African American parents' racial and emotion socialization profiles and young adults' emotional adaptation

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Abstract:

The current study aimed to identify parents' profiles of racial and emotion socialization practices, to determine if these profiles vary as a function of family income and young adult child gender, and to examine their links with young adults' emotional adaptation. Participants included 192 African American young adults (70% women) who ranged in age from 18 to 24 years (M = 19.44 years). Four maternal profiles emerged: cultural-supportive (high cultural socialization and supportive responses to children's negative emotions), moderate bias preparation (moderate preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and nonsupportive responses to negative emotions), high bias preparation (high preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and nonsupportive responses), and low engaged (low across racial and socialization constructs). Three paternal profiles emerged: multifaceted (moderate across racial and emotion socialization constructs), high bias preparation, and low engaged. Men were more likely to have mothers in the high bias preparation and to have fathers in the multifaceted or high bias preparation profiles. Individuals with higher income were more likely to have mothers in the cultural-supportive profile and to have fathers in the multifaceted profile. Young adults whose mothers fit the cultural-supportive profile or the moderate bias preparation profile had lower levels of depressive symptoms than young adults whose mothers fit the high bias preparation profile.

Keywords: depression | anger | African American | racial socialization | emotion socialization

Article:

The acquisition of competent emotional adaptation is an important developmental task during childhood that can have long term effects into adulthood (Eisenberg et al., 2001). For young African Americans, depression and anger are of growing concern among scholars and mental health professionals (Bracken & Reintjes, 2010; Center of Disease Control and Prevention, 2010; Stevenson, 2003). Considering the growing body of research illustrating African American children's prevalent experiences with discrimination and the positive association between such experiences and adverse social-emotional outcomes such as depression and anger (Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997), understanding the ways in which African American youth develop increased emotional competence warrants

further scholarly attention (American Psychological Association, Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents, 2008; García Coll et al., 1996).

García Coll and colleagues' integrative model of ethnic minority child development highlights parental racial socialization as an important mechanism by which ethnic minority families attempt to protect children from the harmful effects of discrimination. Although not often considered within the racial socialization literature, parental emotion socialization may be an integral aspect of racial socialization by which parents prepare children to cope with discrimination through the regulation of their emotions. Given that experiences of discrimination can be quite emotionally arousing (Smart Richman, Pek, Pascoe, & Bauer, 2010), it is possible that racial socialization messages may be less effective if they are not coupled with adaptive strategies to regulate emotions. Thus, parents' combination of racial and emotion socialization strategies may lead to differential emotional outcomes for children.

To better understand the ways in which racial and emotion socialization intersect and influence adaptive emotional functioning, the current study utilized latent profile analyses (LPA) to identify African American mothers' and fathers' synergistic patterns of racial and emotion socialization practices and their relations to young adults' depressive symptoms and anger expression. Considering the importance of social position factors to emotional development (García Coll et al., 1996), the current study also examined gender and family income as predictors of parents' socialization practices and as moderators of the link between parenting practices and emotional adaptation.

Racial Socialization

Parental racial socialization refers to the verbal and nonverbal messages parents relay to their children about what it means to be a Black person in America (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Peters & Massey, 1983). Racial messages parents transmit to their children include messages that promote racial or ethnic pride (or cultural socialization), messages that emphasize racial bias and ways to cope (or preparation for bias), and to a lesser extent, the promotion of mistrust. Cultural socialization has been consistently found to be a protective factor for African American children, adolescents, and young adults against the harmful effects of discrimination and has been linked to various indicators of adaptive social-emotional development, including decreased depressive symptoms and increased anger management and control (Hughes et al., 2006). However, findings concerning preparation for bias have been mixed (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009; Lee & Ahn, 2013).

One contribution to inconsistent findings regarding preparation for bias may be that many studies evaluate messages in isolation when in fact parents engage in a variety of socialization messages, and the effect of emphasizing a particular message may depend on the use of others. Accordingly, recent studies have utilized LPA to better understand the myriad of racial socialization messages parents endorse (e.g., Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). For example, Granberg, Edmond, Simons, Lei, and Gibbons (2012) and Neblett and colleagues (2008) utilized LPA to understand how patterns of parental racial socialization influence psychological functioning. Although somewhat different profiles emerged across the two studies, results generally indicated that an approach combining bias

preparation messages with cultural pride, coping, and self-worth messages may predict adaptive outcomes for youth, whereas parents' low frequency of racial socialization or an emphasis on negative messages and high promotion of mistrust may result in more maladaptive outcomes.

Emotion Socialization

Inconsistent findings regarding the link between racial socialization messages and emotional adaptation also may be attributed to variation in emotion regulatory strategies parents emphasize when preparing their children for bias. The socialization of emotion is a multifaceted process that is comprised of verbal and nonverbal responses to children's emotions and facilitates emotional development by aiding in the understanding, expression, and regulation of emotion (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). Research and theory suggest that parental support of negative emotions, through problem solving, emotion focused responses such as comforting, and expressive encouragement (labeled "supportive"), promotes children's emotional well-being (e.g., decreased internalizing and externalizing behaviors) by enabling children to accept and manage their negative emotions (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997). Conversely, when children are discouraged from expressing themselves emotionally such as through punitive or minimizing responses (labeled "nonsupportive"), they learn to suppress overt emotional expression but may still become physiologically aroused without developing the capacity to regulate their emotions (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002).

However, the bulk of what is known about typical emotional development is based on European American populations and studies that do include diverse populations rarely consider contextual factors that may differentially influence the emotional development of these populations (Buckley, Storino, & Saarni, 2003). Research indicates that African American families value the open expression of both positive and negative emotions (Boykin & Toms, 1985). However, the negative emotional expression of African American youth, particularly expression of anger, are more likely to be viewed as aggressive and threatening than the negative emotional expression of European American youth (Kang & Chasteen, 2009).

African American parents sensitive to the racial biases of society may attempt to suppress the expression of negative emotions in their children to protect them from the negative views of non-African Americans, allowing them to better circumvent racial barriers. Studies evaluating racial differences in parental emotion socialization behaviors have generally found that African American mothers, compared with European American mothers, are more likely to react to their children's displays of negative emotion with "nonsupportive" responses and less likely to react with supportive responses (Halberstadt, Craig, Lozada, & Brown, 2011; Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, 2012; Parker et al., 2012). Moreover, recent empirical work has suggested that "supportive" and "nonsupportive" emotion socialization practices have a different effect on African American compared with European American children and adults (Leerkes, Supple, Su, & Cavanaugh, 2013; Nelson et al., 2013; Smith & Walden, 2001). For example, Leerkes et al. found that "nonsupportive" emotion socialization during childhood was linked with elevated depressive symptoms for European American but not for African American women. Given the wider context of discrimination and stereotyping, emotion socialization strategies that encourage the suppression of negative emotion might be protective and culturally adaptive for African American families (Cole & Tan, 2007). Additionally, such labels (i.e.,

supportive and nonsupportive) may not accurately describe the goals of African American parents' socialization that includes a broader repertoire of messages such as racial socialization.

Conversely, African American parents who exclusively emphasize the suppression of negative emotions may inhibit the development of adequate and flexible emotion regulation skills and may have children who grow up to exhibit elevated levels of depression and anger in adulthood. Experiences of racial discrimination have been linked to heightened emotional reactivity and physiological arousal among African American populations (Kiang, Blumenthal, Carlson, Lawson, & Shell, 2009; Smart Richman et al., 2010), and research indicates that the inability to competently express and regulate one's emotions increases risk for depression and anger expression (Eisenberg et al., 2001). Therefore, how parents socialize their children to manage their negative emotions may be an important factor in predicting emotional reactivity and regulation to race-related stress and subsequent emotional adaptation. Although scholars have recognized that the use of coping strategies may qualify the effectiveness of bias preparation messages in promoting adaptive outcomes (e.g., Granberg et al., 2012), no studies to our knowledge have examined whether emotion socialization practices are an integral aspect of racial socialization as an additional mechanism by which parents aim to help children navigate experiences of discrimination. An evaluation of the combinations of parental supportive and nonsupportive emotion socialization and racial socialization practices among African American families may be a more accurate predictor of child emotional adaptation than evaluating any practice in isolation. As such, we predicted that young adults whose parents emphasize high levels of racial socialization paired with balanced supportive and nonsupportive responses to negative emotions would have lower levels of depression and anger compared with young adults whose parents emphasized high racial socialization paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses to negative emotions.

Predictors of Racial and Emotion Socialization

García Coll and colleagues (1996) posited that parents socialize their children according to their perceptions of the experiences their children will face, perceptions that may be influenced by child gender, their own gendered experiences, and family SES. Research suggests that, African American girls are more likely to receive cultural pride messages, whereas African American boys are more likely to receive preparation for bias messages from their parents. Scholars have posited that this may be because girls are expected to be the cultural keepers of the family whereas boys tend to experience more overt forms of racial discrimination (Hill, 2001; McHale et al., 2006; Thomas & King, 2007). Similarly, African American mothers' discouragement of negative emotions may be attributed to their beliefs about the negative consequences of such behavior, particularly for their sons, and may also serve as a strategy to prepare their boys for the negative views of society (e.g., Nelson et al., 2012). Thus, parents who place high emphasis on preparation for bias (more likely to be parents of boys) also may be likely to endorse high levels of nonsupportive responses and low levels of supportive responses to negative emotions. In contrast, parents who place greater emphasis on cultural socialization (more likely to be parents of girls) may be less concerned about their children receiving negative social consequences for displays of negative emotions and may therefore endorse higher levels of supportive responses and more moderate levels of nonsupportive responses.

As such, we predicted that LPA would identy one parental profile characterized by high preparation for bias paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses—more likely to be parents of men—and another profile characterized by high cultural socialization paired with balanced emotion socialization behaviors (both supportive and nonsupportive)—more likely to be the parents of women. Past research utilizing LPA to examine racial socialization have consistently found a parental profile characterized by low levels of all examined indicators (e.g., Granberg et al., 2012; Neblett et al., 2008); therefore, we predicted that a low engaged profile also would emerge.

Parental gender also may influence levels of racial and emotion socialization involvement. Studies suggest that fathers engage in lower levels of racial socialization and emotion socialization than mothers (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010; Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2010; Mchale et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). Therefore, we predicted that more fathers would be low engaged than mothers.

Finally, research has indicated that families with higher income and education engage in higher levels of racial socialization, particularly cultural socialization, than their lower income counterparts (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; McHale et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Few studies find a link between socioeconomic status (SES) and supportive and nonsupportive responses to negative emotions; however Fabes et al. (2002) did find that mothers with higher education reported higher levels of expressive encouragement. We predicted that parents with higher SES would endorse both high levels of cultural socialization and supportive emotion socialization than parents with lower SES.

Current Study

The present study utilized LPA and young adults' retrospective accounts to identify maternal and paternal profiles of racial and emotion socialization practices. We hypothesized that: (a) LPA would identify three profiles of parental racial and emotion socialization practices with one profile characterized by high preparation for bias paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses, one profile characterized by high cultural socialization paired with balanced emotion socialization behaviors, and a low engaged profile; (b) more fathers would be low engaged than mothers; (c) young men, compared with young women, would be more likely to have parents characterized by higher preparation for bias paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses to negative emotions, whereas young women and individuals with higher family income would have parents characterized by high cultural socialization and balanced responses; and (d) young adults whose parents emphasized high levels of racial socialization paired with balanced supportive and nonsupportive responses would have lower levels of depression and anger compared with young adults whose parents emphasized high racial socialization paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses. We also examined child gender and family income as moderators.

Method

Sample

Participants were drawn from a larger sample of 685 students (72% women; 72% freshman and sophomores) ranging in age from 17 to 53 years old (*M* = 20.51). Given the aims of this article, we restricted the present sample to include only African American students who were 18 or older (range 18–24; *M* = 19.44), resulting in a sample of 192 participants (70% women; 72% freshman and sophomores) who were representative of the overall undergraduate population (66% women). Participants reported on their financial situation when they were growing up; 43 (22%) selected "high income," 115 (60%) selected "middle income," and 33 (17%) selected "low income." One participant reported that they did not grow up with a mother figure and 36 participants reported that they did not grow up with a father figure.

Measures

Parental racial socialization

Participants reported on the frequency with which their parents engaged in cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust during their childhood via a 10-item measure of parents' racial socialization (Hughes & Johnson, 2001) developed for use with African American families. In the present study, questions were modified to reflect the perspective of the adult child rather than a parent-report. Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*) how often their mother and father (separately) engaged in specific behaviors with them. Sample items are "how often did your parents talk to you about important people or events in your group's history (cultural socialization)" and "how often did your parents tell you that you must be better to get the same rewards as children of other races (preparation for bias)." Hughes and Johnson demonstrated construct validity of this measure using principal components analysis (resulting in a three-factor solution) and internal consistency reliability ranging from .73 to .86 across the three subscales. Items of each subscale are averaged to create a mean score; higher scores indicate more frequent racial socialization. Internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's α) in the present study for each subscale for mothers and father, respectively, are as follows: cultural socialization (4 items) α = .85 and .87, preparation for bias (4 items) α = .85 and .85, and promotion of mistrust (2 items) α = .88 and .89.

Parental emotion socialization

Participants provided a retrospective account of how their parents socialized their emotions during childhood via the Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale-Revised (CCNES-R; Leerkes et al., 2013), adapted from the original Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990). Respondents rate the extent to which their parents respond to their negative emotions in specific ways on a 7-point scale from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*) across six different childhood scenarios (e.g., being teased by peers, being scared of injections). Subscales include: (a) parental distress responses, (b) punitive responses, (c) expressive encouragement, (d) emotion-focused responses (e.g., comforting), (e) problem-focused (e.g., helping the child to solve the problem or cope with it), and (f) minimizing responses (e.g., devaluing the child's problem or distress). In a sample of African American women, remembered nonsupportive emotion socialization was linked with elevated trait anger and remembered supportive emotion socialization was linked with higher resting vagal tone, an indicator of emotional well-being, providing initial evidence for validity (Leerkes et al., 2013).

Two composite scales were created by averaging subscale scores as follows: supportive responses (expressive encouragement, emotion-focused, and problem-focused response subscales; $\alpha = .92$ for mothers and .94 for fathers) and nonsupportive responses (punitive and minimizing response subscales; $\alpha = .72$ for mothers and .81 for fathers).

Depressive symptoms

Depressive symptoms were assessed using the 20-item Center for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), which consists of a checklist of moods, feelings, and cognitions associated with depression (e.g., "I felt depressed," "I felt that people dislike me") designed for use with community samples. Respondents indicate how often they felt a particular way during the previous week on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*rarely/never*) to 4 (*most of the time*). The CES-D demonstrates convergent validity with standardized psychiatric interviews and with the Beck Depression Inventory (Spitzer, Endicott, & Robins, 1978), is frequently used with African American samples, and there is evidence to indicate measurement equivalence across African American and European American groups (Nguyen, Kitner-Triolo, Evans, & Zonderman, 2004). Items are summed such that higher scores indicate higher depressive symptoms. In this sample, internal consistency reliability is $\alpha = .87$.

Anger expression

Participants completed the 10-item trait anger subscale of the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (Spielberger, 1988). Participants rate how frequently they tend to feel and express anger on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 4 (*almost always*). The STAXI has been utilized in studies with African American samples (e.g., Hall, Cassidy, & Stevenson, 2008; Stevenson et al., 1997). The trait section of the STAXI demonstrates convergent validity with the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory, and the Hostility and Overt Hostility Scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (Spielberger & Sydeman, 1999) and has been shown to be reliable ($\alpha = .86$; Spielberger, 1988). Items are averaged such that higher scores indicate greater trait anger. Internal consistency reliability in the present study is $\alpha = .87$.

Procedure

The present study was conducted with college students at a southeastern university. The study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Participants were recruited in classrooms from a variety of majors and the university student center food court. After receiving consent from instructors, researchers attended classrooms to inform students about the study and invite them to participate. Researchers also approached students at the university food court, informed them about the study, and invited them to participate. After giving written consent, participants completed a questionnaire packet (in the classroom or the food court) about how they were parented by their mother and father during their childhood, their current emotional state, and demographic information. Participants were entered into a drawing to win a $25 Visa gift card.

Results

Because only 5% of data were missing, single imputation was implemented to account for missing data. Bivariate correlations, ranges, means, and *SD*s for all study variables can be found in Table 1.

Table 1
Correlation Matrix for All Study Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. M cultural socialization	—														
2. M preparation for bias	.42**	—													
3. M promotion of mistrust	.00	.36**	—												
4. M supportive responses	.38**	.15*	−.11	—											
5. M nonsupportive responses	.07	.18*	.20**	.19**	—										
6. F cultural socialization	.47**	.29**	−.05	.12	−.08	—									
7. F preparation for bias	.30**	.56**	.06	.14	.02	.69**	—								
8. F promotion of mistrust	.04	.21**	.67**	−.05	.12	.23**	.41**	—							
9. F supportive responses	.17*	.11	−.12	.49**	.06	.52**	.38**	.04	—						
10. F nonsupportive responses	.13	.15	.01	.22**	.40**	.40**	.40**	.22**	.45**	—					
11. Depression	−.15*	−.05	.17*	−.15*	.26**	−.14	−.14	.07	−.21**	.01	—				
12. Anger	−.06	.10	.08	−.12	.23**	−.17*	−.10	.07	−.24**	.06	.26**	—			
13. Gender: Male = 1	.04	.08	.24**	−.10	.17*	.21**	.08	.16*	.01	.12	.00	−.02	—		
14. Past income	.20**	.04	−.09	−.01	−.26**	.21*	.13	.01	.07	−.01	−.18*	−.13	−.11	—	
15. Age	.12	.03	.04	.09	.06	.19*	.04	.02	.20*	−.02	−.10	−.18*	.25**	−.08	—
Range	0–4	0–4	0–4	1.2–7	1.1–5.8	0–4	0–4	0–4	1–7	1–6.7	0–44	1–4	—	1–3	17–24
Mean	2.54	2.29	0.63	4.03	3.40	1.99	1.97	0.50	3.38	3.14	14.65	1.89	0.30	1.95	19.43
SD	1.06	1.19	1.05	1.28	0.93	1.40	1.38	0.96	1.50	1.29	9.86	0.62	0.46	0.63	1.50

Note. $n = 191$ for correlations including maternal variables (but not paternal), $n = 155$ for correlations including paternal variables and between maternal and paternal variables, $n = 192$ for correlations between demographic and youth outcome variables.
* $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Latent Profile Analyses

The first aim of this study was to identify profiles of mothers' and fathers' racial and emotion socialization practices. LPA, with Mplus 6.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2010), was conducted to identify the number of underlying parental profiles based on the observed response patterns of the racial and emotions socialization scales. LPA is a probabilistic model-based statistical method of identifying typologies that is implemented by running a series of models starting with a one profile model and iteratively adding profiles until the addition of subsequent profiles no longer improves model fit. A number of fit indices were considered to compare models including the Akaike information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987), the Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978), and the sample-size-adjusted BIC (SSA BIC; Sclove, 1987), with lower scores representing more parsimonious better fitting models. We also considered the Lo–Mendell–Rubin (LMR) likelihood ratio test which provides a test as to whether the estimated model provides a significant improvement ($p < .05$) over the model with one less profile. Entropy, the average accuracy in assigning individuals to profiles, also was considered; with a range from 0–1, higher scores reflect greater accuracy. The overall model fit and profile meaningfulness was used to identify the model with the most appropriate number of profiles. Given previous evidence that mothers and fathers may exhibit different parenting behaviors, we ran separate LPAs for young adult reported data on mothers ($n = 191$) and fathers ($n = 156$).

Fit statistics for the estimated maternal and paternal LPA models are displayed in Table 2. In regards to the maternal LPA, the AIC, BIC, and adjusted BIC all decreased with each subsequent estimated profile (five estimated profiles). However, the LMR statistic indicated that the five profile model did not show significant improvement over the four profile model and two profiles in the five profile model were not qualitatively different. Thus, the four profile model was retained. In regards to the paternal LPA, the three profile model was retained given that the four

profile model did not show significant improvement over the three profile model. The entropy of the three profile model was also the closest to 1.

Table 2
Summary of Information Criterion Statistics for Latent Profile Analyses of Maternal and Paternal Racial Socialization and Emotion Socialization

No. profiles	AIC	BIC	Adjusted BIC	Entropy	LMR
Maternal ($N = 191$)					
1 Profile	2917.87	2950.44	2918.77		
2 Profiles	2750.79	2802.91	2752.23	0.965	173.57 ($p < .001$)
3 Profiles	2654.91	2726.57	2656.89	0.993	104.57 ($p = .02$)
4 Profiles*	2590.05	2681.26	2592.56	0.887	74.5 ($p = .01$)
5 Profiles	2533.63	2644.38	2536.68	0.905	66.32 ($p = .05$)
Paternal ($N = 156$)					
1 Profile	2645.43	2675.99	2644.34		
2 Profiles	2458.9	2507.8	2457.16	0.86	192.19 ($p < .001$)
3 Profiles*	2342.62	2409.85	2340.22	0.896	124.19 ($p < .01$)
4 Profiles	2283.77	2369.34	2280.71	0.922	68.59 ($p = .09$)

Note. BIC = Bayesian information criterion; AIC = Akaike information criterion; LMR = Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test.
* Indicates best solution.

Table 3 displays the estimated raw and standardized means of the socialization constructs by latent profile. Whereas the raw means describe where the average profile member fell on the range of possible answers of each construct, the standardized means indicate where the average profile member fell in comparison with the other profiles. We also ran a series of analysis of variances (ANOVAs) along with Tamhane's T2 post hoc tests (given unequal sample sizes) to detect significant mean differences of the socialization constructs between the profiles (also shown in Table 3).

Table 3
Estimated Raw Means, SDs, and Standardized Means by Maternal and Paternal Socialization Profiles

Variable	Cultural-supportive M (SD)	Z	Low engaged M (SD)	Z	Moderate bias prep M (SD)	Z	High bias prep M (SD)	Z	Mean differences
Cultural socialization	3.15 (.80)	0.57	1.43 (.80)	−1.04	2.45 (.80)	−0.08	2.55 (.80)	0.007	L < C, M, H; C > M, H
Preparation for bias	2.47 (.99)	0.15	1.19 (.99)	−0.09	2.81 (.99)	0.44	3.09 (.99)	0.68	L < C, M, H; H > C
Promotion of mistrust	.05 (.25)	−0.54	.02 (.25)	−0.58	1.31 (.25)	0.66	3.02 (.25)	2.28	H > C, L, M; M > C, L
Supportive responses	4.56 (1.15)	0.41	3.19 (1.15)	−0.66	4.03 (1.15)	−0.004	3.72 (1.15)	−0.24	C > L, M+, H; M > L
Nonsupportive responses	3.38 (.89)	−0.02	3.02 (.89)	−0.41	3.77 (.89)	0.39	3.72 (.89)	0.34	L < M, H

Paternal socialization profiles ($N = 156$)
Maternal socialization profiles ($N = 191$)

Variable	Multifaceted M (SD)	Z	Low engaged M (SD)	Z	High bias prep M (SD)	Z	Mean differences
Cultural socialization	2.95 (.82)	0.67	0.62 (.82)	−0.98	2.84 (.82)	0.6	L < F, B
Preparation for bias	2.69 (.94)	0.52	0.76 (.94)	−0.88	3.22 (.94)	0.91	L < F, B
Promotion of mistrust	.23 (.47)	−0.28	.16 (.47)	−0.36	2.79 (.47)	2.40	B > F, L
Supportive responses	4.12 (1.27)	0.50	2.47 (1.27)	−0.61	3.49 (1.27)	0.07	L < F, B
Nonsupportive responses	3.55 (1.16)	0.31	2.47 (1.16)	−0.52	3.75 (1.16)	0.42	L < F, B

Note. All ANOVAs were significant at $p < .01$. All mean differences significant at $p < .05$ with the exception of C > M for which $p = .08$. L = low engaged; C = cultural-supportive; M = moderate bias preparation; H = high bias preparation; F = multifaceted.

The estimated raw and standardized means of the socialization variables, along with the ANOVA results were used to describe and label the profiles. We hypothesized that: (a) LPA would identify three profiles of maternal and paternal racial and emotion socialization practices with one profile characterized by high levels of preparation for bias paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses, one profile characterized by high levels cultural socialization paired with balanced emotion socialization behaviors, and a low engaged profile; and (b) more fathers would be low engaged than mothers. Four maternal profiles emerged. The largest maternal profile, labeled *cultural-supportive* ($n = 89$, 46.6%), was characterized by the highest levels of cultural socialization endorsement and supportive responses to negative emotions compared with all the other profiles, moderate levels of preparation for bias and nonsupportive responses, and low levels of promotion of mistrust. The second largest maternal profile was labeled *low engaged* ($n = 46$, 24.1%) and was characterized by low levels of endorsement across all the socialization constructs. The next profile, which was not predicted, was labeled *moderate bias preparation* ($n = 32$, 16.8%), and was characterized by moderate levels of socialization across constructs with scores above the mean on preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and nonsupportive responses and scores near the mean on cultural socialization and supportive responses. The smallest profile, labeled *high bias preparation* ($n = 24$, 12.6%), was characterized by moderate levels of cultural socialization, high levels of preparation for bias, the highest levels of promotion of mistrust compared with all other profiles, and by scores below the mean on supportive responses and above the mean on nonsupportive responses.

Three paternal profiles emerged. The largest paternal profile, labeled *multifaceted* ($n = 77$, 49.4%), was characterized by moderate levels on four of the five socialization constructs, with low levels of promotion of mistrust, and was not predicted. The next largest profile, labeled *low engaged* ($n = 61$, 39.1%), was characterized by low scores across all constructs. The smallest profile, labeled *high bias preparation* ($n = 18$, 11.5%), was characterized by moderate levels of cultural socialization, high levels of preparation for bias, and the highest levels of promotion of mistrust compared with the other two profiles. Like the multifaceted profile, this profile also was characterized by moderate levels of supportive and nonsupportive responses but was higher on nonsupportive responses than they were on supportive responses. As predicted, a higher proportion of fathers were low engaged than mothers.

Predictors of Latent Profiles

We conducted multinomial logistic regression to examine gender and family income as predictors of the maternal and paternal profiles results are shown in Table 4. We predicted that young men, compared with young women, would be more likely to have parents characterized by higher preparation for bias paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses to negative emotions, whereas young women and individuals with higher family income would have parents characterized by high cultural socialization and balanced responses. Regarding the maternal profiles, we conducted two multinomial logistic regressions with the high bias preparation profile and the cultural-supportive profile as the reference groups (given that these were the two hypothesized and focal profiles) to determine whether gender and income were related to inclusion in these profiles versus the other profiles. Two models were run to examine all profile comparisons. As predicted, men were more likely to have mothers who fit the high bias preparation profile than any other maternal profile. Further, individuals with higher family

income were more likely to have mothers who fit the cultural-supportive profile than the moderate bias preparation profile. However, income did not differentiate between the cultural-supportive profile and the low engaged nor the high-bias preparation profile.

Table 4

Log Odds Coefficients and Odds Ratios for Mothers' and Fathers' Latent Profiles With Gender and Family Income as Predictors and the High Bias Preparation Profile as the Reference Group

Latent profile	Logit	SE	t	Odds ratio
Mothers' latent profiles with the high bias preparation profile as the reference group ($N = 191$)				
Cultural-supportive				
Gender	−1.56**	0.49	−3.21	0.21
Family income	0.37	0.40	0.92	1.44
Low engaged				
Gender	−1.83**	0.55	−3.31	0.16
Family income	−0.07	0.43	−0.16	0.94
Moderate bias prep				
Gender	−1.39*	0.58	−2.41	0.25
Family income	−.47	.47	−1.02	.62
Cultural-supportive profile as the reference group				
Low engaged				
Gender	−0.27	0.44	−0.61	0.77
Family income	−0.43	0.30	−1.45	0.65
Moderate bias prep				
Gender	0.18	0.47	0.37	1.19
Family income	−.84*	0.35	−2.37	0.43
Fathers' latent profiles with the high bias preparation profile as the reference group ($N = 156$)				
Multifaceted				
Gender	−0.45	0.55	−0.82	0.64
Family income	0.46	0.42	1.10	1.58
Low engaged				
Gender	−1.55**	0.59	−2.62	0.21
Family income	−0.28	0.42	−0.66	0.76
Multifaceted profile as the reference group				
Low engaged				
Gender	−1.10*	−0.43	−2.58	0.33
Family income	−.73*	0.29	−2.50	0.48

Note. Gender coded as women = 0, men = 1.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Regarding fathers' profiles, we conducted two multinomial logistic regression analyses with the high bias preparation profile and multifaceted profile as the reference groups. As predicted, men were more likely to have fathers who fit the high bias preparation profile compared with the low engaged profile. Results indicated that men and higher income individuals were more likely to have fathers who fit the multifaceted profile than the low engaged profile.

Latent Profiles and Child Emotional Adaption

We ran a series of general linear models to test the relationship between young adults' profile membership and emotional adaptation. Interaction terms were initially examined to test whether gender and family income moderated the associations between parents' socialization and young adults' emotional adaption; however, all interaction terms were nonsignificant indicating that the

relationships between profile membership and emotional adaptation were independent of gender and family income.

Next, we implemented a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analyses, controlling for gender and family income, to evaluate the relationships between mothers' and fathers' socialization profiles and young adult emotional adaptation. OLS regression with two reference groups as comparisons was used rather than analysis of co-variance (ANCOVA) to preserve power. The same comparison groups used in the multinomial analyses also were used in the multiple regression analyses. Results are shown in Table 5 and Table 6 for mothers and fathers, respectively.

Table 5
Multiple Regression of Young Adult Depression

	B	SE	β
Mothers' high bias preparation profile as reference group			
Gender	−1.46	1.60	−0.70
Past income	−2.82*	1.15	−0.18
Cultural-supportive	−6.46**	2.34	−0.29
Low engaged	−4.21	2.61	−0.16
Moderate bias prep.	−5.66*	2.67	−0.21
Mothers' cultural-supportive profile as reference group			
Low engaged	2.25	2.08	0.09
Moderate bias prep.	0.80	2.08	0.03

Note. Gender coded as women = 0, men = 1. R^2 = .08.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 6
Multiple Regression of Young Adult Anger

	B	SE	β
Fathers' high bias preparation profile as the reference group			
Gender	−0.07	0.11	−0.05
Past income	−.09	0.08	−0.09
Multifaceted	−0.24	0.17	−0.18
Low engaged	−0.03	0.17	−0.02
Fathers' multifaceted profile as the reference group			
Low engaged	0.21+	0.12	0.15

Note. Gender coded as women = 0, men = 1. R^2 = .04.
+$p < .10$.

We hypothesized that young adults whose parents emphasized high levels of racial socialization paired with balanced supportive and nonsupportive responses would have lower levels of depression and anger compared with young adults whose parents' emphasized high racial socialization paired with high nonsupportive and low supportive responses. As predicted, multiple regression analyses revealed that young adults whose mothers fit the cultural-supportive profile or the moderate bias preparation profile had lower levels of depressive symptoms than

young adults whose mothers fit the high bias preparation profile. However, contrary to predictions, mothers' socialization was not related to young adults' anger expression. Young adults whose fathers fit the multifaceted profile had marginally lower levels ($p = .08$) of anger expression than young adults whose fathers were low engaged. Contrary to predictions, fathers' socialization was not related to young adults' depressive symptoms.

Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to identify parents' synergistic patterns of racial and emotion socialization practices, to determine if these profiles vary as a function of family income and young adult child gender, and to examine their links with young adults' emotional adaptation.

Parental Socialization Profiles

LPA results generally supported hypotheses, with some caveats. First, LPA identified four maternal profiles rather than three. The largest profile (46.6%), labeled cultural-supportive, was consistent with our predictions and seemed to represent African American mothers who place some importance on preparing their children for negative racial experiences but place greater emphasis on the positive strengths of African American culture and supportive responses to the expression of negative emotions. As predicted, LPA also identified a profile, labeled high bias preparation, characterized by moderate levels of cultural socialization, high levels of preparation for bias, the highest levels of promotion of mistrust compared with all other maternal profiles, as well as scores below the mean on supportive responses and above the mean on nonsupportive responses (12.6% of the sample). An additional unpredicted profile, labeled moderate bias preparation (16.8% of the sample), was similar to the high bias preparation profile but with less extreme levels of promotion of mistrust and nonsupportive responses. Together, the moderate and high bias preparation profiles were comprised of 29.4% of the sample and may represent African American mothers who are primarily concerned with preparing their children for experiences of bias and instilling weariness of other groups that may treat them unfairly. In line with these concerns, mothers with these profiles may suppress the expression of negative emotions in their children to counteract the negative perceptions of others who may perceive their children as overly expressive or too boisterous (Ward, 2000). As expected, a low engaged profile also emerged (24.1%) and was characterized by low levels of endorsement across the socialization constructs.

Similar to the maternal LPA, a profile of fathers emerged with low levels of engagement across all five socialization variables (39.1%). A high bias preparation profile of fathers also emerged with characteristics similar to the high bias preparation maternal profile (11.5%). The largest paternal profile (49.4%), which was not predicted and did not qualitatively match any maternal profile, seemed to represent fathers with a multifaceted approach characterized by moderate levels of four of the five socialization constructs and low levels of promotion of mistrust.

Consistent with our hypothesis, 39.1% of fathers belonged to the low engaged profile compared with 24.1% of mothers. These findings are consistent with previous research indicating that African American fathers display lower levels of racial socialization than African American

mothers (Brown et al., 2010; Thornton et al., 1990) and that fathers in general display lower levels of emotion socialization than mothers (Denham et al., 2010). The lower number of paternal profiles compared with maternal profiles (3 vs. 4) may suggest that there are fewer distinct styles of emotion and racial socialization among fathers than mothers. Alternatively, this may be attributed to the smaller sample of fathers. Our results are comparable with other studies utilizing LPA that highlight diversity in the parenting strategies used by African American parents and contributes to the existing literature by demonstrating that emotion socialization may constitute an integral aspect of racial socialization.

Role of Gender and Income

Multinomial logistic regression indicated that men were more likely than women to have mothers who fit the high bias preparation profile than any other maternal profile. These results are consistent with our hypothesis and past studies indicating that African American mothers of boys tend to be particularly concerned with preparing their children for experiences of bias from other races. This may be because of African American parents' awareness that boys tend to experience more overt forms of racial discrimination than girls (Hill, 2001; McHale et al., 2006; Thomas, & King, 2007) and fear their boys will face negative consequences for displaying negative emotions (Nelson et al., 2012).

Results also revealed that individuals with higher family income were more likely to have mothers who fit the cultural-supportive profile compared with the moderate bias preparation profile, suggesting that income rather than gender distinguished these profiles. These results are consistent with our predictions and with past research indicating that higher income families seem to engage in higher levels of cultural socialization than lower income families and that this may be because of their higher levels of interracial interactions (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006). Further, some emotion socialization researchers speculate that lower income families may be too overwhelmed with economic stress to support their children's' negative emotions and may be less likely to engage in supportive emotion learning and interactions (Chaplin, Casey, Sinha, & Mayes, 2010).

Results indicated that men were more likely than women to have fathers who fit the multifaceted or high bias preparation profile than the low engaged profile. These results are consistent with findings indicating that African American fathers, but not mothers, engage in lower levels of racial socialization with their daughters (Brown et al., 2010; Thornton et al., 1990) and that fathers may be more oriented toward the emotion socialization of their sons than their daughters (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009). This may indicate that fathers have greater concerns about the experiences their sons may face than their daughters, perhaps based on their own history of gendered experiences with discrimination. Further, individuals with higher family income were more likely to have fathers who fit the multifaceted profile compared with the low engaged profile, consistent with previous research indicating higher engagement among high income families (Thornton et al., 1990).

Socialization and Emotional Adaptation

Consistent with prediction, young adults whose mothers fit the cultural-supportive profile or the moderate bias preparation profile had lower levels of depressive symptoms than young adults whose mothers fit the high bias preparation profile. These results parallel previous LPA findings with racial socialization that indicate that an approach combining bias preparation messages with cultural pride may lead to more adaptive outcomes compared with youths whose parents emphasize negative messages or high promotion of mistrust (Granberg et al., 2012; Neblett et al., 2008). Furthermore, a moderate amount of preparation for bias along with a balance of supportive and nonsupportive responses to negative emotions may be better for children's emotional development and adaptation than a high emphasis on bias preparation messages and nonsupport of negative emotions that may encourage a sense of helplessness or sadness without the ability to regulate such emotions (Davis & Stevenson, 2006). Contrary to predictions, mothers' socialization was not related to young adults' anger expression. Perhaps results would have been comparable with those for depressive symptoms had a clinical measure of externalizing symptoms been used.

Young adults whose fathers fit the multifaceted profile had marginally lower levels of anger expression ($p = .08$) than young adults whose fathers were low engaged, indicating that in regards to fathers' socialization, engagement was a better predictor of anger expression than the specific profile of socialization. Further, given this association was only marginally significant, mothers' practices may have more of an impact on emotional adaptation than fathers'.

Gender and income did not moderate the relationship between socialization profiles and emotional adaptation suggesting that boys and girls may equally benefit from a balanced strategy.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite its valuable insight into the intersection of racial and emotion socialization among African American families, the present study was limited by several factors. First, the links between parental racial and emotion socialization and young adult emotional adaptation may be inflated because of shared method variance. Second, data were collected concurrently, thus, conclusions about the direction of effects cannot be made. It could be the case that adults with negative emotional tendencies were more likely to recollect their parents' actions in a negative light. Therefore, future research with a longitudinal design and multimethod or informant data is needed to assess whether parental racial and emotion socialization predicts depression and anger over time. Given depressive symptoms and anger expression were examined as distal outcomes of parental racial and emotion socialization, future research should examine child emotion regulation as a mediating factor in the association between racial and emotion socialization and emotional adaptation. Finally, given that the participants in the current study were college students, results may not be generalizable to children and adolescents; replication with these age groups is needed.

With recognition to the lack of research on emotion socialization among African American families (American Psychological Association, Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents, 2008), this study was an initial step in exploring the intersection of racial and emotion socialization as parenting strategies implemented with the same underlying

concern to protect children from the harmful effects of discrimination. The current study provides initial evidence that the effectiveness of racial socialization messages may depend in part on whether these messages are paired with adaptive methods of teaching children how to manage their negative emotions.

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