress of therapy (Buser, 2009; Constantine, 2007). The extant literature suggests that the explicit and honest acknowledgement of racism by the clinician in therapy with Black families can be helpful and even necessary when serving certain clients (Brown et al., 2013). This can be especially important when working to support the racial socialization efforts of Black parents and can demonstrate at least a partial understanding of their undue plight and a desire to lessen that burden. While there are clear benefits to therapists taking on the role of socializing agent, especially for those Black American youth who may not receive ERS from parents or other adults, therapists should approach this practice with care, intentionality, and necessary consultation when appropriate. It is critical that therapists be aware of their own biases and their clients' attitudes towards race-related issues before attempting to engage with them and address such sensitive topics (Brown et al., 2013).

Although some clinical scholars have written about the importance of incorporating ERS in therapy with Black American clients to demonstrate culturally-responsiveness, there is a dearth of information available that actually provides clinicians with practical strategies and guidance about how to best implement aspects of racial socialization in their clinical approaches.

The general ERS literature has grown over the years, but considerably more theorizing and empirical research is needed to determine how racial socialization can inform therapeutic practices with Black families and serve to ultimately benefit their health and wellbeing.

Conclusion

Instead of thinking about my dissertation study as the pinnacle of a far-reaching journey in my academic career, I view it as a launching pad for a program of research that will continue to center the experiences of Black families, their developing youth, and the undeniable strength of a people that simply does not have what it takes to surrender to the cruel and unyielding oppressive ills of the world. Through my dissertation, I sought to amplify the literal voices of Black parents and their children, illuminate an often overlooked aspect of racial socialization processes – the unjust burden carried by parents, and to challenge family and developmental scientists to conceptualize racial socialization more holistically as a highly nuanced experience for families. The racial socialization research must now pivot and consider ways to enhance the skills of parents so that they feel more confident in their abilities to help protect their children from racist harm.

Critical to this acknowledgement of *racial socialization stress* (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019) and intentional aims to better assist and equip parents is the recognition that scholars committed to ideals of social justice must simultaneously hold true to two ideals. We must seek to build upon the unique cultural strengths of Black families and transition from the *legacy approach* to racial socialization to the *literacy approach* while also continuing to disrupt systems of racial oppression and White supremacy that make many forms of racial socialization necessary in the first place (Anderson, 2019). It is only through this dual method of

responsibility do we best nurture the optimal health and wellbeing for both Black parents and

their children.

References

Anderson, L. A. (2019). Rethinking resilience theory in African American families: Fostering positive adaptations and transformative social justice. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 11*(3), 385-397. http://doi:10.1111/jftr.12343

Anderson, R. E., McKenny, M., Mitchell, A., Koku, L., & Stevenson, H. C. (2018). EMBRacing racial stress and trauma: Preliminary feasibility and coping responses of a racial socialization intervention. *Journal of Black Psychology, 44*(1), 25-46. http://doi:10.1177/0095798417732930

Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist, 74*(1), 63. http://doi:10.1037/amp0000392

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments (pp. 33-51). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brown, D. (2008). Black American resiliency: Examining racial socialization and social support as protective factors. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*, 32-438. http://doi:10.1177/0095798407310538

Brown, D. L., Blackmon, S. K., Schumacher, K., & Urbanski, B. (2013). Exploring clinicians' attitudes toward the incorporation of racial socialization in psychotherapy. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *39*(6), 507-531. http://doi:10.1177/0095798412461806

Bryant-Davis, T., & Ocampo, C. (2005). Racist incident–based trauma. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *33*(4), 479-500. http://doi:10.1177/0011000005276465

Buser, J. K. (2009). Treatment-seeking disparity between Black Americans and Whites:

    Attitudes toward treatment, coping resources, and racism. *Journal of Multicultural*

    Counseling and Development, *37*, 94-104. http://doi:10.1002/j.2161-

    1912.2009.tb00094.x

Coard, S. I., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson, H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally

    relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent

    training with Black American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*(3), 277-

    293. http://doi:10.1023/B:JCFS.0000022035.07171

Constantine, M. G. (2007). Racial microaggressions against Black American clients in cross-

    racial counseling relationships. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *54*, 1-16.

    http://doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.1.1

Gaylord-Harden, N. K., & Cunningham, J. A. (2009). The impact of racial discrimination and

    coping strategies on internalizing symptoms in African American youth. *Journal of Youth*

    and Adolescence, *38*(4), 532-543. http://doi:10.1007/s10964-008-9377-5

Glaser, B. G. (1962). Secondary analysis: A strategy for the use of knowledge from research

    elsewhere. *Social Problems, 10*, 70-74. http://doi.org/10.2307/799409

Glaser, B. G. (1963). Retreading research materials: The use of secondary analysis by the

    independent researcher. *American Behavioral Scientist, 6*, 11-14.

    http://doi.org/10.1177/000276426300601003

Hardy, K. V. (2013). Healing the hidden wounds of racial trauma. *Reclaiming Children and*

    Youth, *22*(1), 24-28.

Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*, 42–57. http://doi:10.1037/h0087722

Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking qualitative data.* Sage.

Hinds, P. S., Vogel, R. J., & Clarke-Steffen, L. (1997). The possibilities and pitfalls of doing a secondary analysis of a qualitative data set. *Qualitative health research, 7*, 408-424. http://doi.org/10.1177/104973239700700306

Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, *26*(4), 400-426. http://doi:10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001

Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaher, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. PLoS One, 10(9), 1-48. http://doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0138511

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*, (pp. 159-173). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Reynolds, J. E. & Gonzales-Backen, M. A. (2017). Ethnic-racial socialization and the mental health of Black Americans: A critical review. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 9*(2), 182-200. http://doi:10.1111/jftr.12192

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, *62*, 271-286. http://doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Stevenson, H. C. (1994). Racial socialization in African American families: The art of balancing

   intolerance and survival. *The Family Journal, 2*(3), 190-198.

   http://doi:10.1177/1066480794023002

Thorne, S. (1994). Secondary analysis in qualitative research: Issues and implications. In J. M.

   Morse (Ed.). *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 263-279). Sage.

Thorne, S. (2013). Secondary qualitative data analysis. In C. T. Beck (Ed.), *Routledge*

   international handbook of qualitative nursing research (pp. 393-416). Routledge.

Toldson, I. L., & Toldson, I. A. (2001). Biomedical ethics: An African-centered psychological

   perspective. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *27*(4), 401-423.

   http://doi:10.1177/0095798401027004002

Whaley, A. L. (2001). Cultural mistrust: An important psychological construct for diagnosis

   and treatment of African Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice,*

   32(6), 555. http://doi:10.1037//0735-7028.32.6.555